

VISIT...

LANZAROTE
Caliente.COM



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>

Library of



Princeton University.

Elizabeth Foundation.

THE OPEN COURT

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

VOLUME XVI

CHICAGO
THE OPEN COURT PUBLISHING COMPANY

LONDON AGENTS:
KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH, TRÜBNER & Co., LTD.

1902

COPYRIGHT BY
THE OPEN COURT PUBLISHING CO.
JANUARY, FEBRUARY, MARCH NUMBERS, 1901.
APRIL TO DECEMBER NUMBERS, 1902.

INDEX TO VOLUME XVI.

MAIN CONTENTS.

	PAGE
Adi Granth, the Holy Scriptures of the Sikhs, A Poem from the. Evelyn Martinengo-Cesaresco.....	380
Alpha and Omega. Paul Carus.....	620
Altgeld, John P. Obituary Notice.....	251
Amitábha. A Story of Buddhist Metaphysics. Paul Carus.....	415, 486, 536
Apostolic Succession, The. Dogma and Criticism. ***.....	321
"Aum" and the Mantra Cult, The Syllable. C. Pfoundes.....	318
Babel and Bible. Friedrich Delitzsch.....	209, 263
Barrows, the Rev. John Henry. Biographical Note. Paul Carus. 44.—Bishop Fallow's Tribute to. 440.—Obituary Notice. 385.	
Bible, Open Inspiration Versus a Closed Canon and Infallible. Charles W. Pearson.....	175
Biblical Love-Ditties. Paul Haupt.....	291
Bigelow, Poultney. A New History of Modern Europe.....	234
Bonney, Charles Carroll. Charity. A Poem. 378.—Consolation. A Poem. 120.—The Storm. A Poem. 442.	
Bonney on Uniformity in Judicial Practice, Mr. Editorial Note.....	443
Buddhist Convert, A. Paul Carus.....	250
Burns, Robert, Poem Wrongly Attributed to.....	568, 764
Carus, Paul. The Roman Catholic Church and the Jesuits. 40.— <i>Whence and Whither</i> . In Reply to my Critics. 74.—Our Custom House. 141.—Friends or Slaves. An Appeal to Congress. 146.—Professor Pearson on the Bible. 152.—Fylfot and Swastika. 153, 356.—Wu Tao Tze's Nirvána Picture. 163.—Taxation of Capital Discourages Thrift. 182.—Representation Without Taxation. 183.—Easter, the Festival of Life Victorious. 193.—The Shape of the Cross of Jesus. 247.—The Crucifixion of Dogs in Ancient Rome. 249.—A Buddhist Convert. 250.—The Memoirs of Kamo No Chomei. 252.—Heinrich Julius Holtzmann. 257.—Amitábha. A Story of Buddhist Metaphysics. 415, 486, 536.—The Chrisma and the Labarum. 428.—Hokusai. Japanese Artist. 440.—The Wheel and the Cross. 478.—Maháyana Doctrine and Art. Comments on the Story of Amitábha. 562, 621.—The Trinity. 612.—Alpha and Omega. 620.—Thanksgiving. 689.—History of Christianity in Japan. 690.—Two Philosophical Poems of Goethe. 694.—Major Powell, the Chief. 716.—Filial Piety in China. 754.	
Charity. A Poem. Charles Carroll Bonney.....	378

0901
0611 (RECAP)
V. 16

498201

~~ANNEXA~~

	PAGE
Cheney, Ednah D. Sketch of Dr. Marie Zakrzewska's Life.....	391
Chrisma and the Labarum, The. Paul Carus.....	428
Christianity in Japan, History of. Paul Carus.....	690
Christian Poetry, the Origin of. F. W. Fitzpatrick.....	1
Circumnavigation of the Globe, Sir John Maundeville on the. Edward Lindsey	107
Clerke, A. M. The Discovery of Neptune.....	696
Conard, Laetitia M. Léon Marillier. Obituary Notice.....	50
Consolation. A Poem. Charles Carroll Bonney.....	120
Conversion, An Instance of. Oscar L. Triggs.....	69
Cumont, Franz. The Mysteries of Mithra,	
65, 167, 200, 300, 340, 449, 522, 602, 670, 717	
Custom House, Our. Paul Carus.....	141
Delitzsch, Friedrich. Babel and Bible.....	209, 263
Dogs in Ancient Rome, The Crucifixion of. Paul Carus.....	249
Easter, the Festival of Life Victorious. Paul Carus.....	193
Edmunds, Albert J. Gospel Parallels from Páli Texts. 559, 684.—Jesus in the Talmud. 475.	
Elisha Ben Abuya.....	631
Europe, A New History of Modern. Poultney Bigelow.....	234
Evans, Elizabeth E. A Nearer View of Count Leo Tolstoy.....	396
Evans, E. P. Richard Wagner.....	577, 652
Filial Piety in China. Paul Carus.....	754
First Christians, According to F. J. Gould, The.....	116
Fitzpatrick, F. W. The Origin of Christian Poetry.....	1
Friends or Slaves. An Appeal to Congress. Paul Carus.....	146
Fylfot and Swastika. Paul Carus.....	153, 356
Gandhi, Virchand R. Obituary Notice. Mrs. Charles Howard.....	51
Garrison, William Lloyd. Oration at Funeral of Dr. Marie Zakrzewska.....	386
Gayatri, The Significance of the.....	115
Geometry by Paper-Folding, Instruction in.....	55
Geometry, The Foundations of. George Bruce Halsted.....	513
Goethe, Two Philosophical Poems of. Paul Carus.....	694
Gospel Parallels from Páli Texts. Albert J. Edmunds.....	559, 684
Haeckel's Work on the Artistic Forms of Nature.....	47
Haupt, Paul. Biblical Love-Ditties.....	291
Heat, The Theory of. Ernst Mach.....	641, 733
Henning, Charles L. Hiawatha and the Onondaga Indians.....	459, 550
Hiawatha and the Onondaga Indians. Charles L. Henning.....	459, 550
Hokusai. Japanese Artist. Paul Carus.....	440
Holtzmann, Heinrich Julius. Paul Carus.....	257
Howard, Mrs. Charles. The Death of Mr. Virchand Gandhi.....	51
Hymn to the Sun. A Poem. Sir C. E. Carrington.....	316
Indian Burial Customs, Concerning. William Thornton Parker.....	86
Jeffrey, Joseph. Some Factors in the Rising of the Negro.....	764
Jesuits, The Roman Catholic Church and the. Paul Carus.....	40
Jesuits, The Truth About the. Henri de Ladevèze.....	10
Jesuit Under the X-Ray, The. Charles Macarthur.....	367
Jesus, The Shape of the Cross of. Paul Carus.....	247
Kamo No Chomei, The Memoirs of. Paul Carus.....	252
Kaplan, Bernard M. The Apostate of the Talmud.....	467

	PAGE
Ladevèze, Henri de. The Truth About the Jesuits	10
Leibnitz, Gottfried Wilhelm.....	104
Leonowens, Anna Harriette. The Religion of Siam	149
Life, The Play of. A Poem. Lollie Belle Wylie	253
Lincoln, M. D. Life of John Wesley Powell.....	705
Lindsey, Edward. Sir John Maundeville on the Circumnavigation of the Globe.....	107
L. M. J. Is Spiritualism Unscientific?.....	375
Macarthur, Charles. The Jesuit Under the X-Ray.....	367
Mach, Ernst. The Theory of Heat.....	641, 733
Mahâyâna Doctrine and Art. Comments on the Story of "Amitâbha." Paul Carus.....	562, 621
Marillier, Léon. Obituary Notice. Laetitia M. Conard.....	50
Martinengo-Cesaresco, Evelyn. From the Adi Granth, the Holy Scriptures of the Sikhs. A Poem. 380.—Om and the Gayatri. 97.—Secrecy in Religion. 566.	
Maude, Aylmer. The Misinterpretation of Tolstoy.....	590
McCormack, Thomas J. Translation of <i>The Mysteries of Mithra</i> . 65, 167, 200, 300, 340, 449, 522, 602, 670, 717.—Translation of <i>Babel and Bible</i> , 209, 263.—Translation of <i>Theory of Heat</i> . 641, 733.—Destruction of An- cient Rome. 237.—Rudolf Virchow, 745 —Book-Reviews, Notes, etc., <i>passim</i> .	
Mithra, The Mysteries of. Frank Cumont. 65, 167, 200, 300, 340, 449, 522, 602, 670, 717	
Moran, Thomas A. Taxation of Real Estate.....	187
Negro, Some Factors in the Rising of the. Joseph Jeffrey.....	764
Negro, The Hope of the. John L. Robinson.....	614
Neptune, The Discovery of. A. M. Clerke	696
Nirvâna Picture, Wu Tao Tze's. Paul Carus.....	163
Om and the Gayatri. Evelyn Martinengo-Cesaresco.....	97
Parker, William Thornton. Concerning Indian Burial Customs	86
Parthenon and Its Possible Restoration, The. Yorke Triscott	31
Pearson, Charles W. Open Inspiration Versus a Closed Canon and Infallible Bible.....	175
Pearson on the Bible, Professor. Paul Carus.....	152
Pearson, Professor Charles William. Editorial Note	441
Pfoundes, C. The Syllable "Aum" and the Mantra Cult. 318.—Secrecy in Religion. 753.	
Powell, Major John Wesley. Obituary Notice. 639.—Life of. Mrs. M. D. Lincoln. 705.—Major Powell, the Chief. 716.	
Religion of Science Library, Exclusion of, by Postal Authorities as Second- Class Matter	113
Religion, Secrecy in. Evelyn Martinengo-Cesaresco. 566.—C. Pfoundes. 753.	
Representation Without Taxation. Paul Carus	183
Rijnhart in Tibet, Peter.....	109
Robinson, John L. The Hope of the Negro	614
Rome, The Destruction of Ancient. T. J. McCormack	237
Siam, Its Court and Religion. Anna Leonowens	53
Siam, The Religion of. Anna Harriette Leonowens	149
Spiritualism, Is It Unscientific? L. M. J.....	375

	PAGE
Spiritualistic Séance, A. W. H. Trimble.....	378
Storm, The. A Poem. Charles Carroll Bonney.....	442
Tai-Ping Canon, The.....	59
Talmud, Jesus in the. Albert J. Edmunds.....	475
Talmud, The Apostate of the. Bernard M. Kaplan.....	467
Taxation, A Symposium on. Roy O. West, Arba N. Waterman, Thomas A. Moran.....	184
Taxation of Capital Discourages Thrift. Paul Carus.....	182
Taxation Question, The. A. N. Waterman.....	129
Thanksgiving. Paul Carus.....	689
Thermometry, Sketch of the History of. E. Mach.....	641, 733
Tolstoy, A Nearer View of Count Leo. Elizabeth E. Evans.....	396
Tolstoy, Mr. Maude's Article on.....	634
Tolstoy, The Misinterpretation of. Aylmer Maude.....	590
Triggs, Oscar L. An Instance of Conversion.....	69
Trimble, W. H. A Spiritualistic Séance.....	378
Trinity, The. Paul Carus.....	612
Triscott, Yorke. The Parthenon and Its Possible Restoration.....	31
Uplift the Masses. A Poem. Charles Carroll Bonney.....	246
Virchow, Rudolf. Biographical Sketch. T. J. McCormack.....	745
Vivekananda, Swami. Obituary Notice.....	576
Wagner, Richard. E. P. Evans.....	577, 652
Waterman, Arba N. The Taxation Question. 129.—Concentrate the Power of Taxation. 185.—Special Assessments. 190.	
West, Roy O. The Assessor's Burden.....	184
Wheel and the Cross, The. Paul Carus.....	478
Whence and Whither. In Reply to My Critics. Paul Carus.....	74
Words o' Cheer. A Poem. Wrongly attributed to Robert Burns.....	568
Wylie, Lollie Belle. The Play of Life.....	253
Zakrzewska, Dr. Marie. Funeral Oration. William Lloyd Garrison. 386.—Her Own Farewell Address. 386.—Obituary Notice. 384.—Sketch of Her Life. Ednah D. Cheney. 391.	

BOOK-REVIEWS, NOTES, CORRESPONDENCE, ETC.

Abbott, Lyman. The Rights of Man.....	382
Abhayaratha, H. S. Life of Gautama Buddha.....	575
Adams, Brooks. The New Empire.....	767
Adams, Robert Chamblet. Good Without God.....	639
Addams, Jane. Democracy and Social Ethics.....	447
Albers, A. C. Life of Buddha for Children.....	573
Ânanda Maitriya. Animism and Law. A Paper on Buddhism.....	572
Anuruddha, Mahâ Thero. Anuruddha-çataka.....	443
Arnold, Matthew. Literature and Dogma: An Essay Toward a Better Apprehension of the Bible.....	703
Ashley, Roscoe Lewis. The American Federal State.....	254
Asiatic Creeds, Conference of the.....	630
Beard, Charles. The Industrial Revolution.....	383
Beman, W. W., and D. E. Smith. Academic Algebra.....	510
Bibelot Series.....	126, 448, 703

	PAGE
Bigelow, Poultney. The Children of the Nations.....	700
Bixby, James T. The New World and the New Thought.....	511
Blackmar, Frank W. Life of Charles Robinson, the First State Governor of Kansas	382
Blauvelt, Mary Taylor. The Development of the Cabinet Government in England.....	320
Blondel, Hervé. Approximations to Truth	46
Bloomfield, Maurice, and Richard Garbe. Atharva-veda.....	317
Bose, Charu Chandra. Pāli and Its Relation to Sanscrit. 574.—The Origin and Development of the Pāli Language. 574.	
Botsford, George Willis. A History of the Orient and Greece. 244.—An Ancient History for Beginners. 693.	
Bourdeau, Louis. Le problème de la vie	236
Brooks, Edward. The Story of the Æneid, or the Adventures of Æneas. 633. —The Story of King Arthur and the Knights of the Round Table. 633.	
Brown, George W. Reminiscences of Gov. R. J. Walker: With the True Story of the Rescue of Kansas From Slavery	511
Brown, Walter Lee. Meditations of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus.....	447
Brown, William Garrott. The Lower South in American History	512
Buddharakkhito. Jinālamkāra.....	443
Burnett, Irwin. The Heretic.....	637
Carruth, William Herbert. Schiller's <i>Bride of Messina</i>	127
Cavazzutti, E. M. Projet d'organisation du mouvement scientifique universel en anglais, espagnol, Français, Allemand, Italien	701
Christian Era, Prof. Hermann Schubert's computation of time which has elapsed since beginning of	256
Clark, John Bates. The Control of Trusts.....	126
Clerke, A. M. Popular History of Astronomy	696
Clodd, Edward. S. Laing's <i>Modern Science and Modern Thought</i>	638
Codman, John. Arnold's Expedition to Quebec	255
Congress of Religions at Buffalo, Proceedings of Seventh Annual Meeting of.	383
Cornish, F. Warre. Chivalry	506
Couchoud, Paul-Louis. Life of Benoit Spinoza.....	448
Crawford, F. Marion. Marietta, a Maid of Venice	125
Crew, Henry, and Robert R. Tatnell. Laboratory Manual of Physics for Use in High Schools	510
Çrī Dharmadāso. Vidagdha Mukha Mandana	443
Crooker, Joseph Henry. The Unitarian Church: A Statement. 383.—Essays in <i>The Springfield Republican</i> . 768.	
Crosby, Ernest. Captain Jinks, Hero.....	575
Dannemann, Friedrich. Grundriss einer Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften	445
Dantec, Félix Le. L'unité dans l'être vivant: Essai d'une biologie chimique.	235
Dauids, T. W. Rhys. His Statement Regarding Vase Inscriptions.....	256
Davis, William Stearns. God Wills It.....	127
Delitzsch's Lecture on "Babel and Bible".....	251
Dresser, Horatio W. The Christ Ideal, A Study of the Spiritual Teachings of Jesus.....	575
Edmunds, Albert J. Dhammapada.....	569
Electricity, Reports of International Congress of.....	128
Ely, Richard T. Social Aspects of Christianity.....	512

	PAGE
Emerson, Edwin. Fugitive Poems.....	126
<i>Encyclopædia Biblica</i>	748
E. P. B. God the Beautiful; An Artist's Creed.....	512
Erasmus. Praise of Folly.....	127
Errera, Léo. Philosophical Botany.....	446
Ezra Stiles. Literary Diary.....	639
Fairlie, John A. Municipal Administration.....	125
Fiske, John. Life Everlasting.....	122
Forester, George. The Faith of an Agnostic; Or First Essays in Rationalism.....	444
Forward, Rashleigh Cumming. The King Who Wouldn't be a Pagan.....	637
Fullerton, George Stuart. His articles in <i>The Philosophical Review</i>	575
<i>Gakuto, The</i>	255
Garbe, Richard, and Maurice Bloomfield. Atharva-veda.....	317
Gaza Coin, Note on.....	316
Giglio-Tos, Ermanno. Les problèmes de la vie.....	236
<i>Good Will</i>	128
Gould, F. J. The Religion of the First Christians. 116.—Will Women Help? An Appeal to Women to Assist in Liberating Modern Thought From The- ologica. 125.	
Grasset, J. Les limites de la biologie.....	382
Greenough, James Bradstreet, and George Lyman Kittredge. Words and Their Ways in English Speech.....	311
Gummere, Francis B. The Beginning of Poetry.....	380
Gunkel's Legends of Genesis.....	245
Guymiot, M. <i>The First Principles</i> of Herbert Spencer.....	704
Haas, Hans. Geschichte des Christenthums in Japan.....	690
Haeckel, Ernst. Kunstformen der Natur. 47.—Riddle of the Universe. 191.	
Hamilton, Edward John. The Moral Law, or The Theory and Practice of Duty.....	575
Hammurabi, Code of Laws of.....	639
Hansen, George. Baby Roland.....	703
Hapgood, Norman. Life and Appreciation of George Washington.....	128
Hardesty, Irving. Neurological Technique.....	125
Harnack, Adolf. Das Wesen des Christenthums.....	381
Harper, William R. Constructive Studies in the Priestly Element in the Old Testament.....	319
Hart, Albert Bushnell. The Foundations of American Foreign Policy. 46.— The Welding of the Nation. 47.	
Harvard Summer School of Theology.....	320
Hatzfeld, Ad. Blaise Pascal.....	45
Herrick, Robert. The Real World.....	127
Heysinger, J. W. Solar Energy; Its Source and Mode Throughout the Uni- verse.....	576
<i>Hibbert Journal, The</i>	702
Hindu-Buddhistic Religious Conference.....	704
Hindu Child-Widow Remarriage.....	639
Hirsch, Max. Democracy Versus Socialism.....	121
Hodder, Alfred. The Adversaries of the Sceptic, or the Specious Present. A New Inquiry Into Human Knowledge.....	448
Holgate, Thomas F. Plane and Solid Elementary Geometry.....	510

	PAGE
Holmes, C. J. Hokusai.....	440
Holtzmüller, G. Solid Geometry.....	510
Holyoake, George Jacob. The Logic of Death.....	637
Hunt, Mary A. Scientific Bible.....	509
Indian National Social Congress.....	192
Ingret, Maxime. Cours Complète de Langue Française.....	447
Jabelon. The Phallic Derivation of Religion.....	639
Jaulmes, Alfred. His sketch on Satanism, etc.....	446
Jaurès, Jean. The Reality of the Sensible World.....	638
Johnston, R. M. The Roman Theocracy and the Republic.....	127
Kamo No Chomei. Hô Jô Ki.....	252
Karppe, S. Essai de critique et d'histoire de philosophie.....	638
Kellor, Francis A. Experimental Sociology, Descriptive and Analytical.....	192
Kelly, Edmund. Government or Human Evolution.....	123
Kennard, Joseph Spencer. The Fallen God: And Other Essays in Literature and Art.....	508
Kidd, Benjamin. Principles of Western Civilisation.....	635
Kittredge, George Lyman, and James Bradstreet Greenough. Words and Their Ways in English Speech.....	311
Kovalevsky, Maxime. Russian Political Institutions, Their Growth and De- velopment from the Beginning of Russian History to the Present Time... ..	192
Ladevèze, Henri de, author of "The Truth About the Jesuits".....	256
Laing, S. Modern Science and Modern Thought.....	638
Lanciani, Rodolfo. The Destruction of Ancient Rome.....	237
Lane, Michael A. The Level of Social Motion.....	319
Lapie, Paul. Logic of the Will.....	575
Lazarus, M. The Ethics of Judaism.....	128
Leclère, Albert. Essai critique sur le droit d'affirmer.....	235
Leibnitz, Gottfried Wilhelm. Discourse on Metaphysics, Correspondence with Arnauld, and Monadology.....	104
Leonard, William A. The New Story of the Bible.....	125
Leonowens, Anna Harriette. Siam and the Siamese.....	53
Léon, Xavier. The Philosophy of Fichte.....	448
Lessen, Eduard. Adalbert Svoboda.....	637
<i>Light of Dharma, The</i>	126
Linn, William Alexander. The Story of the Mormons.....	511
Lucas, Edward Verrail. A Book of Verses for Children.....	632
Maddison, Isabel. Handbook of British, Continental, and Canadian Univer- sities.....	446
Maddock, John. A Catechism of Positive, Scientific Monism. In Refutation of the Negative Monism of Prof. Ernst Haeckel.....	381
Major, Charles. Dorothy Vernon of Haddon Hall.....	447
Mangasarian, M. M. A New Catechism.....	246
Manley, Frederick. Shakespeare's <i>Merchant of Venice</i>	64
Martinengo-Cesaresco, Evelyn. Italian Characters.....	245
Mauxion, Marcel. L'Éducation par l'instruction et les théories pédagogiques de Herbart.....	46
McConnell, S. D. The Evolution of Immortality.....	512
Medhurst, Rev. Dr. The Tai-Ping Canon.....	59
Mereness, Newton D. Maryland as a Proprietary Province.....	47

	PAGE
Merriam Company, G & C. Webster's International Dictionary.....	574
Miller, William. Shakespeare's Macbeth and the Ruin of Souls	575
Missouri Botanical Garden, Annual Report of	637
Morgan, Mary. Echoes from the Solitudes.....	128
Moulton, F. R. An Introduction to Celestial Mechanics	702
Newport, David. Eudemon.....	127
Nicholson, J. Shield. Principles of Political Economy.....	128
Patten, Simon N. The Theory of Prosperity.....	192
Paulhan, Fr. The Psychology of Invention, 46; Les caractères, 384.	
Payne, William Morton. Little Leaders. Editorial Echoes.....	702
Pennington, Jeanne G. Good Cheer Nuggets	255
Perry, Walter Copeland. The Boy's Odyssey.....	634
Philosophy, Proceedings of the International Congress of.....	638
Prat, Louis. Le mystère de Platon, Aglaophamos.....	45
<i>Psychological Index, No. 8, The</i>	383
<i>Records of the Past</i>	445
Reinsch, Paul S. Colonial Government	572
Renouvier, Charles. Uchronie. 45.—The Dilemmas of Pure Metaphysics..	236
Rijnhardt, Susie Carson. With the Tibetans in Tent and Temple.....	109
Riley, I. Woodbridge. The Founder of Mormonism; A Psychological Study of Joseph Smith, Jr.....	576
Roberts, Peter. The Anthracite Coal Industry.....	128
Roberty, Eugène de. Nietzsche.....	638
Row, T. Sundara. Geometric Exercises in Paper-Folding.....	55
Schmidt, Heinrich. <i>A Struggle for the "Riddle of the Universe"</i>	192
Schoute, P. H. Multidimensional Geometry.....	510
<i>Searching for the Truth</i>	512
Seligman, Edwin R. A. The Economic Interpretation of History.....	768
Single Tax Colony, Establishment of	256
Smart, A. W. System of Kant.....	448
Smith, D. E., and W. W. Beman. Academic Algebra.....	510
Smith, Goldwin. Commonwealth or Empire.....	570
Smithsonian Institution, Annual Reports.....	124, 636
Steiner, Rudolf. Die Mystik.....	637
Strong, D. M. The Udâna, or the Solemn Utterances of the Buddha.....	444
Tatnell, Robert R., and Henry Crew. Laboratory Manual of Physics for Use in High Schools	510
<i>Temple Classics, The</i>	703
Thomas, Calvin. The Life and Works of Friedrich Schiller	507
Thomas, William Hannibal. The Negro Question: What He Was, What He Is, and What He May Become.....	64
Thorndike, Edward. The Human Nature Club.....	383
Tomlins, W. L. The Laurel Song Book for Advanced Classes in Schools, Academies, Choral Societies, etc.....	320
Triggs, Oscar Lovell. Chapters in the History of the Arts and Crafts Move- ment.....	511
Triplett, Norman. The Psychology of Conjuring Deceptions.....	446
Vanni, Icilio. Receipt of his pamphlet on the theory of knowledge acknowl- edged.....	384
Vidyabhusana, Satis Chandra. Kacchayana's <i>Pāli Grammar</i>	445

	PAGE
Walkley, Albert. Life of Theodore Parker	512
Ward, Josiah M. Come With Me to Babylon.....	768
Ward, Lester F. His report on sociology at Paris Exhibition of 1900 to appear in <i>Report of the Commissioner of Education</i>	384
Waterman, A. N. Note concerning "Taxation" articles	192
Watts, Charles. The Miracles of Christian Belief.....	382
Wheeler, Benjamin Ide. Dionysos and Immortality.....	122
Wollpert, Frederick. Correction of review of his work, <i>From Whence, What, and to What End?</i>	63
Wood, S. T. Primer of Political Economy	125
<i>World Almanac and Encyclopædia</i> for 1902.....	126
Young, J. W. A. The Teaching of Mathematics in the Higher Schools of Prussia	254
Zueblin, Charles. American Municipal Progress.....	767



Yours Cordially
John Henry Barron.

Frontispiece to The Open Court.

THE OPEN COURT

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

Devoted to the Science of Religion, the Religion of Science, and
the Extension of the Religious Parliament Idea.

VOL. XVI. (NO. I.)

JANUARY, 1902.

NO. 548

Copyright by The Open Court Publishing Co., 1901.

THE ORIGIN OF CHRISTIAN POETRY.

BY F. W. FITZPATRICK.

SIR Thomas Phillipp's splendid collection of early Christian writings, Ebert's researches in Christian literature, particularly his *Geschichte der christlich-lateinischen Literatur* and Boissier's indexes to Christian verse have made the task of tracing that poetry back to its origin an easy one.

Undoubtedly all the elements that went to make up Christian poetry were, so to speak, created in the first two centuries of the Church's life. That period was replete with the wonderful legends, the symbols, the passionate discussions, the beliefs, terrifying as well as pleasant, that have inspired all Christian poets even to our own times.

That formative period gave us this foundation with a sort of spontaneity; that skeleton, perfectly articulated, was given to us at once, but it took centuries to build up the form about it, the flesh, the sinews, and to give it life. It has always been so. The form and foundation, expression and thought, while inseparable in the finished article, are vastly different and seldom are both of the same period. Perfection is where the two are in perfect harmony, and our great literary epochs are those in which it has been possible to express the thoughts of the times in a style that was really appropriate thereto, and those epochs are few and far between.

It was quite natural that these new doctrines of Christianity gave rise to and were expressed in new forms also, however crude. Christianity absolutely broke away from ancient customs and beliefs and it was most natural that it should also seek to cut loose from the ancient arts, expressions, forms. Its literature must needs be original and absolutely without precedent, at least so thought the early Fathers.

The very first of Christian poets was Commodus, or "Commodianus Mendicus Christi," as he styled himself. His verses are built upon lines absolutely different from any of the known rules of versification that obtained in his time. His mode of thought even seems different from that of the other literati. His style is vigorous and his piety undoubted. He had many disciples in his life, preached a good deal, was a saintly bishop, but was soon forgotten after death.

It is a strange thing that the brilliant works of many masters of that time have been lost to posterity while the verses of this rather obscure follower of a new and despised sect should be preserved to us intact. Many were found and gathered together in the 17th century and they give us an intimate insight into the character of the man who wrote them and the beliefs of his time. One amusing thing about them was that 'spite of the humility he constantly preached, his verses are filled with allusions to himself and many of his acrostics are built upon his own name.

Our poet was born in Palestine, at Gaza. There is some question as to where he lived; some think he lived in the Orient, while others place him in Africa. Probability points to the latter place as his writings are in Latin and it is therefore more than likely that he inhabited a Roman dependance. Born a pagan he was converted by reading one of the letters of St. Paul. He preached charity to the poor and followed the pagans with a sharp stick. He converted by heroic means, picturing to his heathen auditors the terrors of hell-fire to which they surely would be condemned did they not repent and come into the true fold. It is a matter of record even, that he was sometimes not averse to using physical persuasion in directing possible candidates to the true faith. He was ironical, quick, somewhat lacking in delicacy, and preached and wrote to the people in their own language, the language of the street. His invectives and sarcasm anent pagan worship and gods were scathing and fierce. He was prone to holy anger, and the Jews, particularly the Jewish Christians, were his especial torments. He always spoke of them as "thick of hide and thick of skull."

His exhortations to women to forego their frivolous ways is most interesting and not without point even to-day. "You dress before mirrors," says he to them, "you curl your hair; you smear yourselves with cosmetics and you lay false colors upon your cheeks . . . believe me, all this is not necessary for an honest woman's adornment, and may lead to your burning in the eternal fires of hell hereafter." Perpetual fire was the club he swung over the heads of all, the last words of his arguments: "Beware, be-

ware," cries he, "or one day you will find yourself in the roaring furnace."

He deplores that in his time (250 A.D.) there were some people in the Church who lacked vigor, whose Christianity was weak-kneed and who winked at the pleasures of life—"gentlemen fearing to hurt the feelings of their people by presenting them with a too vigorous Christianity." He preached the cutting away from the affections of this life, he forbade his followers to weep over the death of their children, he exhorted them to make no plans [for their obsequies—"humble burial befits a humble Christian."

During his latter years there was a violent persecution of the Christians which gave him added opportunities to preach and write eternal fire upon the heads of the enemies of the Church. Whether really believing it or merely using it for a figure of speech we have no means of knowing, but he virtually rewrote the Apocalypse, and partly in verse, in which he clearly foretells of great upheavals and the coming of two antichrists soon after his time. He predicted the overthrow of Rome, the ravaging of the Orient by the old Belial of the Jews who, in turn, was to be overthrown by the "faithful nations" that God was preserving on the other side of the Euphrates, victorious people who would overthrow all opposition without loss to themselves and who would rule the world in great prosperity for a thousand years. He had facts to found his prophecy upon, for Rome was indeed sorely beset, on the North by the Goths, on the East by the Persians and within her portals factions were threatening an uprising. "*Luget in aeternum, quae se jactabat aeterna!*" was written as would be a cry of triumph.

Commodus had scant respect for any rules of versification. Accustomed as we are to the fine metre and quality of Virgil and Horace, the verses of Commodus are rustic indeed. They certainly make up in strength, however, what they lack in elegance. And yet he shows undoubted signs of being thoroughly conversant with the authorities of his and prior times. He speaks of the musical versification of the Greeks, and of the mistakes the Romans made in trying to copy their harmony of sound without paying due attention to the measure in their verses.

Commodus was a precursor of the poetry of the Middle Ages. Some great men are seemingly born ahead of their time and give us a taste and a glimpse at what is to be perfected long after them; Commodus, on the contrary, gave us an example of the decadence of the Middle Ages and worked hard to bring it about even in his

own time. Weak as it was, the society of the third century preserved memories of the arts and the letters of the past, so we may well imagine that Commodus' bucolic verses were not well received by his contemporaries.

His case proved that it was not possible to absolutely renounce ancient art. Christianity realised that it had to accommodate itself to it. St. Paul had warned the Christians to "remain each in the place where he was when God called him." And this precept did much to place Christianity upon a firm basis. Commodus' tactics were aggressive. The poets succeeding him were diplomatic. The old civilisation would have offered far greater resistance had Christianity proclaimed from every housetop that it was seeking to destroy that civilisation. It contented itself with urging that civilisation's reformation and jealously guarded every element therein that could be preserved. We find this illustrated in all the Christians did. Their churches, their paintings were adaptations, not revolutions, in art. What more natural than that it should adapt its literature along the lines of the times?

The world at that time fully apotheosised the "pleasures of the intellect." Greek refinement was all-prevailing. It was a time when rhetoricians and grammarians marched behind the legions and established themselves in most distant countries. No nation escaped the Hellenic influence in its civilisation. "The Jews themselves, when they left their little Palestine to traffic in Egypt and Syria, began reading Homer and Plato and were surprised to be pleased thereby." All the universe admired the same standard and tried to copy it. Christianity could not long withstand the subtle influence and resigned itself to tolerate this other power that it could not conquer; and, like it, it has withstood the ravages of revolutions and time and shares with it even to-day in the government of the human intellect.

Observe this Hellenic influence upon such writers as St. Clement for instance. His was the polished writing of the man of the times conveying great spiritual news in the florid language of his pagan masters.

Christianity and ancient literature !

Neither has been able to eliminate the other nor has there ever been a perfect union between them. At times the religious element has been ahead, witness the Middle Ages; other times there has been a revival of ancient classics as in the period of the Renaissance. And this conflict, we may say, has been the moral history of humanity that has been written during the past 1900 years. At all

times in the Church has there been an element seeking to overthrow all that came before, thinking it sacrilegious and blasphemous to use any of the ancient forms, or observances, or arts that were necessarily pagan and therefore sinful; and there have always been others who claimed it perfectly justifiable to modify and use these old forms, arts and mode of speech in expounding the great truths of Christianity, or in erecting its cathedrals or in writing its history. We have these two elements splendidly illustrated in the two earliest Christian writers in the West, Minucius Felix and Tertullian.

We know little of Minucius Felix. Although we have many of his writings, he, unlike the *humble* Commodus, has little to say about himself. We do know from others that he was a distinguished lawyer in Rome and lived toward the end of the Antonine period. His "Octavius" is his best known work. It is a short apology for the Christian religion, to which he had been converted somewhat late in life. An elegant discourse, though short, not a dialectic but rather a dainty drama full of interesting detail and written in the finished style of his day. Returning to Rome after a long absence he meets his friends Octavius and Caecilius and they go for a long walk on the pleasant banks of the Tiber. Octavius is also a Christian but his other friend is still a pagan. A discussion begins; or, rather, it is a pleasant intercourse of friends, not a debate of theologians.

Our author kept well in mind the audience he was addressing. He wished to please them. He did not quote the sacred writings; dogmas were merely touched upon as an aside. He sought to bring them to his views by the mildest persuasions rather than by the sterner convincing used by Commodus.

The words he put in Caecilius' mouth in defense of the ancient forms are plausible arguments, and you may recognise in them a line of thought indulged in by many of our friends to day. Caecilius was not a fanatic. With him there was less passion than prejudice, his reasoning was that of a man of the world, a politician rather than a devotee. "Why," argues he, "do people wish to disturb the ancient cult? It has existed for centuries, is accepted by the masses whose opinions are formed and habits well set." What was the use of disturbing all this, of stirring up questions of belief and changing one's mode of living when the old life was so pleasant? Why propound these weighty problems when it was so much pleasanter to live resting in peace? Of course, toward the end of the discussion he was won over. Octavius is made to clinch the

arguments by some unanswerable questions and poor Caecilius, at his wits' ends, has to acknowledge that he is conquered, "but he too claims a victory in having conquered and rectified his error." The book is more than entertaining, it is subtly convincing. The author seeks a common ground. He tries to show that even ancient philosophies were not incompatible with Christianity. Christianity, after all, is but these philosophies perfected. He developed little by little the ideas of a Providence, of a universal fraternity, the after-life, and the unity of a God, and one falls into his way of thinking naturally and easily.

He is clearly a pupil of the old school and he does honor to his masters. His phrasing is brilliant, his parts well balanced and his works "finished" to a high degree. Seneca is clearly one of his best liked authors and he imitates him in many ways.

Far different is Tertullian. There is nothing in common between them, excepting, possibly, their ardor and the sincerity of their faith. Both sought the advancement of the faith so dear to them, its triumph, but by radically different methods. The one, we might say, using a hypodermic syringe, the other with a sledge-hammer. The one counselled a sort of compromise with the pagans, the other looked upon all such weak methods as foolish and criminal.

St. Jerome was a great admirer of Tertullian and has preserved to us many of the latter's writings. Born in Carthage he frequented pagan schools until well along in young manhood. Brought up in such an atmosphere his religious ardor is all the more surprising. For we know that the young men in Africa, or rather, the young men of the better class, were indeed dilettanti. They spent most of their time in the theatres, at the pantomime or in listening to famed rhetoricians "who said nothing but said it elegantly." His conversion caused some commotion, for he was a man of importance. Son of a consulary centurion, a Roman of high degree, he abandoned his toga to wear the simpler pallium, or Greek mantle, much affected by the early Christians and the severer philosophers. When his friends berated him for his change of costume, his abandoning of the dress of a Roman gentleman (dress then, as now, was an important factor in the life of men) he reminded them that Epicurus and Zeno had led the same mode of life as he. You see, his Christianity was then but in a formative state. He quoted not his Master but referred them to men they knew of. A few years later he indulged in no such trimming of his sails. He tells us himself that he never passed a temple or altar to a pagan god but

that he mounted its steps and proclaimed, and loudly, the new faith. It was no longer a question with him how Epicurus or Zeno might have dressed. He wore his humble garb and lived his simple life in imitation of the Saviour. He tells us that his discourses did not "tickle the ears nor arouse the curiosity of his auditors, that is the business of orators and charlatans. I show my listeners their faults and teach them how they should live." And yet his style has a certain elegance and must have aroused the curiosity of his auditors. It is full of piquant anecdotes, epigrams and philosophical surprises.

He abominated idolatry and yet he argued that a Christian could attend to his civic duties without sin, and these duties were largely mixed with idolatrous practices. He tells us that if these duties lead them to where there may be a sacrifice to the pagan gods, they are there to attend to these duties and not to the sacrifice and that they should not get up and leave when the sacrifice begins, but to spare the feelings of their pagan friends who may also be there. He kept away from the theatres and counseled his followers to do so also and yet he admits that it is a great trial because the spectacles are certainly fascinating. He seems to understand the weakness of the flesh and if he lays aside his sledgehammer once in a while we must not blame him. There was a finer line of thought in his composition that prompts us to understand that it was not vacillation on his part so much as sincere appreciation of the difficulties in introducing a new faith to a people prejudiced by generations upon generations who believed and followed the forms of old. We must admit, however, that there are some rather glaring inconsistencies in his works for which there can hardly be even the excuse of political license. For instance, he admires the family, while a page or two farther on he deplors that there have to be children and strenuously advocates celibacy. He advises that his followers attend to their civic duties, and yet he makes it clear that they cannot be magistrates without sin, they cannot teach school and in fact there is nothing that they *can* do. He tells us that he does not write for the literati and the erudite, "to them who come to vomit up in public the undigested remains of an alleged science acquired under the porticos and in the academies." He labors rather, "to convince the simple, the ignorant, who have learned nothing but that which is known in the streets and in the shops."

These two currents we have glanced at, finally had to come together. Reconciliation between the old and the new was absolutely

essential. As long as it was believed that the end of time was near and that the reign of Christ was soon to begin there was no reason for providing for the future ; but, when it was felt that things were to endure and there seemed to be no immediate prospect of the world's dissolution, living became a problem, and it was clearly evident that strength could only be gained by concessions and compromises. It was toward the end of the third century that this work of joining the new with the old began. It became necessary for the advancement of Christianity that not only the poor and the lowly be attracted toward it but that the nobles, the governing class, be brought into line, and for them Christianity had to be clothed with a garb of elegance and refinement which could only be done by using the elegant apparel then at hand ; nothing new in the arts and letters had been devised. Tertullian had said that no Cæsar could be a Christian ; soon after his time every effort of the Church was in that very direction and history shows us with what success.

In architecture, painting and sculpture this borrowing of pagan forms was fallen into very readily, in fact the Christian artists knew no other forms. To-day in the catacombs, in the sculptured reliefs and in the crude paintings of the early Christian artists is that influence evident to the extent even that it is difficult indeed sometimes to distinguish between a Christ and a Jupiter or Orpheus.

So with letters. Even the school of the good Tertullian soon abandoned the severity of that master. St. Cyprian who glorifies himself in being his pupil shows us none of his master's severity ; he aims rather at elegance of diction, he imitates Seneca and Cicero and gives us verses artistic almost as those of Minucius. And Cyprian's successors go farther still. They are veritable professors of rhetoric and clothe their Christian ideas in all the glory of pagan verse. Poetry more and more became the channel through which the fathers steered through the "brook of belief" and more and more was that poetry in metre and in rhyme, in measure and in time borrowed, aye, bodily taken from the pagan literature of the period. In fact we are given entire poems from this literature with but a transposition of the names of the gods. Some Christian authors, in fact, but took the celebrated works of the ancients and explained how these undoubtedly but described Christian beliefs in metaphor and parable ; the Phoenix of old is but the Church to them ; the dragons but devils in the ancient form ; Jupiter but a poetic suggestion of the Father !

This is particularly noticeable at the time when Christianity

mounted even to the throne of the Cæsars. Prose and verse of that period seem hardly Christian enough to suit some of us. There is too much of Cicero in Lactantius, too much of Virgil in Juvenius, but this was soon corrected. It was the age of the great Theodosius that found a happy medium. Some claim that Christian poetry dates but from that time. It only remained for the poets of that age to perfectly blend Christian belief with classic expression, to cover with beautiful flesh the already articulated skeleton we have been glancing at, and from that happy combination of reformed thought and pagan elegance has sprung not only Christian poetry but modern society.

Since St. Justin considered that Socrates was a sort of Christian before Christ, are we not justified in saying that Seneca, that Cicero and that Virgil were indeed prophets? For, certainly, through their unwitting agency has Christianity been preserved to us in its most beautiful form.

THE TRUTH ABOUT THE JESUITS.

BY HENRI DE LADEVÈZE.

FROM the first moment of their existence down to the present time, the Jesuits have had the privilege—or the misfortune—of being, in a greater or less degree, the subject of the constant preoccupation of public opinion. They are, nevertheless, very little and very incorrectly known, and I wish, in this article, to show them in their true light. Were they the lowest of men, they are yet entitled to a fair hearing. Is it not lamentable that in this age of criticism, at a time when so much is said about justice,—but at a time, alas! when justice is more applauded than practised—the Jesuits should still be represented as the black demons of fantastic legends, and that no accusation, however absurd and whatever its origin, has need of proof from the mere fact that it is levelled against them?

There are, however, upright and independent thinkers, who exercise the right of private judgment, who are not influenced by the common-places that sway the vulgar mind. It is to them that I address myself; they will read these lines, as I have penned them, without prejudice.

One cannot expect that, in so narrow a compass, I should relate, however briefly, the history of the Society of Jesus. My only aim is, as I have already stated, to show the Jesuits as they really are. I shall therefore lay before my readers only the most characteristic features of their organisation and of their manner of life. I shall then rapidly examine the principal charges that have been brought against them.

I.

The Society of Jesus, founded August 15, 1534, in Paris, by Ignatius Loyola and six of his companions, was canonically instituted September 27, 1540, by the Bull of Pope Paul III., *Regimini*

militantis ecclesia. It comprises, as do all religious orders, two kinds of members: Fathers and Lay Brothers. The Fathers are either priests or destined to become so; but they do not definitely belong to the Society until after they have gone through a very severe and long term of probation of which the stages are as follows:

After a novitiate of two years, they take the three "simple" vows¹ of poverty, chastity, and obedience, and receive the title of "approved scholastic." In this capacity they apply themselves, at their superiors' pleasure, either to teaching or to the study of theology, philosophy, literature, or science until, having passed ten years in the Society and having attained the age of thirty at least, they are elevated to the rank of "spiritual coadjutor." From that moment they are eligible for all the posts of the Institute, with one or two exceptions of which I shall speak further on. They are employed, according to their capacity, in teaching, preaching, or in various ecclesiastical ministries, in the mission field, etc.

Ultimately, after they have been tested during a further term of several years, one of the three following decisions is come to with respect to them:

1. Either they are allowed to make their solemn profession, which includes the vow of obedience to the Pope, peculiar to the Society of Jesus,² and thus become professed Jesuits; they then belong irrevocably to the Order; they are, in short, really Jesuits and can occupy the posts that were closed to them hitherto.

2. Or, if they are found wanting in any of the necessary qualifications, they are retained with the title of "Jesuit of the three vows," which confers no further prerogatives.

3. Or they are expelled from the Institute.

The Lay-Brothers, who are much less numerous, take their vows after ten years' trial, if they are thirty years old at least. They are called "temporal brothers" and are employed as porters, cooks, sacristans, etc. It is needless to add that their influence in the affairs of the Institute is nil, and that, whenever Jesuits are spoken of, it is to the Fathers, and to them alone, that allusion is made.

¹The chief, but not sole, difference between simple and solemn vows is that the former are binding for a time only, and the latter forever.

²According to the book *Constitutions and Declarations of the Society of Jesus*, composed by St. Ignatius himself, the exact import of this vow is as follows: . . . "Professed Jesuits make a special vow to the Sovereign Pontiff, which is that they will set out, without pleading any excuse, without asking aught for travelling expenses, and that they will go to any country whatever in the behalf of all that concerns the good of Religion." (Ch. i § 1.)

The Society of Jesus has really but one head, the General, who, before the suppression of the temporal power of the Pope, resided at the Gesu in Rome. He must be a professed Jesuit of the four vows, and it is the professed Jesuits of the four vows only who take part in his election, which is by secret ballot. He has four "assistants" to help him, and an "admonisher," elected in the same way as himself, to keep him in, or, if need be, to bring him back to the right path. The electors of the General have the right of deposing him if he is guilty of a serious fault; in urgent cases the assistants have this right, but they must, however, ask the consent of the professed Jesuits by correspondence before exercising it. Thus, although in theory the General is elected *ad vitam*, he retains his post so long only as he shows himself constantly worthy of occupying the same, and so long only as he exercises his authority within the limits of the Rules and Constitutions.

It will, however, be readily understood that, although the General assigns to each member of the Order his work and residence, he, nevertheless, cannot effectively supervise *in person* all the multifarious and diverse details of the government of communities scattered over the face of the globe. He therefore delegates, usually for the term of three years, a part of his authority, in each community, to some member of the Society, professed Jesuit or no, who thus becomes, for the time being, the superior of his brother members. Furthermore, the various establishments of the same district form a Province, which is more or less extensive in proportion to the number of institutions it contains, having at its head another delegate, always chosen exclusively from among the professed Jesuits, who bears the title of Provincial.

As may be judged from this too succinct but accurate sketch, the Society of Jesus is founded upon very wise and very liberal principles: very wise, for there is but one authority, and I need not dwell on the advantages accruing from this fact; very liberal, since this authority emanates from the free choice of those who recognise it, and is never in danger of degenerating into tyranny, because it too is subject to the Rule whose observance by all it is its special mission to secure.¹

What then is this Rule which has provoked so much discussion? It is the same, in the main, as St. Benedict's, which has

¹ Once in three years there is in every Province a congregation called *Provinciale*. The deputies, as soon as they arrive in Rome, decide by secret ballot, in the absence of the General, and before commencing their deliberations, whether there be occasion or no for calling together the General Congregation, to which body appertains the task of examining the conduct and administration of the head of the Order.

been adopted, with the modifications necessitated by the special object of each, by all religious Orders since the sixth century. It is the same, consequently, in principle, as St. Basil's, and those which the cenobites of the Egyptian and Syrian deserts followed under the leadership of such men as St. Anthony and St. Pacome, etc.¹ For example, a Jesuit possesses nothing. Now what says St. Benedict? "*Ne quis præsumat aliquid habere proprium, nullam omnino rem*:" "Let no monk presume to possess anything whatever."² Again, the Jesuits must obey their superiors; and has enough been said about this obedience? has indignation enough been poured out in torrents over the famous . . . "*perinde ac cadaver*" ? Now, leaving on one side military obedience, which is much more absolute, much less enlightened, and, above all, much less voluntary, note how St. Benedict, ten centuries before the Society of Jesus was founded, required his disciples to obey: "*Nullus in monasterio*," he writes, "*proprii sequatur cordis voluntatem*": "Let no one in the monastery do his heart's will."³ "*Mox ut aliquid imperatum a majore fuerit, ac si divinitus imperetur, moram pati nesciunt in faciendo*": "As soon as an order has been given them by their superior, monks look upon it as given by God and know not what it is to delay its execution an instant."⁴ "*Non suo arbitrio viventes, vel desideriis suis et voluptatibus obedientes, sed ambulantes alieno iudicio et imperio*": "Monks do not live as they like, they follow neither their desires nor their inclinations, but they let themselves be led by the judgment of others."⁵

It would be easy to multiply quotations. I will give but one more to show that, if St. Ignatius is the author of "*perinde ac cadaver*," the formula only is his but not the idea. Let my readers judge for themselves. ". . . *Quippe quibus nec corpora sua nec voluntates licet habere in propria potestate*": "Not only have the monks no right to have their own wills in their possession, they have no right to possess even their bodies."⁶

It is true that the Patriarch of the monks of the Occident, as he has been called, seems, in one article of his Code, to have become less rigorous: he allows the monk, who has been ordered to do something that is *impossible* for him to accomplish, to humbly explain to his superior the reasons which prevent his obeying; but he must, nevertheless, finally submit, if he who gave the command maintains the same. Now note what St. Ignatius says in a similar case: "If it should happen that you are of a different opin-

¹ *Regula S. P. Benedicti*, Cap. 73.

⁴ *Id.* cap. 5.

² *Id.* cap. 33.

⁵ *Id.* *id.*

³ *Id.* cap. 3.

⁶ *Id.* cap. 33.

ion to your superiors, and if, after having humbly consulted the Lord, you deem well to lay your remonstrances before them, this is not forbidden."¹ The two legislators are thus animated entirely by the same spirit, and this spirit is, after all, less inflexible than it is wilfully misrepresented to be. In the army, for instance, to which I have already alluded, can one imagine a soldier, an officer, remonstrating with his chiefs on the subject of a given command? And yet military obedience has had none but vigorous apologists, obedience in religious Orders other than the Society of Jesus has had but rare and indulgent critics, whilst the obedience of the Jesuits has ever been the butt for attacks as numerous as . . . my readers would not allow me to say impartial.

The same is true of the supervision that the Jesuits practice,—wrongly, in my opinion, but I am not competent to judge—amongst themselves: this mutual supervision, in respect to which I am constrained to apply to myself the passage of St. Paul: "The natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God," is recommended by all masters of the spiritual life, and has, as its object, the perfecting of the members of the community. The Jesuits have been loaded with reproaches for allowing it, as if they were the only ones to practice it, whereas it exists in all religious bodies, even in the mendicant orders, which least resemble St. Benedict's, whence, as I have already shown, the principal prescriptions of St. Ignatius are derived. Thus we read in chap. 13 of the *Constitutions of the Preaching Friars*, founded by St. Dominic: "Each one must report to the Superior what he has seen, for fear that vices be concealed from him." And in chap. 17 of the *Constitution of the Friars Minor*, founded by St. Francis of Assisi: "Let none of us profess or believe that he is not obliged to denounce his brother's faults to the superior who must apply the remedy; for according to the sentiments of St. Bonaventura, of the Masters of the Order, and of all the General Chapters, it is decided that such an opinion is *pestilential and inimical to the Order and to regular discipline*."²

¹ Here is an official document which may serve as commentary on this text. It is an extract from a declaration signed by Father Etienne de la Croix, Provincial, and one hundred and sixteen Fathers of the Society of Jesus, which declaration was presented December 19, 1761, to the General Assembly of the Clergy of France.

"If it should come to pass, which God forbid, that our General should lay commands upon us contrary to this present declaration, we should, persuaded as we are that we could not obey without sin, consider those orders as illegitimate and null and as being such, even, that we neither should nor could obey, in virtue of the very rule of obedience to the General prescribed by our Constitution."

² The malady would appear to be contagious, for it has even broken out in the convents of the Church of England. See *Nunnery Life in the Church of England*, by Sister Mary Agnes, p. 110.

But we can go a step farther. This supervision, which is and always has been practised, I repeat (taking advantage of the opportunity of deploring it once again), in all religious Institutions without exception, presents this particularity in the Society of Jesus, that instead of being imposed by force, as it were, upon its members, as one of the rules to which they must either submit or take their departure, it is proposed to them in the suavest manner possible: "The postulant shall be asked whether, for his greater spiritual good, and above all for his more complete submission and humiliation, it would please him that his faults, his imperfections, and all that may have been noticed in him, should be made known to his superiors by whomsoever should have become aware thereof *apart from confession*."¹ The cup is still bitter, but its rim has been coated with honey: "*Eadem, sed non eodem modo*."

To resume, for my space is too limited to allow of further development such as my subject deserves, the Jesuits observe a rule of the greatest severity. Without having the picturesque costume,² without practising the extreme outward mortifications of monastic Orders properly so called, the Jesuits apply themselves, more perhaps than all others, to inward mortification; and it is difficult to understand the state of mind of a man who, having all the requisites of earthly happiness, knocks at the door of their novitiate. And yet youths, magistrates, priests, officers, noblemen, all classes of society, but especially the upper classes, furnish them with recruits, and, in Catholic countries especially, very few names that are to be found in the book of the Peerage, but are inscribed in theirs. How then is one to explain the accusations that are brought with such unrelenting animosity against Religious who, if they are guilty, have certainly not yielded to personal motives in becoming so? For what could the motive be? Pecuniary advantage? But the greater number of the Jesuits belongs to rich families and had to renounce their fortune to enter the Society. Ambition? But most of the Jesuits occupied enviable positions in the world, some having found them in their emblazoned cradles, others having won them by personal work and merit. Besides, the Order founded by St. Ignatius, which differs from others in so many ways, differs also in this that its members cannot accept any dignity either civil or ecclesiastical; they cannot become either Cardinals, Bishops, or even simple Canons,—unless the Pope forces them so

¹ *Examination of the Constitutions.*

² The Fathers are dressed like the secular clergy; the brothers' costume resembles that of the clergymen of the Church of England.

to do on pain of committing mortal sin. The words that Dante saw written in black letters over the gate of hell: "*Lasciate ogni speranza, voi ch'entrate*," would not be out of place on the doors of the houses of the Society of Jesus as applied to ambition.

Will some suggest that, whilst personally free from ambition, the Jesuits are yet ambitious for their Order, and that the evil they commit is done from obedience to insure its prosperity?

Let us argue the question. "I fail to see," said Renan, "why a Papua should be immortal." Let us not be as cruel towards the Jesuits as was the amiable sceptic towards the unfortunate Papuas, and let us allow them to believe that they have a soul; for it is precisely because they believe they have one that they enter the Society of Jesus, in order to work out its salvation more efficaciously. How can we admit after this that, having left the world and having made the greatest sacrifices in order to lead a life less exposed to sin, they should eventually fall so low as to obey a command to sin?

It is true that they consider obedience as a virtue, as the chief virtue of their condition; can it be then out of virtue that they become sinners? So strange a phenomenon might perforce be possible in the case of ignorant persons of uncultured minds; but what enemy of the Jesuits, however bitter, would ever venture to utter the words "uncultured" and "ignorant" in reference to them? "Speak for yourself," one and all would exclaim: "*Mutato nomine, de te fabula narratur*."

Will some suggest that when they became Religious they were not well acquainted with the Institute? I grant it. But if they do not know it when they first don the costume, they must assuredly know it, and know it well, when they take their vows. Nowhere else are so many precautions taken to dissipate illusions and to extinguish superficial ardor. No other body studies its subjects so completely, nor for so long a time, before admitting them; in no other body have the future members so many means of weighing, during so long a period, not in theory only but in practice, the advantages and disadvantages of the engagement they aspire to enter into. One must suppose then that, by a miracle of dissimulation, the Society does not reveal itself in its true character save to the professed Jesuits of the four vows: in that case the reproaches addressed to Jesuits in general would fall upon the former only who would thus become the scapegoats of the flock. But hold! "*Nemo repente fuit turpissimus*." Is it to be assumed that men, who had been pure and upright till then, would not be re-

volted by suddenly discovering, to their profound stupefaction, that during fifteen years at least—*grande mortalis ævi spatium*—as Tacitus says, they had been odiously duped? that they would not quit with horror the hypocritical Society they had believed to be holy?

I will not press this point further or I should appear to be calling the common-sense of my readers in question.¹

II.

Let us now turn from these general considerations to the examination of the grievances alleged against the Jesuits. But we are stopped at the outset. We perceive at once that these grievances resemble the mythological Proteus; they assume every variety of form and thus elude our grasp. A typical specimen of the greater number of them may be found in the following anecdote, related by a writer who cannot be accused of professing an exaggerated fondness for the Jesuits. "The degree to which he (F. V. Raspail) was haunted by the supervision which he imagined the Society of Jesus to exercise over him was no less marked. When I went to pay him a visit at his property at Arcueil-Cachan, he took me into his garden and, showing me a magnificent pear-tree, said: 'It used to bear superb pears. Unfortunately the Jesuits came and watered it with vitriol. It is dead now.'

"However mistrustful one may be of the holders of the sword whose hilt is in Rome and whose point is everywhere, it is difficult to admit that they broke into Raspail's garden and, armed with a watering-can full of vitriol, committed the depredation he mentioned to me as being undeniable." (*Les aventures de ma vie*, by Henri Rochefort, tom. 2, ch. 8, p. 124.²)

On the other hand, can one be surprised at the vague, as well as odious, nature of the accusations brought against the Society of Jesus, when one knows their origin?

¹ Sainte Beuve puts the following words into the mouth of Royer-Collard: "I have seen his pamphlet (*De l'Existence et de l'Institut des Jésuites*, by Father de Ravignan). It is good, but I said as I finished it: 'This is a man who believes himself to be a Jesuit! he has the candor to think himself one; it is true that, were one to show him what Jesuits are, he would not believe it. Such men have their place in the Order, but that proves nothing save for them individually.' " (*Port-Royal*, ch. X.) Thus Father de Ravignan, who, after having occupied one of the most elevated posts in the magistracy of France, had become Jesuit, did not know his Order when, having been a professed Jesuit of the four vows for a long period, he was one of its dignitaries and wrote his book! Then . . . what? Is it possible to argue under such conditions? I see indeed the accused, but where are the guilty?

² The following remarks by Liebknecht, which appeared in the *Fackel* of Vienna, may be quoted in this connexion: "As to the Jesuits, I can say nothing; for in spite of the most laborious inquiries and reflexions, I have not been able to discover what the Jesuits had to do with the 'Affair,' nor what profit could accrue to them from the condemnation of an innocent person."

In 1630, an all-too-famous scholar, who lived and died despised by all parties, Scioppius by name, presented a petition to the Diet of Ratisbon, in which he asked that, in consideration of his services to the Holy Empire, he might be paid every year, as an emolument or otherwise, a sum sufficiently large to assure him an existence free from care. He had the effrontery to recommend this petition to those Fathers who, owing to their positions, could have helped him more efficaciously than any others, namely the confessors of the Emperor and of the Electors. The Diet was drawing to its close, and Scioppius, hearing nothing of his petition, understood the meaning of this silence. The mortification he felt at this rebuff, and his conviction that he owed it to the Jesuits, filled him with fury. Then it was that he wrote that enormous quantity of defamatory libels against the Fathers, which are sufficiently numerous to compose a library by themselves, and in which he attacks, not only their tuition, but also their Institute, their doctrine, their science, and their morals.

It is in this formidable arsenal that those who in all tongues and in all lands combat the Jesuits seek their weapons: "*Il n'y a rien de plus, rien de moins.*"¹

There is, however, one accusation which, on account of the genius, the piety, and the gravity of him who echoed it, thinking the while perhaps that he was its author, merits being examined apart, all the more so from the fact that, differing widely from the rest, it is clearly formulated and is based on documents. I allude to Pascal's attacks upon the moral theories of the Jesuits in his *Provinciales*. Now, leaving out of account the literary qualities—which have nothing to do with the matter in hand, and which, I may say in passing, would have been much less extolled had Pascal been attacking other adversaries, such as the Capuchins, for instance, or the Carmelites—what is there, really, in this immortal *chef-d'œuvre*?

The condemnation of Casuistry.

"Casuistry," as, not a member of the Society of Jesus, but a member of the French Academy, M. F. Brunetière, excellently defines it, "is the profound investigation and codification of the motives that must regulate conduct in those numerous and difficult cases in which duty finds itself in conflict, not with self-interest in the very least, but with duty itself." And he adds: "Those only can contest its necessity who, by a special gift of moral insensibil-

¹Ch. Nisard, *Les Gladiateurs de la République des Lettres*. See also Bayle, *Dictionnaire Hist. et Crit.* Art. Scioppius.

ity peculiar to themselves, have never lacked confidence in themselves and have never felt in the school of experience that life in this world is sometimes a very complicated affair."¹

Another writer, a celebrated mathematician, the late M. J. Bertrand, who was also no Jesuit, but was another member of the French Academy, and Secrétaire perpétuel de l'Académie des Sciences, does not fear to affirm that "those who fight against Casuistry declare war against confession."²

Pascal had certainly no intention of declaring war against confession, for he practised it; but he declared it against Casuistry, though he practised it too—and not the best sort—as when, for instance, he affirmed that he was neither an "inhabitant nor secretary of Port-Royal;"³ and when he insidiously urged Louis XIV. to persecute the Jesuits;⁴ when he, in fine, in all his letters, attributed to the casuists of the Society of Jesus only, the theses against which he protested, the greater number of which, if not all, date from before the foundation of the Society. Thus, for example, the famous proposition concerning duels, in reference to which Pascal tried, as I have just said, to bring down upon his adversaries the king's displeasure, has for its author, unless indeed it be of still more ancient origin, not a Jesuit but a Dominican, a canonised saint, the great theologian who has been called the "Angel of the School": St. Thomas Aquinas (b. 1227, d. 1274) who enounces it in these terms: "It is lawful to kill a man to save one's honor, and a gentleman ought rather to kill than take to flight, or receive a blow from a stick." The same saint teaches that a "courtezán does nothing wrong in receiving money for her hire, since by human law her profession is allowed." Urbain V., Pope from 1362 to 1370, declares that he, who out of zeal for Holy Mother Church kills an excommunicated person, is no murderer. St. Augustin considers that "the action of Abraham appears at first sight to be that of a husband who delivers up his wife to crime; but it appears so to those only who know not how to distinguish, by the light of faith, good actions from sin." The prophet Elisha (2 Kings v. 17-19) authorises Naaman to perform an act analogous to one that Pascal, in his fifth Provinciale, qualifies as idolatrous. Protestant Milton in his *Defensio pro Populo Anglicano* extols regicide repeatedly, and is commended by Macaulay for so doing. One could go on *ad infinitum* quoting those who are guilty of having ex-

¹ *Histoire et Littérature*. Tom. I., pp. 189-190.

² *Pascal, les Provinciales*, by Joseph Bertrand.

³ *Provinciales*, letter to Father Annat, Jan. 15, 1657.

⁴ *Id.*, fourteenth letter.

pressed opinions against which Pascal has thundered. But to confine our attention to catholics, to theologians, to casuists, why did the rigid Jansenist use terms which convey the impression that the Society of Jesus was the only order implicated? He could not help knowing that this was not the case.

Pascal after all discovered nothing new. Those very propositions, upon which he exercises his talent with so much animation, and a great number of other *ejusdem farinae*, had been carefully collected by the celebrated pastor Du Moulin who, using them to assail Confession, had succeeded in showing triumphantly, and it added to the strength of his position, that the greater part of them were neither recent nor ascribable to any one category of doctors, but that they were, so to speak, traditional and upheld by monks of all frocks and colors, and that once Confession was granted they followed as a corollary.

The same may be said about Probabilism¹ which is inseparable from Casuistry. To judge from what Pascal says, one would think that the Jesuits created it. But that is an error and an impossibility. It is an error, for Probabilism existed long before the establishment of the Society of Jesus. It is an impossibility, for Ignatius Loyola in Chap. IV. of his *Constitutions and Declarations* writes as follows: "Let no one emit a doctrine contrary either to the current opinions of the Schools or to the sentiments of the most authorised doctors, but let each accept those opinions on every subject which are most generally held." In virtue of the very obedience with which they are reproached, the Jesuits could only be Probabilists from the fact that the most celebrated casuists taught Probabilism. I may add that they were not all Probabilists, for Probabilism is simply a system, as I have already stated, and as such is not comprised in the articles of faith. It is one of their number, Father Comitolo who, to refute the system, composed a treatise to which Pascal deigned to render tacit homage by appropriating its arguments: *Habent sua fata libelli!*

In any case, Pascal hurled his anathemas against Probabilism in vain; Rome did not imitate him; on the contrary she pronounced the beatification of a Franciscan monk, Father Théophile de Corte, and canonised Bishop Alphonse de Liguori² and, what is more,

¹System according to which "an opinion is termed probable when it is founded upon reasons of some importance. Whence it sometimes occurs that a single doctor, of great gravity, can render an opinion probable." *Provinciales*, fifth letter.

²According to the solemn declaration of the Church: "St. Alph. de Liguori is one of those men, remarkable by their piety and doctrine, filled with the spirit of intelligence, whom our Lord Jesus Christ raises up when the interests of his immaculate Bride (the Church) demand it."

conferred on him the title of Doctor of the Church. Neither of them were Jesuits but they both, nevertheless, taught this doctrine which is still in vogue at the present time. I do not deny to Pascal the right of condemning it, but why expect the Jesuits to be more Catholic than the Pope? "We must be tolerant towards everybody," wrote F. Sarcy some thirty years ago," even towards the Jesuits."

It is true that the point was not to be tolerant nor to "be truthful, the point was to divert the public."¹ And Voltaire is not the only one who thinks thus. Writers of every communion and free-thinkers even have expressed the same opinion. In order not to multiply quotations of which I have madé, and must still make, such frequent usage, I will give the judgment of two Protestants only on the *Provinciales*.

"It is a party book, wherein prejudice dishonestly attributes to the Jesuits suspected opinions they had long since condemned and which puts down to the account of the whole Society certain extravagances of a few Flemish and Spanish Fathers."²

"Pascal," says Vinet, "performs the functions of a prosecutor, not of a judge; the *Provinciales* are not a summing up but a charge . . . the art of interpretation, of the direction of motive, and of mental reservations has been practised in all ages by the most ignorant of mortals; if the word Jesuit had the meaning the Jansenists would have liked to give it, and which it has received by pretty general use, we must say that the human heart is naturally Jesuitical."

III.

Granting all that precedes, some may say, the fact still remains that, whether justly or unjustly disparaged by Pascal, the Jesuits were expelled a century later from all Catholic States, and that the suppression of the order was decreed by their natural protector, a Pope, Clement XIV. Would such measures have been taken against innocent people?

In one of his remarkable works³ Tolstoi complains with a little bitterness and much humor that one of his English critics excuses himself from proving his assertions on the plea of lack of space. I too, alas! have already had to bemoan my want of space, and, I regret it now more than ever, I have not sufficient wherein to tell a story which, with the necessary details, would fill a good-sized

¹ Voltaire, *Siècle de Louis XIV.*, ch. 37.

² Schœll, *History of the States of Europe*.

³ *The Kingdom of Heaven is Within You*.

volume. My readers will therefore pardon me, I hope, if I call their attention to the most striking points only; and should my proofs seem incomplete, they will be good enough at least not to accuse me of having shrunk from facing the question.

The Jesuits who, according to the times and to prevalent opinions, are accused at one moment of being the enemies of the people, at another of being the enemies of the king, were expelled in the eighteenth century from all States governed by Princes of the House of Bourbon. It is well known how little the unfortunate Princes gained from this measure; it could not be otherwise, since it was suggested to them by the very persons who were urging them on to their destruction, whose perfidious counsels they followed with such inconceivable *naïveté*.

"In all courts in the eighteenth century," says a Protestant, Leopold Ranke,¹ "two parties formed; one made war upon the Papacy, the Church, and the State, whilst the other sought to maintain the existing order of things and to preserve the prerogative of the Universal Church. *This latter party was especially represented by the Jesuits.* This Order appeared as the most formidable bulwark of Catholic principles: *it was against it that the storm was immediately directed.*"

And Sismondi, another Protestant, declares that "the concert of accusations, and more often of calumnies, which we find in the writings of the period against the Jesuits, is something appalling."²

It was through one of these calumnious accusations that the persecution broke out, in Portugal first. Joseph I. was jealous of his brother's talents. Pombal, taking advantage of the monarch's foible, accused the too talented prince of aspiring to the throne and the Jesuits of helping him. Neither this accusation, nor any of the others with which he substantiated it, in order to attain his end, were ever proved. The Jesuits were sacrificed, but is the mere word of a Pombal sufficient to prove they were guilty?

"What would become of history," exclaims Schoell, "what would become of justice, if upon the bare assurance of a Minister of State, *destitute of proofs*, it were permissible to attack the reputation of a man or of a corporation?"³

In France the persecution of the Jesuits was due to a still more despicable cause, as d'Alembert himself admits. "At the end of March, 1762," writes this bitter enemy of the Jesuits, "the sad news of the taking of the Martinique was received; this conquest,

¹*History of the Papacy.*

²*History of the French*, tom. 29.

³*History of the States of Europe*, tom. 39.

so important to the English, deprived our commerce of several millions. The foresight of the Government wished to anticipate the complaints that so great a loss would be certain to cause amongst the public. In order to create a diversion, they devised the plan of providing the French with another topic of conversation, just as Alcibiades devised his plan of cutting off his dog's tail in order to prevent the Athenians from speaking about more serious matters. The principal of the College of the Jesuits was therefore informed, that no other course lay open to him than that of obeying the Parliament."¹

But the Parliament professed to seek the hurt of the Jesuits for the good of religion. Would my readers like to know how the most competent representatives of religion received such a pretension?

On May 23, 1762, the Archbishop of Narbonne, La Roche-Aymon, appeared before the King at Versailles and delivered him a letter drawn up and signed by the Members of the Assembly of the Clergy of France. We read the following passages in this missive:

"All speaks to you, Sire, in favor of the Jesuits. Religion commends to you her defenders; the Church her ministers; Christian souls, the depositaries of the secrets of their consciences: a great number of your subjects, the worthy masters who educated them; all the youth of your realm, those who are to store their hearts and minds. Do not reject, Sire, so many united entreaties; do not suffer that, in your Kingdom, an entire Society, which has not deserved it, be destroyed contrary to all laws of justice, to all laws of the Church and to civil rights. The interest of your authority demands this, and we profess to be as jealous of its rights as of our own."²

This is not all. When, thanks to the inertia of Louis XV., whose device was, "*Après moi, le déluge*," Parliament, urged on by Choiseul, was about to gain the battle, a voice, of greater authority than that of the French Episcopacy, made itself heard. In answer to the prayer of the Bishops of the whole world, Pope Clement XIII. issued the Bull *Apostolicum*, wherein he expresses himself thus: "We reject the gross insult which has been offered to the Church and at the same time to the Holy See. We declare, of our own accord, and of our certain knowledge, that *the Society of Jesus breathes out piety and holiness to the highest degree*, although one may meet with men who, after having disfigured it by malicious interpretations, have not feared to qualify it as irreligious and impious,

¹ *Destruction des Jésuites.*

² *Procès-Verbal des Assemblées du Clergé de France*, tom. 8. 2. partie, pièces justificatives, No. 4, p. 379.

thus insulting the Church of God in the most outrageous manner, accusing her of having erred so far as to have judged and solemnly pronounced pious and agreeable to Heaven that which in itself was irreligious and impious."

But this solemn protestation was destined to remain without effect. The Jesuits were doomed, and it was now Catholic Spain's turn to smite them. She made herself conspicuous in this execution which the very pious King Charles III. carried into effect with a cruelty that a Nero or a Domitian might have envied. As to the causes to which the destruction of the Society of Jesus was due in Spain, *no one has ever known them.*¹

"Some one had convinced Charles III. of Spain," says Ranke, "that the Jesuits had conceived the plan of placing his brother Don Louis on the throne."²

Schoell,³ Adam,⁴ Coxe,⁵ etc., think that the King was shown a letter, fabricated by the Duke of Choiseul and attributed to the General of the Jesuits, Father Ricci, in which the latter said he had succeeded in finding documents which contained the undeniable proof that Charles III. was not a legitimate son.

Whatever may be the truth about these hypotheses, the Pope himself having asked the King of Spain to make known at least to him the reasons for so radical a measure against a Society which it was his duty to protect, the Prince replied: "To spare the world a great scandal, I shall ever preserve in the secrecy of my own heart the abominable scheme which has necessitated this severity. *His Holiness must take my word for it.*" But Ferdinand VII. declared later on that the Society of Jesus was banished in virtue of a measure *that had been wrested by surprise by most artful and iniquitous intrigues* from his magnanimous and pious ancestor Charles III. This official attestation and the fact that the Jesuits were condemned *not only without having been permitted to refute the charge, but without knowing of what they were accused*, suffices amply, it seems to me, to enable us to affirm that in Spain, as in France and Portugal, the Jesuits were victims and not criminals.

They were none the less finally suppressed by Clement XIV. who, in 1759, was still a simple Franciscan monk; and who owed

¹ "His Majesty," declares the sentence passed by the special Council, "reserves to himself alone the knowledge of the serious motives which have determined his royal pleasure to adopt this just administrative measure, using the tutelary authority which pertains to him." It was forbidden for any one, whoever he might be, to speak, even favorably, of the Edict of Proscription, "because it pertains not to private individuals to judge and interpret the Sovereign's will."

² *Op. cit.*, tom. 4, p. 494.

³ *Op. cit.*, tom. 39, p. 163.

⁴ *History of Spain*, tom 4.

⁵ *Spain under the Kings of the House of Bourbon*

his Cardinal's hat to the influence of the Society of Jesus, just as Pombal owed to them his position as Minister of State. Many historians maintain that Ganganelli obtained the tiara in return for the promise to destroy the Order which the Bourbon courts, then allied by the *pacte de famille*, had injured too deeply for them to be able to pardon their victims. Whatever the truth may be upon this question,¹ which is *adhuc sub judice*, it is certain that it was only after brutal and violent pressure had been brought to bear by the above named courts¹ upon Clement XIV. that he gave way, thus flatly contradicting himself. For in his Brief, *Celestium munerum thesauros* of July 12, 1769, he had eulogised the Jesuits whose "piety and active, enterprising zeal he wished to sustain and increase by his spiritual favors."² Six months after his elevation to the papal See, he had written to Louis XV.: "As touching the Jesuits, I can neither condemn nor annihilate an Institute praised by nineteen of my predecessors. And I can do so still less from the fact that it has been confirmed by the Council of Trent and, according to your French maxims, the General Council is above the Pope. If it is desired, I will call a General Council together where all shall be equitably discussed for and against, and where the Jesuits shall be able to defend themselves, for I owe them, as I owe all religious Orders, justice and protection. On the other hand, Poland, the King of Sardinia and even the King of Prussia have written me in their favor. Thus I could not by their destruction please some princes without displeasing others."

Clement XIV. unhappily had not the same force of character as Gregory VII., who, at his last hour, could give utterance to this magnificent testimony: "I have loved justice and hated iniquity; that is why I die in exile." He therefore signed on July 21st, 1773,³ the Brief, *Dominus ac Redemptor noster*, declaring the suppression of the Society of Jesus. A Protestant historian, whom we have quoted several times already, Schœll, appreciates this document as follows: "This letter condemns neither the doctrine, nor the morals, nor the discipline of the Jesuits. The complaints of the courts against the Order are the only motives alleged for its suppression and the Pope justifies his measures by precedents; other Orders

¹ See, a little further on, the letter of Cardinal Antonelli on this point.

² The Court of Vienna finally joined them on the express condition of being permitted to dispose at will of the Jesuits property: *Virtus post nummos!*

³ According to canonical rules, this Brief ought to have been promulgated the same day; the Court at Vienna had the publication deferred, in order to have time to take possession of the Jesuits' property.

having been formerly suppressed in compliance with the exigencies of public opinion."¹

By the side of this judgment of a Protestant, let us place that of a Catholic. The Archbishop of Paris, Christophe de Beaumont, addressed, April 24th, 1774, this severe reply to the Pope who had written demanding acceptance of his Brief: "This Brief is nothing but a private and personal opinion. . . . The Church would therefore deceive herself and us in wishing to make us admit the Brief which destroys the Society of Jesus, or in supposing the Brief to be on an equality, either as regards its legitimacy or its universality, with the Constitution of Clement XIII., *Pascendi munus*, which has all the force and authority which are attributed to a General Council, since it was not pronounced until after all the Catholic clergy and the secular Princes had been consulted by the Holy Father. . . . This Brief is pernicious; dishonoring to the tiara and prejudicial to the glory of the Church and to the conservation and extension of the orthodox faith. Moreover," continues the courageous Prelate, "it is impossible for me to undertake to invite the clergy to accept the aforesaid Brief. I should not be heeded on this subject, even were I unhappy enough to be willing to lend it the assistance of my office which I should thereby dishonor." And he concludes in these words: "These are some of the reasons which induce me, and *the whole of the clergy of this kingdom*, to refuse to permit the publication of such a Brief, and to declare to your Holiness, as I do by the present letter, that such is our state of mind and that of *all the clergy*."

Did this severe but merited rebuke awaken the Pontiff's slumbering conscience? In any case, whether from remorse or from some other cause, Clement XIV. became insane; he wandered about his apartments night and day repeating amidst his sobs the words: "*Compulsus feci! compulsus feci!*" Death came nearly a year after the crime (Sept. 22nd, 1774) and put an end to his torments.

The Jesuits have of course been accused of his death: an accusation all the more absurd when one reflects that, if they must at all costs be represented as knaves, they should at least not be taken for fools. Men, capable of not recoiling from murder, would have had recourse thereto before the Brief, not afterwards. They would have employed the same means to rid themselves of all their enemies. But far from so doing they bore all this injustice and all

¹ *Op. cit.*, tom. 44, p. 83.

this suffering without flinching,¹ without even a secret murmur; we have undeniable proof of this assertion in the fact that, all their papers having been suddenly and unexpectedly seized in Portugal, in France, in Spain, and in Rome at the Gesu, the head-quarters of the Society, not one of them contains a word against their most violent persecutors. Nothing could have been easier than for them to foment a revolution in the Spanish colonies where their influence was immense. "They showed on the contrary," says Sismundi,² "a spirit of resignation and humility allied to calmness and firmness truly heroic."³

They received the reward of their patience, for the triumph of iniquity, thank God, is ever ephemeral. Already in 1775, Pius VI., successor of Clement XIV., had asked the opinion of the Cardinals on the subject of the destruction of the Institute. Cardinal Leonard Antonelli drew up a report, in the name of his colleagues, deciding that the destruction was *illegal and therefore null*.

"Your Holiness," says the report, "knows as well as the lord Cardinals, for the thing is only too manifest, that Clement XIV., to the scandal of the world, offered of his own accord and promised to the Jesuits' enemies, this Brief of Abolition, whilst he was still but a private person and before he could have been in possession of all the facts concerning this momentous matter. Since then, as Pope, he was not pleased to give this Brief an authentic form such as the Canons require. . . . This Brief has caused so great and so general a scandal in the Church that scarcely any but impious persons, heretics, bad Catholics and libertines, rejoice therein."

Pius VI., however, dared not risk the danger to which an immediate condemnation of his predecessor's policy would have exposed him. He contented himself with allowing the Jesuits to exist in Russia and in Prussia where they had been hospitably received.

Thanks to political events, which were not long in showing the Bourbons into what a terrible abyss they had allowed themselves to be cast, this clandestine existence, as we may almost call it, continued until July 30th, 1804, on which date Pius VII. canonically re-established the Society of Jesus in those countries which had afforded its members a refuge in the time of their misfortune.

¹ Thus in France out of four thousand Religious there were but eight coadjutors and five professed Jesuits who left the Society; the rest preferred banishment to apostasy; the proportion was about the same everywhere.

² *Op. cit.*, tom. 29, p. 372.

³ *The Annual Register*, tom. X., year, 1767, ch. 5, p. 27, and the *Mercur Histerique* for Dec. 1767, p. 354, confirm this fact.

At last on April 7, 1814, the Jesuits were definitely re-established by the Bull *Sollicitudo omnium Ecclesiarum*.

All those countries whence they had been banished opened their doors to them in turn and, when in 1829 they re-entered Portugal, they were welcomed on their arrival—striking example of the vicissitudes of fate—by the Marquis of Pombal and the Countess d'Oliveira, the heirs of their implacable enemies. "They overwhelmed them with signs of affectionate regret, and the first boarders that the restored college of Coïmbre received within its walls, at the same time as the Fathers, were the great-grandsons of the man who had taken the most active part in the destruction of the Jesuits."¹

IV.

It is time to conclude. However imperfect, however incomplete this sketch may be—and no one is more conscious of its defects, nor regrets them more than myself—it yet, so it seems to me, proves conclusively that a Jesuit is not the "*monstrum nulla virtute redemptum a vitiis*" that the word too often evokes. A Jesuit is simply a Catholic, a priest, a religious, and we must confess that he is all three to a surpassing degree if we consider, belong to what communion we may, that the highest authority of the Roman Church, the Pope, is the most competent to pronounce on this point. Now, all the Popes who, since Paul III., have had occasion to speak of the Society of Jesus, all, without excepting the one to whom they owed their momentary suppression, have done so in the most eulogistic terms; they have vied one with another in loading this Society with the most comprehensive spiritual privileges; one and all have proclaimed it the most valliant troop, the bulwark of Catholicism.

I do not mean to infer that we have not the right to judge the Jesuits from a different point of view to the Popes'. But then even, then especially, we must remember, before so doing, that maxim of Marcus Aurelius: "There are a thousand circumstances with which we must acquaint ourselves in order to be able to pronounce on the actions of others." Now, if we acquaint ourselves with these "thousand circumstances," we end inevitably by recognising that all the reproaches with which we may feel entitled to load the Jesuits in the name of reason, of philosophy, etc., etc., fall equally upon all Religious Orders, and upon the Church her-

¹ Crétineau-Joly: *Histoire Religieuse, Politique et Littéraire de la Compagnie de Jésus*. I take advantage of this opportunity of recommending this excellent work which has been of much use to me in writing this article.

self of which they have ever been the most brilliant ornament. Why then address these reproaches to the Jesuits only? If we acquaint ourselves with these "thousand circumstances," and if we study the Jesuits, not as members of a corporation, but as priests and missionaries, we are inevitably compelled to share the opinion that a Protestant writer has so well expressed: "However much one may detest the Jesuits, when religion is allied to intellectual charms, when it is gentle-mannered, wears a smiling face and does all gracefully, one is always tempted to believe that the Jesuits have had a hand in the affair."¹

If we consider them from a purely lay point of view, we are astonished at the services they have rendered, and at the number of distinguished men they have produced, in the space of three centuries, in tuition, in science and in letters: "There are amongst them," says Voltaire, "writers of rare merit, scholars, orators, and geniuses."² "No other religious society, without exception," confesses D'Alembert, "can boast of having produced so large a number of men famous in science and in letters. The Jesuits have practised every variety of style with success; eloquence, history, antiquity, geometry, profound and poetic literature: there is hardly a class of writers in which they have not men of the first order."³

"I saw a great deal of them," wrote Lalande, the illustrious geometrician (an atheist), just after their expulsion from France: "They were a company of heroes. . . . Mankind has lost forever that valuable and astounding body of twenty thousand members ceaselessly occupied, without any personal gain, in tuition, in preaching, in missions, in peace-making, in aiding the dying, in all those functions in short which are the dearest and the most useful to humanity."⁴ "I cannot behold the application and the talent of these masters in cultivating the minds and in forming the morals of youth, without recalling that saying of Agésilas touching Pharnabaze: 'Being what you are, would you were one of us.' " Who expresses this desire? Bacon.⁵ And to link this testimony, one of the most remote, to another which is on the contrary one of the most recent, and whose import will escape none of my readers, this is what the inhabitants of the Philippine Islands think of their educators: "If the Tagals include in the same detestation Dominicans, Franciscans, Augustinians, and Recollects, they make an exception in favor of the Jesuits who, charged with classical instruction, have therein acquired a reputation for tact and liberalism.

¹ Victor Cherbuliez, *Après Fortune Faité*, ch. 16.

² *Dictionnaire Philosophique*.

³ *Destruction des Jésuites*.

⁴ *Annales philosophiques*.

⁵ *De dign. et augm. scient.*

Those who are to-day leading the revolt were educated under their direction. Many of the insurgents have declared that they cherished real gratitude towards their former professors." "We have seen for the first time," said one of them to me, "what just and enlightened masters can be."¹

Shall we consider the Jesuits finally as private persons? There are very few amongst them, as everybody admits, who give any serious cause for complaint; no other body has ever counted so few unworthy members. It is always their spirit that is attacked. But I have already said that their spirit is the spirit of Catholicism whose best representatives they are. Let their opponents reproach them with being Catholics, if reproach them they must; but let those of us, who are conscious of the injustice of such a reproach, recognise the good in them; as to the rest, let us remember that they are human, and therefore subject to the faults and failings we all share, but against which they strive far more constantly and efficaciously than do so large a number of ourselves; so large a number, above all, of those—the race shows no sign of extinction, alas!—who having expended all their severity upon others have nothing but unbounded indulgence at their disposal when it comes to dealing with themselves:

"... '*Egomet mi ignosco*,' *Manius inquit*."

¹ *Revue des Deux Mondes*, Feb. 15, 1899.

THE PARTHENON AND ITS POSSIBLE RESTORATION.

BY YORKE TRISCOTT.

AN International Archæological Congress is shortly to be held in Athens. Surely no more fitting place could well have been chosen for such a gathering. Athens, once the seat of intellectual cultivation, of refined learning, of artistic thought. Athens, full of splendid memories, of inspiring associations, home of all that is perfect and sublime in everything appertaining to art in its truest and highest sense.

The original capital of the famous kingdom of Attica boasts of a most respectable antiquity, in that it can be traced backwards to the year 1550 B. C. Known at that period as Cecropia, and to the Turks as Setines, it was at a later date dedicated to the goddess Minerva, and rechristened Athene, that being the name by which Minerva was known to and worshipped by the Greeks. Minerva being then titular deity of the city, it becomes no cause for wonder that the chief temple therein should be dedicated to her and that the masterpiece of the greatest living sculptor of the time, Phidias, should take the form of a statue representing the same goddess. That sculptor, of whom Cicero wrote, "Nothing is more perfect than the statues of Phidias." This temple of Minerva is better known by its name of the "Parthenon," and it occupied the highest point in the Acropolis or Citadel of Athens. So magnificent was this building, that even now, after a lapse of over two thousand years, the still remaining ruins are a never-ending source of wonder and admiration, of study, too, and of learning. Within the walls of this temple stood the ivory and golden statue of Pallas Athene, representing a standing figure of the goddess, with the Ægis, or shield, on her breast, holding in one hand a spear, and in the other an ivory figure of her charioteer, Victoria. Formerly there existed a doubt as to whether the original work of Phidias

depicted the holding of a statue in the right hand of the goddess, but the discovery of some ancient Greek coins go to prove that such indeed was the case. So accustomed is the modern eye to



THE ACROPOLIS, RESTORED. (After Springer.)

the representation of the human figure in marble alone, that oftentimes one forgets the fact that the majority of statues in those ancient days were made of marble or of ivory, invariably intermixed with gold. The latter being a combination which was greatly ad-



THE PARTHENON IN RUINS.

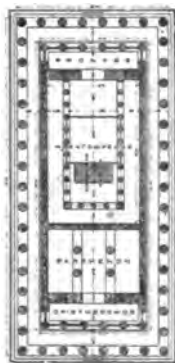
mired; possibly, perhaps because the tint of ivory is warmer and more flesh-like than that of marble and also perhaps, because it is capable of taking a better polish.

"Like polished ivory beauteous to behold,
Or Parian marble, when enclosed in gold."—*Dryden*.

The ivory and golden statue of Pallas Athene reached the marvellous height of forty-two English feet.

Among the many interesting subjects under discussion at the coming Congress, will be one relating to the proposed restoration of the Parthenon; possibly, too, of the white marble Erechtheum, with its two smaller temples, and probably, also, of the Propylæum, otherwise the magnificent entrance to the Acropolis. Representatives of scientific research and thought from all parts of

Europe and America will naturally have much to say on such an important artistic question. The pros and the cons will be many. Fragments of these buildings and relics of their statuary are scattered all over the civilised world. Nations and people value them, the learned and the erudite are taught much that is most precious, through the inestimable privilege of studying the originals themselves. Plaster casts, too, are to be found in most museums, notably in that of the Vatican, Rome, and in collections in both Prussia and Russia. This incontestably proves how immeasurably valuable and instructive are these studies from the antique. If the Congress



GROUND-PLAN OF
THE PARTHENON.

agree to the restoration of the buildings and notably of the Parthenon, and it be decided that the original remains be used, then would the question become one of great importance to the whole artistic world, especially to that section of it, whose respective governments possess fragments of the actual statuary and of the original buildings which once adorned and beautified the heights of fair Athene.

In what is *par excellence* the Museum of Europe, namely the Louvre, Paris, there is a large and lofty hall, known as La Salle de Phidias. Here are seen displayed many most valuable specimens of Greek plastic art, the majority of which are the works of Phidias or of his school, and thus date from the fourth century B. C. There are several examples of statuary, of basso-relievos, some admirable vases and an ancient and very rare Greek inscription. But what is more interesting to the subject under discus-

sion, are some original fragments from the Parthenon itself. Notably a portion of the frieze which ran round the inner walls of the Temple, and represents a procession of women and priests.



THE PARTHENON FROM THE NORTHWEST. (After F. Thiersch.)

Also a valuable metope originally decorating the south side of the Parthenon.

To obtain, however, a better idea of the former size and grandeur of this beautiful building, to understand the perfection and

grace of its once decoration, to realise aright something of the richness and purity of Greek design, a visit should be paid to the British Museum, London, where is displayed possibly one of the finest and richest exhibitions of Greek plastic art in existence.

This Collection is known by the name of the "Elgin Marbles," owing to the fact that it was brought from Athens by the late Lord Elgin, who, about the year 1803 was British Ambassador at Constantinople. The story of its removal from Athens, the disastrous passage to England, the difficulties and obstacles encountered by Lord Elgin as to a just recognition of the value of these precious marbles, the great expense incurred, all of this is worth recording; the recital, however, will probably not encourage wealthy and patriotic Britishers to trouble themselves overmuch about art and all that pertaineth thereto. Having obtained a Firman from the then Sultan of Turkey, authorising him to remove from the Acropolis such relics as he desired, no restrictions being placed on quantity, Lord Elgin proceeded to ship to England as many chest-fulls as could be managed. To this end, for a whole year more than four hundred workmen were kept busily employed. After endless difficulties and wearisome delays the ships at last set sail, but only to encounter terrible storms and continuous bad weather; in one case even, the ship being wrecked and the valuable contents going to the bottom of the sea. These were, however, afterwards recovered by divers. In the meanwhile, Lord Elgin had been taken prisoner, thrown into jail at Paris, and remained in durance vile for the space of two years. The marbles, when they at last reached England, received even less hospitality. Lord Elgin had at least a roof over his head, albeit that of a prison; his Collection, however, could not even obtain the shelter of a roof, friendly or otherwise. From house to house they were carried, in each case only to be thrown carelessly into damp and dirty cellars. And when after nearly two years of similar treatment they were ultimately displayed to the public, the culminating point was reached, when so-called connoisseurs and scientific men jeered to such an extent at their supposed value, that "Lord Elgin's Marbles" became the laughing stock of London. To Benjamin Haydon is due the credit of first discovering and acknowledging the preciousness and beauty of the Collection, and when to his authority was added that of Canova the famous sculptor, and also that of Visconti, Director of the Musée Napoléon, the recognised leading Archæologist of the day, contemptuous scorn changed to just appreciation, the necessary volteface was expeditiously and creditably performed by the

public, Government was induced to buy, at what might be termed "half price," and "Lord Elgin's Marbles" found a hard won resting-place in the British Museum, London.

In all there are nearly 100 pieces; these are admirably arranged and displayed in a large and lofty hall, where the precious relics are neither cramped and overshadowed through the near neighborhood of walls and roof, nor is the student hampered by want of space and light.

It is with feelings of awe and reverence that we enter the Elgin Hall, and gaze at these mementos of the past. If stones had speech, what history, what tales could these mighty relics unfold! The year 444 B. C.! Imagination fails to grasp the far-off perspective, the solemn distance which that date conveys. One almost hesitates to try to realise how the world looked when these time and war-worn marbles first stood up white, lovely, perfect, under the blue and sunny Eastern sky. 444 B. C.—1901 A. D. It is a long, long stretch, a seemingly immeasurable gulf between the Then and the Now.

The Forty-eighth Olympiad, or about the middle of the fourth century B. C., was certainly the Golden Age of Athens. Science and art were at their zenith, intellect and cultivation had reached an exceedingly high standard; Pericles, the great statesman, was in power, and Phidias, the leading sculptor of his or of any time, reigned supreme in the realms of art.

The Parthenon was in course of erection.

In the Elgin Hall there is an interesting model of Minerva's Temple, showing exactly the state in which it stood after the Venetian bombardment of 1687. Before studying the original relics, a few moments may well be spared in order to examine this model. We shall be thus enabled to take our bearings, so to say, and the better be able to appreciate the marbles displayed in the Hall.

From this model we gather that the Parthenon was enclosed with a double row of Doric columns, the famous frieze was within the vestibule thus formed, and the wonderful metopæ decorated the outer walls themselves. Col. Leake, R. A. F. R. S., the well-known authority on archæology, gives the height of the outside row of pillars as 34 ft. with a diameter at the base of over 6 ft. The columns taper somewhat towards the capitals. The same learned chronicler records the dimensions of the Temple as 228 feet by 102. The model shows the original grace of form still visible in the eastern and the western pediments, although the latter is not in a good state of preservation. The Karyatides, one of

which noble figures is also exhibited in the Hall, supported the roof of the Erechtheum, the original position of which in the inner sanctuary, as also that of the afore-described statue of Minerva, is clearly indicated in the model before us.

The original frieze of nearly 550 feet is displayed to great advantage, running as it does completely round the walls of the Hall. Through a very happy forethought it has been remembered to indicate the points of the compass; the slabs, too, are placed in their original order, and the student is thus enabled to follow the story depicted with so much skill, from beginning to end. With the exception of the afore-mentioned fragment in the Louvre, and a similar one at Athens, we see before us the original frieze which formerly decorated the vestibule, within the double row of columns of the Parthenon itself. The relief is somewhat low, but impresses the observer with a wonderful sense of action and life. It represents scenes from the Panathenæa or solemn feast, held every fourth year in honor of the goddess Minerva, the chief act of which was the presentation by chosen Athenian maidens of the Peplos or woven and embroidered robe. We see the crowded procession, the priests and people, the horses, the chariots, everybody jostling and pushing. Excitement, haste, joyousness is discernible by the quickly running feet, the flying robes of the pedestrians, by the straining and the curvetting of the fiery steeds. Bulls and lambs are being led to the sacrifice, youths and maidens carry precious gifts, and musicians join in with tuneful sounds.

Thus we read the story which was written in stone two thousand years ago.

Next in interest are specimens of the beautiful metopæ, 15 of the original 92, which embellished the fronts and the sides of the Parthenon, being here exhibited. Some chroniclers aver that these metopæ are the work of more than one master, but space forbids our going satisfactorily into that question. It is, however, almost universally acknowledged that the majority of these beautiful compositions are by Phidias or by some of his many talented pupils. They represent the battle between the Centaurs and the Lapithæ, and the relief is much higher than that of the frieze, some of the figures indeed being almost detached from the background. Each metope is a veritable picture to itself, and offers separate scope for study and admiration.

The eastern and western pediments next claim attention, and of these the former is in the better state of preservation. From ancient documents and drawings we gather that this group of sub-

lime and wonderful figures represented the birth of Minerva as she sprang fully armed from the head of Jupiter. Surrounding the central scene are easily recognised the well-known representations of many gods and goddesses. Hercules with the lion's skin, Iris, the quick-footed messenger, the gracefully draped reclining forms of Proserpine and her mother Ceres, Selene, the goddess of the moon, the whole surely forming one of the most glorious specimens of plastic art.

The western pediment has suffered much from exposure and possibly too from the effects of the enemy's artillery. We read, however, that the scene depicted in the tympanum was that of the dispute between Minerva and Neptune as to the possession of the city of Athens. The central figures of this group are said to have a height of 12 feet, which speaks at once of the size and the marvellous conception of the scene, the relics of which alone we see before us.

With the mention of a fine Ionic column from the Erechtheum, and the afore-mentioned Karyatide, the latter being one of the original six beautiful figures, supporting the marble roof of the same building, this slight sketch of the Parthenon draws to its close. It will, however, have failed of its purpose if the reader has not gathered therefrom how intensely interesting the coming discussion concerning the restoration of the Parthenon will be to the whole of the artistic world.

Antiquities such as these belong conjointly to all students and savants alike, there surely being no nationality in the kingdom of art. Those governments which are the fortunate owners of similar treasures deeming it naturally the highest of privileges, the greatest of honors, to have such possession recorded of them.

It will be a moot point and a delicate to decide whether these many precious fragments would bear the strain and the jar of a voyage back to Athens.

Would it be more practical to take casts of all these old-world treasures, and leave the original relics to the safe care and the peaceful repose of their present homes?

THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH AND THE JESUITS.

BY THE EDITOR.

ALTHOUGH the Company of Jesus¹ was founded² by Ignatius Loyola for the avowed purpose of conquering the world for the Church of Rome and of making the Pope the head of the Church, and although, as has rightly been said of its members, the Jesuits,³ they "alone [had] rolled back the tide of Protestant advance . . . and the whole honors of the Counter-Reformation are theirs singly,"⁴ it is an undeniable fact that the disciples of Loyola are far from being recognised as good Roman Catholics by other Roman Catholic orders. In fact they are frequently regarded with dread and suspicion by bishops, archbishops, and popes, and their order has repeatedly been suppressed by the Church. The Jesuits have been expelled by almost all Roman Catholic governments, and have deemed it wise to establish a most extensive settlement in Protestant Holland. What is the reason of this hostility between the Church and a body of its devoted sons, who have banded themselves together as a light-horse brigade, ready for immediate service in any part of the globe and, if need be, willing to die for its cause?

The Jesuits appear at first sight as an order which carries the principles of the Roman Catholic Church to its furthest extremes, and this in a certain sense is true. Yet there are some new features in the Society of Jesus which are foreign to the older monastic institutions. While the main purpose of the latter is religious, consisting in the sanctification and salvation of each individual member, the Society of Jesus absorbs the individual and makes it,

¹ Also called *Societas Jesu*. The original term "Company of Jesus" is intended to denote a band of soldiers.

² In 1534; confirmed by the Pope in 1540.

³ First so called by Calvin about 1550.

⁴ *Encycl. Brit.*, s. v. *Jesuits*, Vol. XIII., p. 648.

through discipline and spiritual exercises, subservient to its great aim, which is political, being the acquisition of power and a final conquest of the world, which is to be ruled by the Pope in Rome.

No doubt one reason of the occasional hostility between the Church and the Society of Jesus is due to the fact that the latter forms a most compact, powerful, and independent organisation within the Church, and the Pope is apt to be dominated and even tyrannised over by the Jesuit general, in recognition of which state of things the people of Rome call the Jesuit general "the black pope," and say that he is the real ruler of the Church, the power behind the throne.

That the Jesuit order bears remarkable similarities to the Mussulman secret societies, especially the Assassins presided over by "the old man of the mountain," cannot be denied, and the late Abbé Charbonnel has collected a number of striking facts to prove that both the idea and the organisation of the Jesuit order was actually derived from the Kwan Mussulmans.¹

Among other arguments M. Charbonnel collates the Mussulman and the Jesuit texts of the famous passage *perinde ac cadaver*, which describes the character of the obedience required of members of the society. The Mussulman text says the obedience must be as that of "a corpse in the hands of the washers of the dead," while the Jesuit rule runs as that of "a corpse that allows itself to be turned in all ways."

A short time ago a German pamphlet reached our office² which complains bitterly of the influence of the Jesuits in the Roman Church. It professes to be written by a Catholic clergyman, and the tone of the arguments shows that the author is deeply concerned for the welfare of the Roman Church. His lamentations are keenly felt, and he points to the Jesuits as the cause of the degrading conditions and reactionary tendencies that prevail in Roman Catholic countries. He claims that "one can be a good Christian and a worthy member of the Church although averse to Jesuitism" (p. 8). He quotes the opinions of Cardinals Wiseman and Manning and of other Church authorities against the Jesuits, and mentions the pamphlet of R. Grassmann, Stettin, which unveils the shady sides of the Jesuit moral theology.

The Jesuits have been attacked in all countries and expelled

¹ See Victor Charbonnel's pamphlet *L'origine musulmane des Jésuites*, Paris, Fayard Frères, 76 Boulevard St. Michel. Price, fr. 0.50.

² *Eine Kassandra-Stimme. Mahnwort an das katholische Volk von einem amtierenden römisch-katholischen Priester.* Cesar Schmidt, Zürich, 1901.

from many. They are openly denounced for "villany and perfidy," and the author of the last-mentioned pamphlet says: "No one who is free from prejudice can deny that there are not many reasons for these severe judgments" (p. 7). Pope Clement XIV. uses in his breve even stronger terms, accusing them of sowing seeds of discord and jealousy, of disturbing the peace of Christendom, of exhibiting an insatiable desire for wordly possessions. Hence have originated disturbances which are world-known and have caused the greatest grief and vexation to the apostolic see. Such are in brief the reasons why Clement discontinues the order and declares it as annihilated for ever (*sic!*).¹

We have no personal reason to be prejudiced against the Jesuits. We know some members of the order whom we respect for their scholarship and other praiseworthy qualities. We know at the same time from the testimony of impartial observers that the Jesuits are purer and more rigidly moral than any other Roman Catholic order. For instance, Professor Worcester, one of the American commissioners to the Philippines, speaks highly of the Jesuits on this account, and contrasts them favorably with the other Spanish monks. We also grant that the Jesuits are good pedagogues, although their scheme of instruction is scholastic, not educational. Their aim is not to develop manliness and independence but amenableness and obedience. Lastly we may fairly concede that many accusations of the Jesuits are unfair. Yet, on the other hand, we cannot help asking ourselves: How did the Jesuits incur this general hostility of the authorities of the Church whose honor they defend and whose power they endeavor to enhance?

The author of the article on the Jesuits in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* says (Vol. XIII., p. 649):

"Two most startling and indisputable facts meet the student who pursues the history of this unique society. The first is the universal suspicion and hostility it has incurred,—not, as might reasonably be expected, merely from those Protestants whose avowed and most successful foe it has been, nor yet from the enemies of all clericalism and religious dogma, to whom it is naturally the embodiment of all they most detest, but from every Roman Catholic state and nation in the world, with perhaps the insignificant exception of Belgium. Next is the brand of ultimate failure which has invariably been stamped on all its most promising schemes and efforts. It controlled the policy of Spain, when Spain was aiming, with good reason to hope for success, at the hegemony

¹ Cf. Wolf, *Gesch. der Jesuiten*, III., p. 433, ff.

of Europe, and Spain came out of the struggle well-nigh the last amongst the nations. It secured the monopoly of religious teaching and influence in France under Louis XIV. and XV. only to see an atheistic revolution break out under Louis XVI. and sweep over the nation after a century of such training. It guided the action of James II., lost the crown of England for the house of Stuart, and brought about the limitation of the throne to the Protestant succession. Its Japanese and Red Indian missions have vanished without leaving a trace behind; its labors in Hindustan did but prepare the way for the English empire there; it was swept out of its Paraguayan domains without power of defence; and, having in our own day concentrated its efforts on the maintenance of the temporal power of the popes, and raised it almost to the rank of a dogma of the Catholic faith, it has seen Rome proclaimed as the capital of united Italy, and a Piedmontese sovereign enthroned in the Quirinal."

The present number of *The Open Court* contains an article on the Jesuits which is written in their defence and attempts to prove the justice of their cause by pointing out that they are good Roman Catholics and that their views are not peculiar to themselves, but are genuine, Simon-pure doctrines of the Church herself, having been held by her most distinguished thinkers and saints from time immemorial. He would seem to Protestants thus to throw the opprobrium which attaches to the Jesuits proper, on the Church herself, virtually identifying Jesuitism with Romanism. The apology our author offers may, thus, in certain circles, have the counter effect from what he intended.

M. Ladavèze is an able author, and we doubt whether the cause which he so ardently espouses could be better defended, at least on the assumption that Romanism is the truth. The Jesuits have lately been expelled from France, and it is probable that they will turn their faces toward the United States, where liberal institutions and the belief in Religious Liberty are so firmly established that a disturbance of their settlements is highly improbable. Will they find a congenial soil here? Will they adapt themselves with the same ingenious instinct of assimilation as they exhibited in China and in other countries? Will they succeed in making proselytes among the liberty-loving Americans? Will the United States, having inherited the Spanish colonies, adopt the policy of Spain? Or will Jesuitism rouse the opposition of the people, and will the enterprises of the society here too end in failure? All these queries are open questions, and who will venture to make prophecies!

MISCELLANEOUS.

THE REV. JOHN HENRY BARROWS.

We offer to our readers in the frontispiece to the present *Open Court* a portrait of the Rev. John Henry Barrows, President of Oberlin College, one of the largest and oldest educational institutions in the State of Ohio. Dr. Barrows's interest for the readers of *The Open Court* centers in the fact of his having been the chairman of the Parliament of Religions in 1893, where by his tact, courage, and unwearying assiduity he rendered the greatest assistance to the President of the World's Fair Auxiliary Congresses, Mr. Bonney, and made the proceedings of the Religious Parliament in every way a signal and ideal success. The story of this ever-memorable event has been told too often to need repetition in our columns. But the spirit which prevailed at the opening meeting is so characteristic that we may aptly quote Dr. Barrows's own description of it. He says:

"It was a novel sight that orthodox Christians should greet with cordial words the representatives of alien faiths which they were endeavoring to bring into the light of the Christian Gospel; but it was felt to be wise and advantageous that the religions of the world, which are competing at so many points in all the continents, should be brought together, not for contention but for loving conference, in one room. Those who saw the Greek Archbishop Dionysios Latas greeting the Catholic Bishop Keane, with an apostolic kiss on the cheek and words of brotherly love; those who heard Bishop Keane relate how Archbishop Ireland and himself, finding that they were unable to enter the Hall of Columbus on account of the throng, went to the Hall of Washington and presided over the Jewish Conference; those who witnessed the enthusiasm with which Christians greeted a Buddhist's denunciation of false Christianity; and the scores of thousands who beheld day after day the representatives of the great historic religions joining in the Lord's Prayer, felt profoundly that a new era of religious fraternity had dawned."

And again: "A great degree of forbearance and patience was required and illustrated at some moments in the Parliament; but it was one of the wonders of this meeting that its members so generally and generously observed the spirit enjoined by the Chairman in his opening address. The amount of friction was not considerable. The Parliament was a conference which proved the supreme value of courtesy in all theological argument, and showed that the enlightened mind of the nineteenth century looks with scorn upon verbal ruffianism, such as prevailed in the sixteenth. It has been often remarked that this meeting was very generous and indiscriminate in its applause, but it was made up of a vast variety of elements, changing to some extent every day, and sometimes it applauded not so much the

sentiments uttered as the clearness and boldness and aptness with which they were spoken."

The Rev. John Henry Barrows, D. D., was born July 11, 1847, in Medina, Mich. He was graduated from Olivet College in June, 1867, and studied theology at Yale, Union, and Andover Seminaries. While at Union Theological Seminary, he became a member of Plymouth Church, Brooklyn, and was a student of the pulpit oratory of Henry Ward Beecher. After two years and a half of home missionary and educational work in Kansas, he preached for a year in the First Congregational Church of Springfield, Ill. This experience was followed by twelve months of travel in Great Britain, Germany, France, Italy, Greece, Egypt, and the Holy Land. He supplied for a time the American Chapel in Paris. Returning to America, he became the pastor of the Eliot Congregational Church, in Lawrence, Mass. In 1880, he accepted the call of the Maverick Congregational Church in East Boston, which he left in 1881 to become pastor of the First Presbyterian Church, Chicago. He continued his pastorate there for more than fourteen years. In February, 1896, three years after his activity at the Religious Parliament, he resigned in order to give in India the Barrows Lectures on a foundation endowed by Mrs. Caroline E. Haskell, in connexion with the University of Chicago. After eight months of European travel and preparatory study in Germany he gave in India 113 lectures and addresses, and in Japan and Honolulu 23 more.

In addition to his administrative duties as president of Oberlin College, Dr. Barrows is also Lecturer on Comparative Religion and Professor of Christian Ethics.

FRENCH WORKS ON PHILOSOPHY.

In the well-known series *Les Grands Philosophes*, M. Ad. Hatzfeld gives us an excellent appreciation of the Great French thinker *Blaise Pascal*,—one of the most remarkable and versatile geniuses of history. The task has been one of love for M. Hatzfeld, who was an eminent writer, a pupil of Cousin, but who unfortunately died before his work saw the light of day. He has given us a portraiture of the man Pascal, a picture of the evolution of his personality, intellect, and beliefs, as distinguished from a bald technical statement of his doctrines. The value of the work has been enhanced by an essay on Pascal's scientific achievements by Lieutenant Perrier, who is now engaged in the measurement of the meridian arc of Peru. (Paris: Félix Alcan, 108, Boulevard St. Germain. Pp. 291. Price, 5 francs.)

M. Charles Renouvier is one of the most distinguished writers and philosophers of France. His earliest works mark a real epoch in the history of French philosophy in the nineteenth century, and his thought, which is akin to that of Hume and Kant, has frequently turned to the consideration of questions of the philosophy of history. We welcome therefore the appearance of the second edition of M. Renouvier's well-known *Uchronie*, the title of which, *Uchronia*, is a play on the word *Utopia* and means "Utopia in history." Its sub-title describes it as an "apocryphal historical sketch of the development of European civilisation, as it has not been, but as it might have become." It purports to have been written by a monk of the sixteenth century, who died a victim of the Inquisition, shortly after Giordano Bruno. Being the fictitious history of Western Europe prospectively and retrospectively, it throws much ingeniously directed light on the growth of our political and social institutions. (Paris: F. Alcan. Pp. 412. Price, 7 fr. 50.)

M. Louis Prat has offered us a modernised Platonic dialogue under the title of *Le mystère de Platon, Aglaophamos*. M. Prat is a disciple of M. Renouvier, who

has written an appreciative preface to the work, which he regards as an elegant exposition of his neocriticist philosophy. The idea of the dialogue is to introduce into the discussions of the ancient philosophers some of the most interesting problems that have agitated the modern world; e. g., the questions of empiricism and positivism, as contrasted with the idealistic *a priori* psychology, and the conflicts of science and religion. The scene is laid in the garden of the Academy, the time is in the old age of Plato, while the interlocutors are thinkers of widely divergent views who have gathered about the master to celebrate some Socratic anniversary. (Paris: Félix Alcan. 1901. Pages, xxii, 215. Price, 4 francs.)

M. F. Paulhan has added to his successful series of psychological books an interesting study of the *Psychology of Invention*. It is a fascinating topic, and M. Paulhan has treated it in a very interesting manner. He has endeavored to study the ways in which inventions are made and developed, taking his examples from literature, philosophy, art, and industry. He has not in our opinion sufficiently considered scientific inventions, the chief stress being laid upon artistic and belletristic creation. The volume concludes with general considerations on the function and rôle of invention in society and the world at large, its relations with life, instinct and chance, together with its general philosophical scope and significance. (Paris: Félix Alcan. 1901. Pages, 184. Price, 2 francs, 50.)

Approximations to Truth is the title of a pleasing "study in experimental or positive philosophy," by Hervé Blondel, a professed and enthusiastic disciple of Comte and an admirer also of the system of M. de Roberty. He has not been so presumptuous as to offer an elaborate philosophical system to his readers, but has merely meant to give a summary or an analysis of the present state of industry, ethics, and art, to point out the effects of the action of present scientific and experimental methods on our knowledge, sentiments, and modes of conduct, seeking to indicate the rigorous logical unity which inheres as well in the humblest conceptions of practice as in the sublimest notions of our intellectual and social life. (Paris: Félix Alcan. 1900. Pages, xii, 239. Price, 2 francs, 50.)

A synopsis of the educational theories and practice of Herbart has been given by M. Marcel Mauxion, Professor of Philosophy in the University of Poitiers. It is intended to accompany the recent translation into French by M. Pinloche of the principal pedagogic works of the Göttingen philosopher, but has a readable value entirely independent of that work. (*L'Éducation par l'instruction et les théories pédagogiques de Herbart*. Paris: Félix Alcan. 1901. Pages, iv, 187. Price, 2 francs, 50.) The esthetical theories of another German philosopher, Lotze, have also been concisely and correctly summarised in a little book by M. Amédée Matagrín, which will be welcomed all the more by students as the esthetics of Lotze are the least known of his doctrines. (*Essai sur l'esthétique de Lotze*. Paris: Félix Alcan. 1901. Pages, 163. Price, 2 francs.) μ.

BOOKS ON AMERICAN HISTORY.

At the present crisis of our political history, where the dominant note is that of territorial and commercial expansion, the work of Mr. Albert Bushnell Hart, Professor of History in Harvard University, on *The Foundations of American Foreign Policy*, will be of more than usual interest and value. There is so much misconception about the present status of our nation in the councils of the world, and so much heedlessness of precedent and experience, that Prof. Hart believes there is an opportunity "to show that our forefathers and grandfathers had

problems similar to our own ; and to explain how they thought that they had solved those problems." Not claiming to write a history of American diplomacy, and not recording many controversies of import nor discussing many essential principles of international politics, the author has sought to recount the development of certain characteristic phases of American foreign relations, and of the methods of American diplomacy in dealing with them. An excellent working bibliography of American diplomacy, diplomatic history, and general histories, as well as of treatises, and monographs on international law, of treaties, official indexes, official collections, cases in the Federal courts, official correspondence, foreign correspondence, manuscripts etc. has been added. (New York : Macmillan. 1901. Pp., xi, 307. \$1.50.)

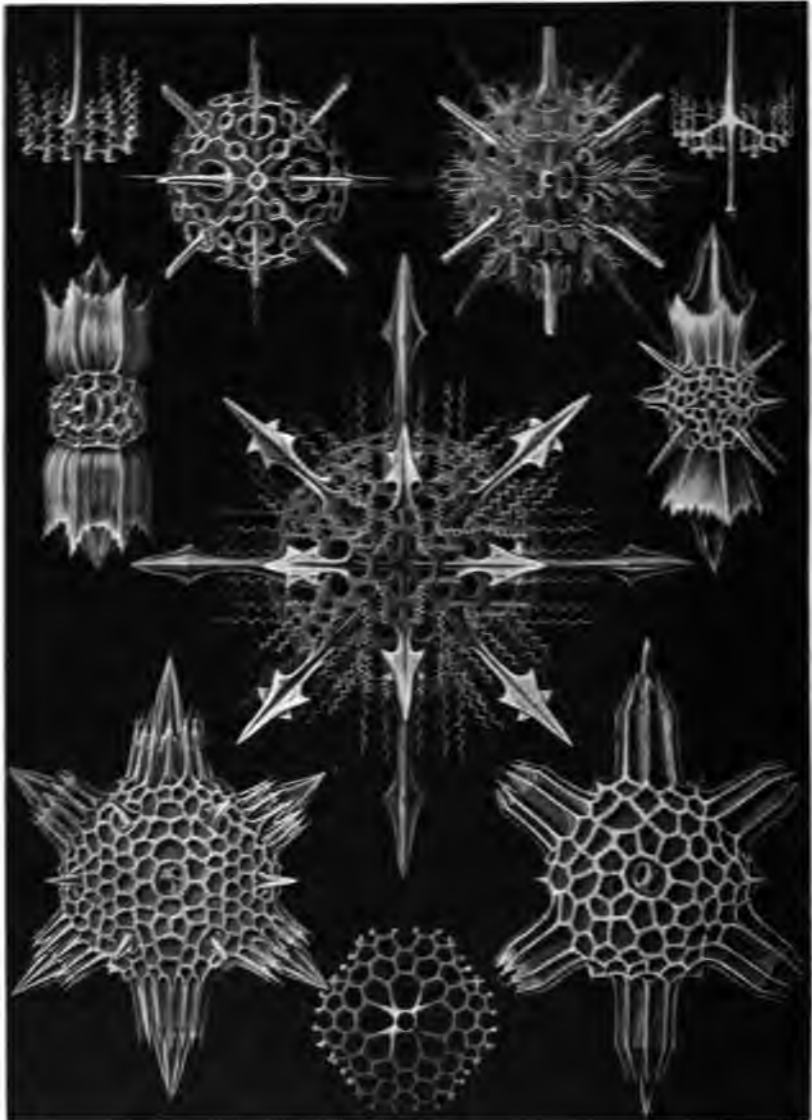
Mention has before been made in *The Open Court* of the admirable collection of readings entitled *American History Told by Contemporaries*, which is now completed with the issuance of the fourth volume, *The Welding of the Nation, 1845-1900*. The ground covered by the present book begins with the Mexican War and the consequent renewal of the Slavery contest, and then leads through the exciting "Fifties." The Civil War is also treated in detail ; its causes, conditions, and progress being discussed by the participants, both civil and military, with directness and cogency. It must be remembered that the contents of these volumes are without exception the records of contemporaries, taken from such sources as the Debates of Congress, the House and Senate Reports, executive documents, and the records of the Union and Confederate armies, presidential messages, the speeches and essays of politicians, publicists, and military experts, private journals and diaries, newspapers, works of poets, etc., etc. The period of Reconstruction is also illustrated here, together with that since 1875, which includes the recent history of our political affairs, commerce, finances and currency, foreign relations, the Spanish War, questions of colonisation, and the pressing social problems. Volume IV. contains an excellent index of the entire work, and though containing but 732 pages costs but two dollars. The titles of the previous volumes, all of which have been compiled by Prof. Hart of Harvard, are : *Era of Colonisation, 1492-1689*; *Building of the Republic, 1689-1783*; and *National Expansion, 1783-1845*. (New York : The Macmillan Co. Price, \$2.00 each.)

The political, industrial, social, and intellectual history of the various states of the Union are occupying now a goodly portion of the attention of special workers in political science, and several of these subjects have already been taken as themes for dissertations for the degree of doctor of philosophy, notably in Columbia University, New York. The most recent attempt of this character is that entitled : *Maryland as a Proprietary Province*, by Newton D. Mereness, who is of the opinion that "In no other place upon this American continent is there to be found so good an example of a people who, after a struggle of nearly a century and a half, made the transition from a monarchical government to a 'government of the people, for the people, and by the people' as in Maryland; and the attempt has been made in this book to enable the reader to enter into the experience of that people engaged in that struggle." Our colonial, and in fact our entire national history, of which the sources are of great extent and difficulty, are rapidly being made accessible to inquirers by such books. (New York : The Macmillan Co. 1901. Pages, xx, 530. Price, \$3.00.)

HAECKEL'S WORK ON THE ARTISTIC FORMS OF NATURE.

Ernst Haeckel is not only one of the most celebrated naturalists of the world, known for his championship of Darwinism in its earliest days in Germany and for

his rich personal contributions to the theory of evolution and of biology in general; he is further not only a protagonist of freedom of thought, action, and speech in all



ACANTHOPHRACTE. From the *Animae Wonderland*. (Haeckel's *Artistic Forms in Nature*.)

its forms; but he is also an artist, or at least is endowed with a goodly portion of artistic taste. He not only sees the hidden meaning of things, he sees also their

hidden beauty. He has not only contributed his share toward deciphering the riddles of the universe, but he has also a keen appreciation of the wondrous beauty



POSOBRANCHIA. Specimens of beautiful snail-shells. (Haeckel's *Artistic Forms in Nature*.)

of the myriad forms of life in nature. His new and elegant work, therefore, *Kunstformen der Natur* (Artistic Forms in Nature), which has been sumptuously

published by the celebrated Bibliographisches Institut of Leipzig and Vienna,¹ will be gladly welcomed by the public. It consists of a collection of large colored plates and photogravures which, though drawn with the painstaking care and exactitude of a naturalist, nevertheless exhibit the marvellous harmony of the works of nature and the inexhaustible wealth of her formations. It is impossible for us to reproduce any of the colored plates of the work, but an approximate idea of its attractiveness may be obtained from the reduced reproductions of two of the photogravures which we have selected.

The first plate is a reproduction of several typical specimens of the *Acanthophractæ*, a suborder of acantharian radiolarians, or animals having a skeleton of twenty radial spicules (regularly distributed about the center according to the wonderful icosocanthous law), and a fenestrated or solid shell around a central capsule, formed by connected transverse processes. The *Acanthophractæ* belong to the most marvellous and interesting formations which the unicellular protist organisms exhibit. The interlacings are remarkably beautiful from the point of view of symmetry, and the lattice-work of the skeletal parts is particularly effective.

The second plate is a reproduction of some of the most beautiful specimens of the shells of the Prosobranchia, a sub-class of gastropods (a species of snails) with comb-like gills in front of the heart. The shells are asymmetric, enabling the inhabitants to withdraw entirely into their interior. These snails are distinguished by their size, beauty of form, and variegated coloring.

LEON MARILLIER.

Those interested in the science of religion, and especially those who are turning their attention to primitive cults, feel that they have suffered an irreparable loss in the death, on October 15th, of M. Léon Marillier, professor of the religion of uncivilised peoples at the École des Hautes-Études, Paris, and joint editor with Jean Réville of the *Revue de l'histoire des religions*.

M. Marillier has justly gained a world-wide reputation as a wise and thorough student of religion. Born in Brittany only 38 years ago, he had not yet reached the zenith of his usefulness. It was my privilege to attend his lectures and work under his direction during the year 1897—1898. The two subjects discussed were Marriage Rites and Human Sacrifices among uncivilised peoples. The fact that his lectures on Human Sacrifices, given two hours a week during the year, were confined to the Africans of the West Coast is an index of the thoroughness with which his work was done. His method was to present the raw material before the students and criticise in their presence, weighing the reports and the authority of the writers until the student felt that she was sharing the work of his private study. His pupils learned from him methods of investigation even more than facts. The subjects of his lectures were not popular, and the attendance seldom exceeded three during the year of my stay; sometimes I have been the only auditor; but even then Monsieur Marillier spoke with such vigor and volume as would have been appropriate for a room full of people. The professor always held the floor during the lecture hour. Questions and discussions were reserved to a later and private audience, even when there was but one auditor.

Physically, Professor Marillier was more of the German than French type,—tall and heavily built, of light complexion, with full face and sandy whiskers. His graciousness of manner, however, showed him to be a Frenchman.

¹ Issued in installments at three marks each.

The death of this scholar is particularly lamentable from the fact that he had published so little of the much that he was preparing, his only works of large volume being his translations into French. For the rest he wrote monographs and some magazine and encyclopedia articles. I have heard him express his desire to publish for the present only such brief studies dealing thoroughly with limited parts of his subject; not attempting any broader field until he had worked over every part of it minutely. He expressed admiration of the genius represented in such works as those of W. R. Smith on Sacrifice and Herbert Spencer on primitive religion; but he had quite a different plan for himself. It was to put forward no theory unless supported by all the available facts and to spend years in seeking and interpreting these facts.

During the Paris Exposition Professor Marillier played a prominent part in several congresses, especially in the folklore congress and in the congress of the history of religion. His wife was an amiable hostess and those who enjoyed the privilege of the professor's hospitality praise the congenial atmosphere of his Paris home.

He was remarkable in combining the characteristics of specialist and philosopher. While making thorough studies on such lines as sacrifices or ideas of the future life among uncivilised peoples he had a broad comprehension of the whole field of religion, which is well represented in the article "Religion" written by him for *La Grande Encyclopédie*. His early death is the cause of much regret, particularly from the tragic circumstances with which it was accompanied. While yachting with the families of his father-in-law, M. Le Braz, and his friend, M. Huin, a French officer, in the English channel, near Tréguier, Côtes du Nord, France, the vessel capsized, and the occupants, seventeen in number, were thrown into the water. M. Marillier, who was a powerful swimmer, was carried away by the swift tide, supporting his sister-in-law, whom he supposed to be his wife. He was found alone next morning on the rocks, bruised and bleeding, in a high fever, and still believing that he had saved his wife. He died from the effects of his struggle. Fourteen persons were drowned in this horrible catastrophe. M. Marillier's brother-in-law, M. Le Braz, a distinguished writer and professor in the University of Rennes, lost his father, mother, his sisters, his brothers-in-law, and his nephews and nieces in the accident.

LÆTITIA M. CONARD.

THE DEATH OF MR. VIRCHAND R. GANDHI.

To the Editor of The Open Court:

I wish to reach the many friends of Mr. Virchand R. Gandhi, with the announcement of his death on the 7th of August, 1901, at Mahuwar near Bombay, India, from hemorrhage of the lungs.

At the age of twenty-eight, Mr. Gandhi came to America as Delegate to the Parliament of Religions, representing the Jain sect of India, and was the guest of Dr. Barrows. After the Parliament, he was the guest for over a year of Mr. and Mrs. Chas. Howard of Chicago, during which time he visited Washington, Boston, New York City, and other points East, lecturing.

Mr. Gandhi made a second visit to America in 1895, by request of friends, bringing his family with him. He divided his time between the East and the West, lecturing and holding classes. His philosophy was pure, his morality high, and

he showed a wide tolerance of things religious. His daily life was a constant example of one living the Christ-like life in the Hindu faith. Every one who came into familiar contact with Mr. Gandhi, learned to love the ever self-sacrificing, gentle, and sympathetic Oriental.



VIRCHAND R. GANDHI.

Mr. Gandhi had spent considerable of his own private means in his work in America, as the income from his lecturing was not sufficient to defray all expenses. He, therefore, changed his plan of life and decided to finish the Barrister Course in London where he spent most of the past four years, completing his task in June with honors. His constitution was not adapted to the northern climate and his London physicians advised him to return home months before he took the examination but he held out to the end, reaching his native country only in time to leave the physical body in India.

Mr. Gandhi had his little son with him in London where he personally superintended his education. The little lad came into my home at the age of seven and attended the Normal School here until he went to his father in London two years ago. He is very bright, and, in many ways, an extraordinary child.

I wish to add that a letter from Mr. Maggonlal Dulprutram of Bombay informs me that Mr. Gandhi's wife, his aged mother and the lad, Mohan, are all left in destitute circumstances.

I have taken it upon myself to write to the Jain Society of India, asking them to take charge of the wife and mother, while the Countess Wachmeister and myself are making efforts to raise money amongst the friends of Mr. Gandhi in America to educate the little son in the Hindu Boys' College at Benares, so as to be near his mother, after which he can take his University course which the Countess will provide for, either in America or Europe.

I am endeavoring to reach the friends of Mr. Gandhi so far as I know them, all of whom, I feel assured, will deem it a privilege to contribute something towards the education of the little son. Mr. Alexander Fullerton, 46 Fifth Ave., New York City, Professor Richard-

son, Manager of the Hindu Boys' College, Benares, and the undersigned are acting as treasurers for the purpose. Mr. Robert Burnette, Mr. Davitt D. Chidister, President of the T. S. in Philadelphia, Judge Waterman of Chicago, Mrs. Geo.

Cady of Cleveland, and several of Mr. Gandhi's friends in Chicago and Washington, D. C., have contributed.

Sincerely Yours,

MRS. CHAS. HOWARD.

CHICAGO, ILL., 6558 Stewart Boulevard.

SIAM, ITS COURT AND RELIGION.

Mrs. Anna Harriette Leonowens, who served as governess at the royal court of Siam between 1862 and 1867, has published an extremely interesting book, which contains the gist of her experiences during that period. Her story is fascinating and instructive, as are all tales of travel which contain the genuine impression that foreign countries make on travellers; but the picture which she unfolds before our eyes is by no means a pleasant one. She describes the king, his prime minister, his wives and children, as semi-barbarous. She descants from time to time on the benighted condition of their religion, contrasting it with the blessings of Christianity. Nor can we help being struck with the truth of many of her sad observations, especially considering the degraded condition of the people. And yet, with all the drawbacks with which Siamese society, and especially the Siamese court under King Maha Mongkut, was afflicted, our authoress finds much to praise both in the country and in the character of the people. She met many whom she learned to love and admire, among these the crown prince and heir apparent to the throne; and it is noteworthy that the more our reading progresses, the more appreciative she becomes of both the country and its inhabitants. We have gained the impression that the sad pictures which she unfolds to our eyes, especially in the first chapters of the book, are to a great extent due to the utter ignorance of her surroundings and the forlorn condition in which she, a woman with a young child, was placed. It was a bold undertaking for a widow to venture into an unknown country, where the institutions, marriage relations, religion, language, social institutions, not to speak of the climate, civilisation, and political conditions, were so different from her own. Although in her own home barbarism was in 1862 not yet so entirely extinct as not to harbor polygamy and slavery, and although there is much in America as well as in England that is un-Christian, she says of Siam:

"I had never beheld misery till I found it here; I had never looked upon the sickening hideousness of slavery till I encountered its features here; nor, above all, had I comprehended the perfection of the life, light, blessedness and beauty, the all-sufficing fulness of the love of God as it is in Jesus, until I felt the contrast here,—pain, deformity, darkness, death, and eternal emptiness, a darkness to which there is neither beginning nor end, a living which is neither of this world nor of the next."

Her characterisation of Siam in Chapter XXVIII. reads as follows:

"With her despotic ruler, priest and king; her religion of contradictions, at once pure and corrupt, lovely and cruel, ennobling and debasing; her laws, wherein wisdom is so perversely blended with blindness, enlightenment with barbarism, strength with weakness, justice with oppression; her profound scrutiny into mystic forms of philosophy, her ancient culture of physics, borrowed from the

¹*Siam and the Siamese. Six Years' Recollections of an English Governess at the Siamese Court.* By Anna Harriette Leonowens. Philadelphia: Henry T. Coates & Co. 1897. Pages, x, 321.

primitive speculations of Brahminism ;—Siam is, beyond a peradventure, one of the most remarkable and thought-compelling of the empires of the Orient ; a fascinating and provoking enigma, alike to the theologian and the political economist. Like a troubled dream, delirious in contrast with the coherence and stability of Western life, the land and its people seem to be conjured out of a secret of darkness, a wonder to the senses and a mystery to the mind. And yet it is strangely beautiful reality, etc."

In describing the temples, she speaks of the idols and of the black darkness of idol-worshippers ; yet she feels the spell of the religious art which surrounds the Buddhist places of worship. She describes the emerald idol as follows :

"The lofty throne, on which the priceless P'hra K'tau (the Emerald Idol) blazed in its glory of gold and gems, shone resplendent in the forenoon light. Everything above, around it,—even the vases of flowers and the perfumed tapers on the floor,—was reflected as if by magic in its kaleidoscopic surface, now pensive, pale, and silvery as with moonlight, now flashing, fantastic, with the party-colored splendors of a thousand lamps.

"The ceiling was wholly covered with hieroglyphic devices,—luminous circles and triangles, globes, rings, stars, flowers, figures of animals, even parts of the human body,—mystic symbols, to be deciphered only by the initiated. Ah ! could I but have read them as in a book, construing all their allegorical significance, how near might I not have come to the distracting secret of this people ! Gazing upon them, my thought flew back a thousand years, and my feeble, foolish conjectures, like butterflies at sea, were lost in mists of old myth.

"Not that Buddhism has escaped the guessing and conceits of a multitude of writers, most trustworthy of whom are the early Christian Fathers, who, to the end that they might arouse the attention of the sleeping nations, yielded a reluctant, but impartial and graceful, tribute to the long-forgotten creeds of Chaldea, Phenicia, Assyria, and Egypt. Nevertheless, they would never have appealed to the doctrine of Buddha as being most like to Christianity in its rejection of the claims of race, had they not found in its simple ritual another and a stronger bond of brotherhood. Like Christianity, too, it was a religion catholic and apostolic, for the truth of which many faithful witnesses had laid down their lives. It was, besides, the creed of an ancient race ; and the mystery that shrouded it had a charm to pique the vanity even of self-sufficient Greeks, and stir up curiosity even in Roman arrogance and indifference. The doctrines of Buddha were eminently fitted to elucidate the doctrines of Christ, and therefore worthy to engage the interest of Christian writers ; accordingly, among the earliest of these mention is made of the Buddha or Phthah, though there were as yet few or none to appreciate all the religious significance of his teachings. Terebinthus declared there was 'nothing in the pagan world to be compared with his (Buddha's) *Phra-ti-moksha*, or Code of Discipline, which in some respects resembled the rules that governed the lives of the monks of Christendom' ; Marco Polo says of Buddha, 'Si fuisset Christianus, fuisset apud Deum maximus factus' ; and later Malcolm, the devoted missionary, said of his doctrine, 'In almost every respect it seems to be the best religion which man has ever invented.' Mark the 'invented' of the wary Christian !"

In another place our authoress says :

"As often as my thought reverts to this inspiring shrine, reposing in its lonely loveliness amid the shadows and the silence of its consecrated groves, I cannot find it in my heart to condemn, however illusive the object, but rather I rejoice to admire and applaud, the bent of that devotion which could erect so proud and beauti-

ful a fane in the midst of moral surroundings so ignoble and unlovely,—a spiritual remembrance perhaps older and truer than paganism, ennobling the pagan mind with the idea of an architectural Sabbath, so to speak, such as a heathen may purely enjoy and a Christian may not wisely despise."

Pure Buddhism knows no idolatry, and Mrs. Leonowens herself in summing up the doctrines of Buddhism, mentions on page 203 that all idol-worship is condemned in Buddhist doctrine. She nevertheless speaks again and again of the idolatrous religion and her condemnation is to a certain extent justified. Her judgment of the situation is about the same as that of a Puritan of the old type would be should he visit Rome and speak of the Roman Catholic Christians as "idol-worshippers" pure and simple. For Buddhism and Romanism are very similar in their ceremonies. Here also it is noticeable that her harsh judgments of the religion of Buddha are found in the beginning of the book, while later on her views appear to be modified; and it will be interesting to read her description of "Buddhist doctrine, priests, and worship."

While attending to her lessons, Mrs. Leonowens incidentally gave her pupils some information about God, and she relates in this connexion the following incident:

"On translating the line, 'Whom He loveth he chasteneth,' she looked up in my face, and asked anxiously: 'Does thy God do that? Ah! lady, are *all* the gods angry and cruel? Has he no pity, even for those who love him? He must be like my father; *he* loves us, so he has to be *rye* (cruel), that we may fear evil and avoid it.'"

It is a fact that we, the white nations, meet all nations with a haughtiness calculated to impress them that we are a superior race. Haughtiness seems to us proper, although I should think the superior race need make no show of its superiority if it is genuine. However, when we observe haughtiness in others we are impressed with the barbarity of showing haughtiness. Mrs. Leonowens says:

"The characteristic traits of the Siamese Court are *hauteur*, insolent indifference, and ostentation, the natural features and expression of tyranny; and every artifice that power and opulence can devise is employed to inspire the minds of the common people with trembling awe and devout veneration for their sovereign master. Though the late Supreme King wisely reformed certain of the stunning customs of the court with more modest innovations, nevertheless he rarely went abroad without extravagant display, especially in his annual visitations to the temples. These were performed in a style studiously contrived to strike the beholder with astonishment and admiration."

As to the future of Siam, our authoress abstains from uttering an opinion! She says:

"What may be the ultimate fate of Siam under this accursed system, whether she will ever emancipate herself while the world lasts, there is no guessing. The happy examples free intercourse affords, the influence of European ideas, and the compulsion of public opinion, may yet work wonders."

INSTRUCTION IN GEOMETRY BY PAPER-FOLDING.

The devices in common use in the text-books for visualising instruction in elementary geometry are limited almost entirely to combinations of black lines on plane white paper. Other visual, palpable, and especially *motor* aids are resorted

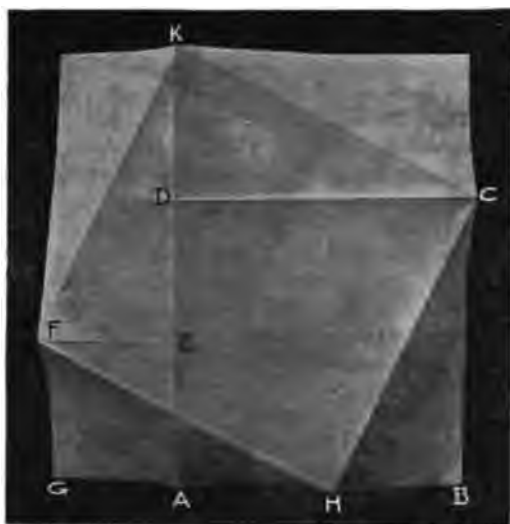
to only in the rarest cases, and even where they are recommended, or explained the opportunity is lacking for their employment.

To a great extent this neglect to train the sensory and motor functions, to establish a physiological memory in support of our abstract thought, is attributable to an imperfect correlation of studies. One branch is pursued in absolute independence of other branches in intimate psychological relationship with it, and the consequent loss of time due to successional instead of collateral work, is great. Even in schools where genuine correlation is most boasted of, the work is frequently very desultory. Arithmetic, elementary geometry, algebra, and physics, should be made to run hand in hand; and while a logically perfect system of correlation is difficult, much of the needed material is ready.

Three hundred years ago, about, Galileo attempted an *approximate* quadrature of the cycloid by weighing thin cycloidal sheets of metal in the pan of a balance, and by good luck

hit upon the *theoretical* quadrature exactly. The value of π can be experimentally calculated to three decimal places, on this method, by weighing only six circular sheets of zinc with common school instruments. In fact, the laboratory methods of physics may be applied to nearly all the problems of mensuration; and geometry, arithmetic, and experimental science, in its metrical phase, taught and illustrated in this manner, collaterally.

This idea, even then not a new one, was carried out in some detail



PROOF OF THE PYTHAGOREAN THEOREM BY PAPER-FOLDING.
(Sundara Row.)

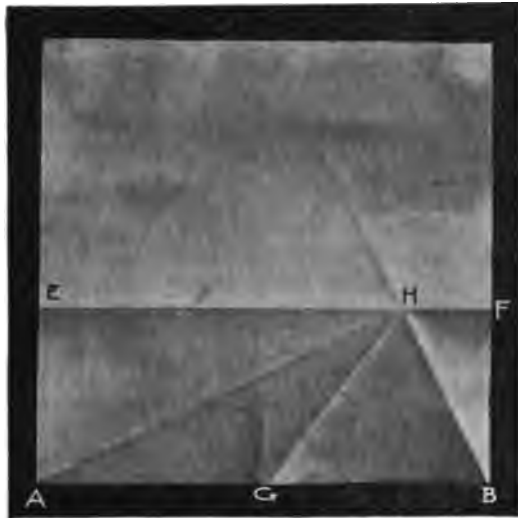
thirty-one years ago, by Professor Hinrichs, of Iowa, now of St. Louis, in his *Elements of Physics*.

Numerous other methods might be incorporated with the suggestions involved in the foregoing procedure; for example, paper-folding, paper-cutting, and paper-modelling; the manufacture and use of movable models; the experimental and arithmetical verification by tables and a millimetre rule of such propositions as the generalised Pythagorean theorem, etc.

All of these methods save the first require instruments that are without the reach of some individuals and schools. *Paper-folding* and *paper-cutting*, however, are within the reach of all, though seemingly the least developed. It will be of interest, therefore, to know that we now have a systematic book on the subject, and it is to be hoped that every one concerned for sound education will do his part towards disseminating the simple methods developed in it.

This book is the *Geometric Exercises in Paper-Folding* of T. Sundara Row, a Hindu mathematician. It is highly recommended by Professor Klein, the foremost mathematician of Germany, and being but little known in its original edition, now exhausted, it has just been republished in elegant form, with half-tone reproductions of the actual exercises and a package of colored papers for folding.¹ It was, in fact, the colored papers of the Kindergarten gifts that first led the Hindu mathematician to apply paper-folding to geometry. "The use of the Kindergarten gifts," he says, "not only affords interesting occupations to boys and girls, but also prepares their minds for the appreciation of science and art. The teaching of plane geometry in schools is made very interesting by the free use of the kindergarten gifts. It is perfectly legitimate to require pupils to fold the diagrams with paper. This gives them neat and accurate figures, and impresses the truth of the propositions forcibly on their minds. It is not necessary to take any statement on trust. But what is now realised by the imagination and idealisation of clumsy figures can here be seen in the concrete. Many of the current fallacies would on this method be impossible."

Another advantage of the method is the ease with which many geometric processes can be effected by paper-folding as compared with the use of compasses and ruler; for example, "to divide straight lines and angles into two or more equal parts, to draw perpendiculars and parallels to straight lines." It is



A PROBLEM IN CONSTRUCTION.

To describe a right-angled triangle, having given the hypotenuse and the altitude.

not, however, "possible in paper-folding to describe a circle, but a number of points on a circle, as well as other curves, may be obtained by other methods. These exercises do not consist merely of drawing geometric figures involving straight lines in the ordinary way, and folding upon them, but they require an intelligent application of the simple processes peculiarly adapted to paper-folding."

The author's purpose in writing the book will also be of interest to the reader. "I have sought not only to aid the teaching of geometry in schools and colleges, but also to afford mathematical recreation to young and old, in an attractive and cheap form. 'Old boys' like myself may find the book useful to revive their old

¹ Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Co.; London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., Ltd. 1901. Edited and revised by W. W. Beman and D. E. Smith. Pages, xiv, 148. Price, cloth, \$1.00 net (4s. 6d. net).

lessons, and to have a peep into modern developments which, although very interesting and instructive, have been ignored by university teachers. . . . I have attempted not to write a complete treatise or text-book on geometry, but to show how regular polygons, circles, and other curves can be folded or pricked on paper. I have taken the opportunity to introduce to the reader some well known problems of ancient and modern geometry, and to show how algebra and trigonometry may

be advantageously applied to geometry, so as to elucidate each of the subjects which are usually kept in separate pigeon-holes."

We have reproduced here some figures illustrating the methods of the work.

The first figure represents a well-known proof of the Pythagorean proposition. KDC is the triangle; the square on the hypotenuse is $KFHC$, which is shown to be equal to the sum of the squares on the two sides, viz., the squares $DABC$ and $FEGA$.

The second figure shows how to describe a right-angled triangle, given the hypotenuse AB , and the altitude. Fold EF parallel to AB at the distance of the given altitude. Take G the middle point of AB .

Find H by folding GB through G so that B may fall on EF . Fold through H and A , G , and B . AHB is the triangle required.

The third figure is a miniature of the diagram representing the method of cutting off a regular hexagon from a given square. "Fold through the middle points

of the opposite sides, and obtain the lines AOB and COD . On both sides of AO and OB fold equilateral triangles (by previous proposition), AOE , AHO ; BFO and BOG . Draw EF and HG . $AHGBFE$ is a regular hexagon."

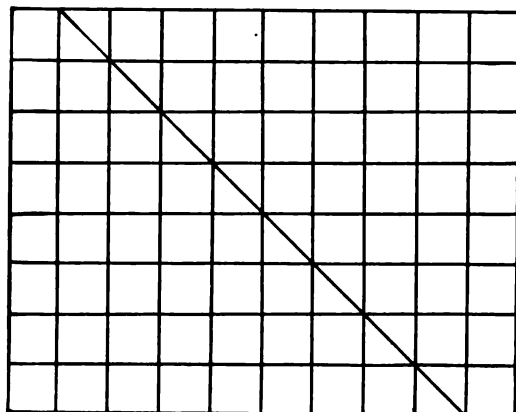
The fourth figure illustrates an arithmetic series.

"The horizontal lines to the left of the diagonal, including the upper and lower edges, form an arithmetic series. The initial line being a , and d the common difference, the series is a , $a+d$, $a+2d$,

$a+3d$, etc. The portions of the horizontal lines to the right of the diagonal also form an arithmetic series, but they are in reverse order and decrease with a common difference. In general, if l be the last term, and s the sum of the series, the above diagram graphically proves the formula $s = \frac{n}{2}(a+l)$."



CUTTING OFF A REGULAR HEXAGON FROM A SQUARE.



SUMMATION OF AN ARITHMETIC SERIES BY PAPER-FOLDING.

The summation of other series is also admirably illustrated by the graphic method. The construction and theory of polygons, congruence, the theory of triangles, symmetry, similarity, collinearity, the theories of inversion and of coaxial circles, and many other topics, including conics, are treated in a novel manner. The publishers and editors have done their utmost to render the book an indispensable and attractive adjunct of mathematical instruction,—one which will be useful in the earlier as well as the later steps, and which therefore cannot fail to be welcomed by the public.

THE TAI-PING CANON.

[The politicians of Europe exhibit great eagerness to prove that the Christianity of the Tai-Ping rebels was spurious, and so it was if we assume that the Western forms of Christianity, Roman Catholicism and the Protestant sects, are the only standard of Christianity. There can be no doubt, however, that the religion of the Tai-Ping is based upon the Bible, that God the Father is recognised as the creator and ruler of the universe, that Jesus is called his son and our elder brother, the latter being a title of respect to superiors, for the elder brother represents the absent parents to his younger brothers and sisters. No mysterious origin was claimed by Hung Siu Tsuen, the leader of the Tai-Ping, but he claimed to have had a vision in which God the Father and Jesus, our elder brother, charged him to pacify the country and assume authority over the world. He called himself the younger brother of Jesus, and his whole appearance in history, the sternness of his moral discipline, the faith in himself and his mission, his piety combined with military success, vividly remind one of Cromwell. The interesting history of the Tai-Ping rebellion is told in full in *The Open Court* for November and December, 1901.

The Tai-Ping Canon (or Classic) is a sample of the Tai-Ping religion, being the literal translation of a poem used as an educational text-book and written in the style of the Trimetrical Classic, the common school book of the Chinese, a translation of which appeared in *The Open Court*, Vol. IX., No. 29.

The Tai-Ping Canon was translated by the Rev. Dr. Medhurst and published by Sir George Bonham. Mr. John Oxenford in quoting the 'Trimetrical Classic' adds:

"The above document gives no reason to suppose that the insurgents are otherwise than orthodox Confucians, with a superstructure of spurious Christianity. While Buddhism is stigmatised, not a word is uttered against the ancient Chinese philosopher; and the Emperor Tsin, from whom the reign of diabolical delusions is dated, is the same Emperor who is infamous in Chinese tradition for his attempted destruction of the works of Confucius."—*Editor*.]

"The great God	Let all under heaven
Made heaven and earth;	Keep their hearts in reverence.
Both land and sea	It is said that in former times,
And all things therein.	A foreign nation was commanded,
In six days,	To honor God;
He made the whole;	The nation's name was Israel.
Man, the lord of all,	Their twelve tribes
Was endowed with glory and honor.	Removed into Egypt;
Every seventh day worship,	Where God favored them,
In acknowledgment of Heaven's favor:	And their posterity increased.

Then a king arose,
 Into whose heart the devil entered ;
 He envied their prosperity,
 And inflicted pain and misery.
 Ordering the daughters to be preserved,
 But not allowing the sons to live ;
 Their bondage was severe,
 And very difficult to bear.
 The great God
 Viewed them with pity,
 And commanded Moses
 To return to his family.
 He commanded Aaron
 To go and meet Moses ;
 When both addressed the King,
 And wrought divers miracles.
 The King hardened his heart,
 And would not let them go ;
 Wherefore God was angry,
 And sent lice and locusts.
 He also sent flies,
 Together with frogs,
 Which entered their palaces,
 And crept into their ovens.
 When the King still refused,
 The river was turned to blood ;
 And the water became bitter
 Throughout all Egypt.
 God sent boils and blains,
 With pestilence and murrain ;
 He also sent hail,
 Which was very grievous.
 The King still refusing,
 He slew their first born ;
 When the King of Egypt
 Had no resource ;
 But let them go
 Out of his land.
 The great God
 Upheld and sustained them,
 By day in a cloud,
 By night in a pillar of fire.
 The great God
 Himself saved them.
 The King hardened his heart,
 And led his armies in pursuit :
 But God was angry
 And displayed his majesty.
 Arrived at the Red Sea,
 The waters were spread abroad :

The people of Israel
 Were very much afraid.
 The pursuers overtook them,
 But God stayed their course ;
 He himself fought for them,
 And the people had no trouble.
 He caused the Red Sea
 With its waters to divide ;
 To stand up as a wall,
 That they might pass between.
 The people of Israel
 Marched with a steady step,
 As though on dry ground,
 And thus saved their lives.
 The pursuers attempted to cross,
 Their wheels were taken off ;
 When the waters closed upon them,
 And they were all drowned.
 The great God
 Displayed his power,
 And the people of Israel
 Were all preserved.
 When they came to the desert,
 They had nothing to eat,
 But the great God
 Bade them not be afraid.
 He sent down manna,
 For each man a pint ;
 It was as sweet as honey,
 And satisfied their appetites.
 The people lusted much,
 And wished to eat flesh,
 When quails were sent,
 By the million of bushels.
 At the mount Sinai,
 Miracles were displayed ;
 And Moses was commanded
 To make tables of stone.
 The great God
 Gave his celestial commands,
 Amounting to ten precepts,
 The breach of which would not be for-
 given.
 He himself wrote them,
 And gave them to Moses ;
 The celestial law
 Cannot be altered.
 In after ages
 It was sometimes disobeyed,
 Through the devil's temptations,

When men fell into misery.
 But the great God,
 Out of pity to mankind,
 Sent his first born son
 To come down into the world.
 His name is Jesus,
 The Lord and Saviour of men,
 Who redeems them from sin,
 By the endurance of extreme misery.
 Upon the cross,
 They nailed his body ;
 Where he shed his precious blood
 To save all mankind.
 Three days after his death
 He rose from the dead :
 And during forty days
 He discoursed on heavenly things.
 When he was about to ascend,
 He commanded his disciples
 To communicate his Gospel,
 And proclaim his revealed will.
 Those who believe will be saved,
 And ascend up to heaven ;
 But those who do not believe,
 Will be the first to be condemned.
 Throughout the whole world
 There is only one God (Shang-te) ;
 The great Lord and Ruler,
 Without a second.
 The Chinese in early ages
 Were regarded by God ;
 Together with foreign states,
 They walked in one way.
 From the time of Pwan-koo
 Down to the three dynasties
 They honored God,
 As history records.
 T'hang of the Shang dynasty
 And Wan of the Chow
 Honored God
 With the intentest feeling.
 The inscription on T'hang's bathing-tub
 Inculcated daily renovation of mind ;
 And God commanded him
 To assume the government of the em-
 pire.
 Wan was very respectful,
 And intelligently served God ;
 So that the people who submitted to
 him

Were two out of every three.
 When Tsin obtained the empire,
 He was infatuated with the genii,
 And the nation has been deluded by the
 devil,
 For the last two thousand years.
 Seu-en and Woo, of the Han dynasty,
 Both followed this example ;
 So that the mad rebellion increased,
 In imitation of Tsin's misrule.
 When Woo arrived at old age
 He repented of his folly,
 And lamented that from his youth up,
 He had always followed the wrong road.
 Ming, of the Han dynasty,
 Welcomed the institutions of Buddha,
 And set up temples and monasteries,
 To the great injury of the country.
 But Hwuy, of the Sung dynasty,
 Was still more mad and infatuated,
 For he changed the name of Shang-te
 (God)
 Into that of Yuh-hwang (the pearly em-
 peror),
 But the great God
 Is the supreme Lord
 Over all the world,
 The great Father in heaven.
 His name is most honorable,
 To be handed down through distant
 ages :
 Who was this Hwuy,
 That he dared to alter it ?
 It was meet that this same Hwuy
 Should be taken by the Tartars ;
 And together with his son
 Perish in the northern desert.
 From Hwuy, of the Sung dynasty,
 Up to the present day,
 For these seven hundred years,
 Men have sunk deeper and deeper in
 error.
 With the doctrine of God
 They have not been acquainted ;
 While the King of Hades
 Has deluded them to the utmost.
 The great God displays
 Liberality deep as the sea ;
 But the devil has injured man
 In a most outrageous manner.

God is therefore displeased,
 And has sent his Son
 With orders to come down into the
 world,
 Having first studied the classics.
 In the Ting-yew year (1837)
 He was received up into heaven,
 Where the affairs of heaven
 Were clearly pointed out to him.
 The great God
 Personally instructed him,
 Gave him codes and documents,
 And communicated to him the true doc-
 trine.
 God also gave him a seal,
 And conferred upon him a sword,
 Connected with authority,
 And majesty irresistible.
 He bade him, together with his elder
 brother,
 Namely Jesus,
 To drive away impish fiends,
 With the co-operation of angels.
 There was one who looked on with envy
 Namely, the king of Hades;
 Who displayed much malignity,
 And acted like a devilish serpent.
 But the great God,
 With a high hand,
 Instructed his Son
 To subdue this fiend;
 And having conquered him,
 To show him no favor.
 And in spite of his envious eye,
 He damped all his courage.
 Having overcome the fiend,
 He returned to heaven,
 Where the great God
 Gave him great authority.
 The celestial mother was kind,
 And exceedingly gracious,
 Beautiful and noble in the extreme,
 Far beyond all compare.
 The celestial elder brother's wife
 [mother]¹
 Was virtuous, and very considerate,
 Constantly exhorting the elder brother,
 To do things deliberately.

The great God,
 Out of love to mankind,
 Again commissioned his Son
 To come down into the world;
 And when he sent him down,
 He charged him not to be afraid.
 I am with you, said he,
 To superintend every thing
 In the Mow-shin year (1848).
 The Son was troubled and distressed,
 When the great God
 Appeared on his behalf.
 Bringing Jesus with him,
 They both came down into the world;
 Where he instructed his Son
 How to sustain the weight of govern-
 ment.
 God has set up his Son
 To endure for ever,
 To defeat corrupt machinations,
 And to display majesty and authority.
 Also to judge the world,
 To divide the righteous from the wicked;
 And consign them to the misery of hell,
 Or bestow on them the joys of heaven.
 Heaven manages everything,
 Heaven sustains the whole:
 Let all beneath the sky
 Come and acknowledge the new mon-
 arch.
 Little children,
 Worship God,
 Keep his commandments,
 And do not disobey.
 Let your minds be refined,
 And be not depraved;
 The great God
 Constantly surveys you.
 You must refine yourselves well,
 And not be depraved.
 Vice willingly practised
 Is the first step to misery.
 To ensure a good end,
 You must make a good beginning;
 An error of a hair's breadth
 May lead to a discrepancy of 1,000 le.
 Be careful about little things,
 And watch the minute springs of action;

¹ "Wife" is presumably a misprint or a wrong translation. We believe that the Virgin Mary is here referred to.

The great God
Is not to be deceived.
Little children,
Arouse your energies,
The laws of high Heaven
Admit not of infraction.
Upon the good blessings descend,
And miseries on the wicked ;
Those who obey Heaven are preserved,
And those who disobey perish.
The great God
Is a spiritual Father ;
All things whatever
Depend on him.
The great God
Is the Father of our spirits ;
Those who devoutly serve him
Will obtain blessings.
Those who obey the fathers of their
flesh
Will enjoy longevity ;
Those who requite their parents
Will certainly obtain happiness.
Do not practise lewdness,
Nor any uncleanness ;
Do not tell lies ;

Do not kill and slay ;
Do not steal ;
Do not covet ;
The great God
Will strictly carry out his laws.
Those who obey Heaven's commands
Will enjoy celestial happiness ;
Those who are grateful for divine fa-
vors
Will receive divine support.
Heaven blesses the good,
And curses the bad ;
Little children,
Maintain correct conduct.
The correct are men,
The corrupt are imps.
Little children,
Seek to avoid disgrace.
God loves the upright,
And he hates the vicious ;
Little children,
Be careful to avoid error.
The great God
Sees every thing.
If you wish to enjoy happiness,
Refine and correct yourselves.

MISQUOTED.

To the Editor of the Open Court :

In your review of the work entitled *From Whence, What, and to What End*, which review appeared in the September number of *The Open Court*, allow me to say, that when you affirm that I designedly express the soul of man merely an assumption of theology, you do somewhat err, and further, when you affirm these words, "But not even science, the expounder of so many truths, can by direct evidence prove that there is such a thing as an immortal something or soul, within the human being," as mine, you do me an injustice.

To define this error, whether committed accidentally or otherwise, allow me to quote from Chapter VIII.: "Science asserts that matter cannot be annihilated, and if so, what then becomes of the human thought that has never been expressed by either voice or pen? What becomes of this thought in life? Is it transformed into other forms of matter or form, and where does thought locate after life has departed, if thought is not governed by a vital force, but is nothing but matter? Thus it is to be seen that science, the expounder of so many truths, cannot by direct evidence prove that there is no such thing as an immortal something or soul within the human being; thus, the assertion of there being something immortal in man may be believed in, as the evidence so far found, upholding the assertion that man has a soul, considerably outweighs the assertion that man has not a soul."

You will undoubtedly recognise your misquotations, and find that I unreservedly advocate the principle of soul-existence, regardless of the laws of theology,

and also refute the assertions of science, relative to the non-divinity of man after death, and farther allow me to say that your kind sympathy for a "sorely troubled mind" is indeed warped at the edges; fear not, the author does not seek to exaggerate the terrors of death, rather he would vehemently oppose the exaggerated terrors of death that theology affirms the sinner must undergo if he dies unrepenting. Respectfully,

FREDERICK WOLLPERT.

CLEVELAND, O., NOV. 1, 1901.

BOOK NOTICES.

One of the most momentous problems engaging the attention of the nation is the negro question, and students of sociology will be glad to have a presentation of the situation from a man of negroid ancestry who has devoted his life and talents to the betterment of the American Freedmen. Mr. William Hannibal Thomas believes that in his book, *The Negro Question: What He Was, What He Is, and What He May Become*, he has fairly diagnosed the racial situation and "pointed out rational and efficient remedies for the elimination of race disabilities." He is of the opinion that no white person living has any adequate comprehension of negro characteristics, and that the essential facts of negro life are as little known to the great mass of our people as they were three centuries ago. He is as candid in his statements of negro defects, weaknesses, and vices as he is in his analysis of their virtues, and he has published his investigations solely from a desire "to awaken the negro people out of their sleep of death," endeavoring "to show both the depth of negro degradation and the height of negro achievement." His book will no doubt be of great assistance in the study of one of the gravest problems that ever confronted the nation. (New York: The Macmillan Co. 1901. Pages, xxvi, 440. Price, \$2.00.)

The enterprising firm of C. C. Birchard & Co. places before the public the first volume of a series of text-books for students of English literature, consisting of a new edition of Shakespeare's *Merchant of Venice*, by Frederick Manley, who intends it for use in his own classes. Unquestionably, it is a high commendation for the book that Dr. William J. Rolfe, himself one of the most prominent editors of Shakespearian and other text-books of English literature, has read the manuscript and given the author the benefit of his criticism. Further, we may state that the famous Shakespearian scholar, Furness, and also Mr. Edward Howard Griggs, have assisted him with their advice. The text is carefully revised; the notes and glossary are commendably concise, containing all, but not more than, would be helpful to a student. A portrait of Shakespeare, being a reproduction of the engraving by Droushout in the First-Folio Edition of the Plays, and two drawings of the Globe Theater adorn the book. The binding, red cloth with gilt top, is simple and tasteful. (Boston: C. C. Birchard & Co. 1901. Pages, liv, 186.)



GOTTFRIED WILHELM LEIBNITZ.

(1646-1716.)

Frontispiece to The Open Court.

THE OPEN COURT

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

Devoted to the Science of Religion, the Religion of Science, and
the Extension of the Religious Parliament Idea.

VOL. XVI. (NO. 2.)

FEBRUARY, 1902.

NO. 549

Copyright by The Open Court Publishing Co., 1901.

THE MYSTERIES OF MITHRAS.¹

BY PROFESSOR FRANZ CUMONT.

INTRODUCTORY.

THE present series of articles, in which we propose to treat of the origin and history of the Mithraistic religion, does not pretend to offer a picture of the downfall of paganism. We shall not attempt, even in a general way, to seek for the causes which explain the establishment of the Oriental religions in Italy; nor shall we endeavor to show how their doctrines, which were far more active as fermenting agents than the theories of the philosophers, decomposed the national beliefs on which the Roman state and the entire life of antiquity rested, and how the destruction of the edifice which they had disintegrated was ultimately consummated by Christianity. We shall not undertake to trace here the various phases of the battle waged between idolatry and the growing Church; this vast subject, which we cherish the hope of attacking some day in the future, does not lie within the scope of the present series of articles. We are concerned here with one epoch merely of this decisive revolution: it shall be our purpose, namely, to exhibit with all the distinctness in our power how and why a sect of Mazdaism failed under the Cæsars to become the dominant religion of the empire.

The civilisation of the Greeks had never succeeded in establishing itself among the Persians, and the Romans were no more successful in subjecting the Parthians to their sway. The grand fact which dominates the entire history of Hither Asia is that the Iranian world and the Greco-Latin world remained forever un-

¹ Extracted by the author from his *Textes et Monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra* (Brussels: H. Lamertin). Translated by T. J. McCormack.

amenable to reciprocal assimilation, forever sundered by a mutual repulsion, deep and instinctive, just as much as by a hereditary hostility.

Nevertheless, the religion of the Magi, which was the highest blossom of the genius of Iran, exercised a deep influence on Occidental culture on three different occasions. In the first place, Parseeism had made a very distinct impression on Judaism in its stage of formation, and several of its cardinal doctrines were disseminated by Jewish colonists throughout the entire basin of the Mediterranean Sea, and subsequently forced their acceptance upon orthodox Catholicism.

The influence of Mazdaism on European thought was still more direct, when Asia Minor was conquered by the Romans. Here, from time immemorial, colonies of Magi, who had migrated from Babylon, lived in obscurity, and, welding together their traditional beliefs with the concepts of the Grecian thinkers, had elaborated little by little in these barbaric regions a religion original despite its complexity. At the beginning of our era, we see this religion suddenly emerging from the darkness, and rapidly and simultaneously pressing forward into the valleys of the Danube and the Rhine, and even into the heart of Italy. The nations of the Occident felt vividly the superiority of the Mazdean faith over their ancient national creeds, and the populace thronged to the altars of the exotic god. But the progress of the conquering religion was checked when it came in contact with Christianity. The two adversaries discovered with amazement, but with no inkling of their origin, the similarities which united them; and they severally accused the Spirit of Deception of having endeavored to caricature the sacredness of their religious rites. The conflict between the two was inevitable,—a ferocious and implacable duel; for the stake was dominion over the world. No one has told the tale of its changing fortunes, and our imagination alone is left to picture the forgotten dramas that agitated the souls of the multitudes when they were called upon to choose between Ormuzd and the Trinity. We know the result of the battle only: Mithraism was vanquished, as without doubt it should have been. The defeat which it suffered was not due entirely to the superiority of the evangelical ethics, nor to that of the apostolic doctrine regarding the teaching of the Mysteries; it perished, not only because it was encumbered by the onerous heritage of a superannuated past, but also because its liturgy and its theology had retained too much of its Asiatic coloring to be accepted by the Latin spirit without repugnance. For a contrary

reason, the same battle, waged in the same epoch in Persia between these same two rivals, was without success, if not without honor, for the Christians; and in the realms of the Sassanids, Zoroastrianism never once was in serious danger of being overthrown.

The defeat of Mithraism did not, however, utterly annihilate its power. It had prepared the minds of the Occident for the reception of a new faith, which, like itself, had come from the banks of the Euphrates, and which resumed hostilities with entirely different tactics. Manicheism appeared as its successor and continuator. This was the final assault made by Persia on the Occident,—an assault more sanguinary than the preceding one, but which was ultimately destined to be repulsed by the powerful resistance offered to it by the Christian empire.

* * *

The foregoing rapid sketch will, I hope, give some idea of the great importance which the history of Mithraism possesses. A branch torn from the ancient Mazdean trunk, it has preserved in many respects the characteristics of the ancient worship of the Iranian tribes; and it will enable us by comparison to understand the extent, which has been so much disputed, of the Avestan reformation. Again, if it has not inspired, it has at least contributed to give precise form to, certain doctrines of the Church, like the ideas relative to the powers of hell and to the end of the world. And thus both its rise and its decadence combine in explaining to us the formation of two great religions. In the heyday of its vigor, it exercised no less remarkable an influence on the society and government of Rome. Never, perhaps, not even in the epoch of the Mussulman invasion, was Europe in greater danger of being Asiaticised than in the third century of our era, and there was a moment in this period when Cæsarism was apparently on the point of being transformed into a Caliphate. The resemblances which the court of Diocletian bore to that of Chosroes have been frequently emphasised. It was the worship of the sun, and in particular the Mazdean theories, that disseminated the ideas upon which the deified sovereigns of the West endeavored to rear their monarchical absolutism. The rapid spread of the Persian Mysteries in all classes of the population served admirably the political ambitions of the emperors. A sudden inundation of Iranian and Semitic conceptions swept over the Occident which threatened to submerge everything that the genius of Greece and Rome had so laboriously erected, and when the flood subsided it left behind in

the conscience of the people a deep sediment of Oriental beliefs which have never been completely obliterated.

I believe I have said sufficient to show that the subject of which I am about to treat is deserving of exhaustive and profound study. Although my investigations have carried me, in all directions, much farther than at the outset I had intended to go, I still do not regret the years of labor and of travel which they have caused me. The work which I have undertaken cannot have been otherwise than difficult. On the one hand, we do not know to what precise degree the Avesta and the other sacred books of the Parsees represent the ideas of the Mazdeans of the Occident; on the other, these constitute the sole material in our possession for interpreting the great mass of figured monuments which have little by little been collected. The inscriptions by themselves are always a sure guide, but their contents are upon the whole very meager. Our predicament is somewhat similar to that in which we should find ourselves if we were called upon to write the history of the Church of the Middle Ages with no other sources at our command than the Hebrew Bible and the sculptured *débris* of Roman and Gothic portals. For this reason, our explanations of Mithraistic representations will frequently possess nothing more than a greater or less degree of probability. I make no pretension to having reached in all cases a rigorously exact decipherment of these hieroglyphics, and I am anxious to ascribe to my opinions nothing but the value of the arguments which support them. I hope nevertheless to have established with certainty the general signification of the sacred images which adorned the Mithraistic crypts. On the details of their recondite symbolism it is difficult to throw much light. We are frequently forced to take refuge here in the *ars nesciendi*.

The following series of articles will reproduce the conclusions summarised at the end of the first volume of my large work. Stripped of the notes and references which there served to establish them, it will be restricted to epitomising and co-ordinating all the knowledge we possess concerning the origins and characteristic features of the Mithraistic religion. It will furnish, in fact, all the material necessary for readers desirous of general information on this subject.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

AN INSTANCE OF CONVERSION.

BY OSCAR L. TRIGGS.

I.

COUNT Leo Tolstoi, with respect to his personal history, may be said to describe a series of contraries: He is a Russian opposed to Muscovitism, a revolutionist who offers no resistance to evil, a follower of Christ who abjures Christianity, an artist who mocks at beauty, an author who disbelieves in copyright, a noble who preaches brotherhood, a man of seventy-three years who says he is but twenty-eight.

The explanation of this strange and complex history is found in the fact of his spiritual conversion in 1873. Before that date he was a Russian count, an atheist, a nihilist, an artist of the aristocratic school. But turning from this past and accepting Christianity in the terms of the Sermon on the Mount, it was not long before he left the palace for the fields, and began to write according to a new definition of art. In Christianity and in what I will call Peasantism his whole life is now contained. Christ gives him the principle of the new life, the peasant shows how it may be accomplished.

In conversation with Henry Fisher, Tolstoi gave the following account of his "new birth": "It's all so life-like, I might have experienced it yesterday: A beautiful spring morning, God's birds singing and His insects humming in the grass. My horse, tired of the great burden which I, brute-like, imposed upon his back, stood still under the wooden image of the Christ at a cross-road. I was so absorbed in the contemplation of the scene that I indulged the beast, allowing the reins to rest upon his neck while he rummaged for young grass and leaves. By and by a group of moujik pilgrims intruded upon my resting-place, and without knowing what I was doing I listened to their prayers. It was the most wholesome medicine ever administered to a doubting soul. The simplicity

and ignorance of the poor moujik, the confiding moujik, the ever-hopeful moujik, touched my heart. I came from under that cross a new man. When I led my beast of burden—God's creature like myself—away, I knew that the kingdom of God is within us, and that the literal interpretation of the Sermon on the Mount should be the crowning rule of a Christian's life." From this it appears that a peasant was the agent of Tolstoi's redemption. And Peasantism, working on in the heart of the man, disrupting his old ideas, carried forward to completion the transformation that began with a spiritual conversion. To present the whole history of Tolstoi it would be necessary, therefore, to consider the play and interaction of those two forces. It is possible, however, to separate them in thought and to trace the line of Peasantism independently.

Specifically Peasantism displayed its effect in Tolstoi in two ways. It determined the spirit of his philosophy of life and formulated in particular one of his few practical precepts for conduct, and it furnished him a standard of judgment with reference to which he criticised the current forms of religion, government, and art.

Consider the temper of his practical philosophy: By way of negation he has said, "Offend no one, Take no oath, Resist not evil." For personal commands he wrote, "Be pure, Love mankind." Then with the full force of Peasantism upon him he said, "Do thou labor." This precept dates from the writing of *Anna Karenina*, which was published in 1875. From the time that Levine saved himself from pessimism by dwelling a day in the fields with the mowers, Tolstoi has proclaimed the doctrine of labor.

Then take into view his social criticisms. The ideas advanced to condemn the present order are those of an average, respectable, intelligent peasant. It is as if a peasant spoke. Is it not, indeed, a peasant's broad and elemental face that confronts us in his pictures? It seems that a man, born out of his due place in the palace, found in the fields at length the place to which he was destined by his very nativity,—a place in nature and among realities.

To make this latter critical attitude altogether clear one feature only of his Peasantism may be selected for exposition, his ideas on art.

A brief historical survey will be sufficient to clear the ground for Tolstoi's definition of art. For about two centuries art has been defined in terms of beauty. The theory of art as beauty arose among the wealthy and cultured classes of Europe in the eighteenth century, its scientific formulation being due to a German

metaphysician, Baumgarten, who flourished about 1750. From that time to this the field of art has been narrowing and refining, the artist withdrawing more and more from life, and within his special realm developing technique and abstracting form, until what is called the Fine Arts alone receive recognition, and among fine artists only the most dexterous to manipulate form, win the plaudits of the cultured world. For two centuries, in short, art has been developing chiefly along aristocratic lines. Criticism, likewise, has been called to serve the requirements of a society devoted to pleasure. The decision as to what is good art and what not has been undertaken by the "finest nurtured." The natural result of the refining process has been the creation of an art from the enjoyment of which the great masses of men are excluded.

Now Tolstoi is one of a small company of men who perceive the necessity of a new order of art. The spirit of the new day is universality. A culture that does not carry with it the whole people is doomed to failure. And this universality is to be gained, not through the extension of aristocratic culture among the people, not through the education of the masses in the philosophy of the classes, but through a new philosophy and a new criticism that shall meet the demands of a democratic society and result in an art that shall be in its own nature universal in character. I do not see that democracy means either levelling up or levelling down; it means life on wholly new terms. The art of feudal society will be destroyed root and branch and a new art rise that shall start from the broad basis of the people's will. For the old art is based on privilege; the new art will not be simply the extension of privilege but the utter rejection of privilege. Whitman gives what he well calls "the sign of democracy" in the following sentence: "I will accept nothing which all cannot have their counterpart of on the same terms."

In harmony with this thought Tolstoi seeks to start a new definition of art: "To evoke in oneself a feeling one has once experienced and having evoked it in oneself, then by means of movements, lines, colors, sounds, or forms expressed in words, so to transmit that feeling that others may experience the same feeling,—this is the activity of art." "Art is a human activity, consisting in this, that one may consciously, by means of certain external signs, hand on to others feelings he has lived through, and that other people are infected by these feelings, and also experience them." Or in other words, "Art is the infection by one man of another with the feelings experienced by the infector."

This may be called the definition of Peasantism. Observe its grounds. It puts aside the conception of beauty altogether and defines art in terms of experience. That is, it ceases to consider art as a means of pleasure but as one of the conditions of human life. Art, then, is one of the two organs of human progress. By words we exchange thoughts; by art we exchange feelings. Thus considered, art is primarily a means of union among men, indispensable for the life and progress towards the well-being of individuals and of humanity. The ideal of excellence of such an art is not exclusiveness of feeling, accessible to a few, but universality; not obscurity and complexity, but clearness and simplicity. Its motive will be sociological, that is, moral and altruistic. It will draw from the primal sources of religion.

The value of contemporary art, when adjudged from the ideal of universality, seems small. The experience of the ruling classes as they have come to record in art, amounts to hardly more than three: the feeling of pride, the feeling of sexual desire, and the feeling of the weariness of life. Upon these themes poetry especially has played endless changes. But these are by no means universal feelings,—they are those of an idle pleasure-loving aristocracy. Before such art the peasant stands bewildered. He has no attachment to it. All his own rich life is unreflected there. And lest it be thought that the experiences of the peasant are barren and uninteresting, Tolstoi insists that the world of labor is rich in subject and materials for art. He points to the endlessly varied forms of labor; the dangers connected with that labor on sea and land; the laborer's migrations, his intercourse with his employers, overseers and companions, and with men of other religions and other nationalities; his struggles with nature and with wild animals, his association with the domestic animals; his work in the forests, the plains, the fields, the gardens, the orchards; his intercourse with wife and children, not only as with people near and dear to him but as with co-workers and helpers in labor, replacing him in time of need; his concern in all economic questions, not as matters of display or discussion, but as problems of life for himself and family; his pride and self-suppression, and service to others; his pleasure of refreshment; and above all his devotion to religion.

But to set off the value of one life against that of another is no part of Tolstoi's definition. The judgment of a peasant is no more to be respected than the judgment of the "finest-nurtured." What the new theory shows is the shifting of the æsthetic ground

from what is special to what is universal, from what is form to what is experience.

To illustrate Tolstoi's definition by reference to concrete instances of popular art is not easy. Tolstoi's own illustrations seem trivial in comparison with the great works of the past that may be mentioned to prove the aristocratic definition of beauty. And of course the simple explanation is that a mature illustration of popular art does not exist. The rise of the people is a phenomenon of the last hundred years. Whereas for centuries the field of art has been held by the artists of aristocracy. To-day the professional artists are everywhere on the side of tradition. And criticism for the most part upholds the standards of culture. Outside of Millet's portraiture of the peasant laborer and Whitman's poems exploiting the average man, one does not know where to go for a large illustration of an art that springs from popular feeling. One painting at the World's Fair may, however, be mentioned. This was a picture recording an almost universal experience, the breaking of home ties, and few stood before that picture whose eyes did not wet with tears. As might be expected, this painting is pointed to by the professional artist as an instance of bad art, yet it was very generally applauded by the people. Art, says Tolstoi, is an infection,—that picture is infectious.

II.

From many signs it appears that this is the moment of transition. All the features that accompany transition are exhibited in the works of Tolstoi himself, as well as in the works of kindred spirits, John Ruskin and William Morris. These men with respect to "fine writing" illustrate almost the best that can be done in the creation of works springing from the sense of beauty. But catching glimpses of the new thought, and becoming advocates of a new definition of art, they gave up art on the old terms of exclusion and labored in the interests of the people. This change of face is not due to "perverted vision," as their critics would have us believe, but to the new revelation they have caught from the mountain tops of their observation. With this change of attitude moreover the inconsistencies with which these authors are charged could hardly be avoided. One may not wish to defend inconsistency, but in their case it is not difficult to explain. A river that meets the incoming tides from the sea is uncertain during the hour of transition whether to resist its own traditions or strive to overcome the new tendency. Would it not be strange if even when in the grasp of the sea it did not have memories of its flow through the upper meadows and be taken with sudden ardor to reassert its past?

WHENCE AND WHITHER.

IN REPLY TO MY CRITICS.

BY THE EDITOR.

THE book *Whence and Whither*¹ was written for those only who have had in their lives the unpleasant experience of being beset with doubts, because confronted with problems which come to us, not by our own desire, but in the natural course of our mental growth.

The soul-problem is a religious problem, and our conception of the soul decidedly affects our religious attitude. The traditional religion does not enter at all into the theoretical difficulties of modern psychology and inculcates only some practical results, expressed in moral rules of an altruistic ethics, which in their main sentiments no one seriously thinks of controverting. Some popular notions of the soul fill the gap, and thus it happens that those who are grounded in their faith are not in need of the explanation and arguments here set forth; they possess a surrogate of the truth which most likely will prove sufficient for them, because adapted to their special wants; and the truth may positively hurt them. They need milk and cannot as yet stand stronger diet.

The book has been written for those who are about to reach the age of mental maturity and suffer from doubt and other maladies that accompany the period of transition. It is destined for the sick who need medicine, for the poor in spirit who want information, for those astray who are seeking the light—who want the truth and nothing but the truth,—those who have outgrown the infantile stage of being satisfied with creeds and have ceased to accept a statement because it is made on the authority of a book or a bishop, of a father or a teacher, or any other venerable person or body of persons, churches, or councils.

¹ *Whence and Whither. An Inquiry Into the Nature of the Soul, Its Origin and Destiny.* By Dr. Paul Carus. Chicago: The Open Court Pub. Co. 1900.

The author cherishes the conviction that the old dogmatic formulations of religion contain the truth and are a natural and necessary phase in the religious evolution of mankind. They contain the truth, but they are not the truth. Creeds are symbols and are called so by the Church. They are formulations of the truth in allegorical terms. God is not a father; he is comparable to a father. It is the best simile we can find. The Logos or world-order, which is revealed in the realisation of the morally perfect man, is not God's physically begotten son, but there is no better expression than the relation between father and son to denote the significance of the Christ-idea. There are no angels with wings flitting between heaven and earth as messengers of God to men; but we are surrounded by helpful influences more efficient and more real than the beings of our own fancy. Last but not least, man's soul-life and immortality are as real on the basis of the doctrines of a genuine psychonomy with its exacter determinations as on the simple and plain assumptions of the old-fashioned psychology.

The traditional conception of the soul may be characterised as a materialistic spiritualism, because it materialises the soul as an entity and regards it as a concrete being consisting of a sublimated substance. The theory is exploded, but the hearts of those who have no knowledge of the present state of science still hunger after the flesh-pots of the old psychological Egypt with its naïve mythology and all the crude notions implied in it.

Materialistic spiritualism is a natural and necessary phase in the history of psychological science; its most classical expression has been worked out by the Vedanta philosophy of the ancient Brahmins in essays called Upanishads which prepared the way to Buddhism.¹

The Upanishads are beautiful in thought and elegant in style. But their underlying idea is an error. The Upanishads materialise the soul, making it now no larger than the end of the thumb, now smaller than a grain of rice or a mustard-seed. There are modern thinkers who outdo the ancient Brahmins.

Some, following Leibnitz, would have the soul be a monad or an atom; others, following Herbart, would reduce it to a mathematical point, assuming it to be a center of forces or *Kraftcentrum*.

¹The Upanishads in the form in which we now have them may have been written later and may have to be assigned to the early centuries after Buddha, but the problems themselves and the method of discussing them is pre-Buddhistic, for Buddhism is an answer to the problem, negating the existence of a soul in itself, a self-soul, an ego-entity, an *Atman*.

We need not say that a dynamical conception of the soul is as much materialistic as one that makes of it a substance.

Buddhism denied the existence of the âtman, but Buddhism, if it were assumed to deny the existence of the soul, would be as wrong as Brahman Vedantism. The truth is that the soul exists. Our soul is our feeling, our thinking, and our willing. But there is no soul-being, no substance or material entity, which does the feeling, thinking, and willing. The realities of life remain as real on the theory of being the phenomenal appearances of metaphysical entities, as they are on the theory that the metaphysical ideas are fictitious notions invented for the special purpose of comprehending the realities of life. Metaphysics in the traditional sense of the term is now regarded as nothing but an hypostatisation of words coined for thinking certain groups of events and especially all the impalpable spiritualities more easily, for manipulating them with facility, for rendering them concrete and tangible. While metaphysical notions are fictitious, they are not quite useless; they have been invented for a purpose, and they hold good if limited to that purpose.

The problem of the metaphysical existence of the soul is the old problem of unity. Unity is imposed by the thinking mind upon a conglomeration of qualities, upon a complex of forces, upon a heap of material particles. Some concrete bit of reality is severed in thought from the rest of the world and called a crystal, a tree, a chair, a planet, a mammal, a soul. In reality these concrete things are not stable entities; they are interrelated with the conditions under which they exist and continue to exist so long as these conditions remain. In reality everything is a part of the surrounding world, and *vice versa* the surrounding world is a part of everything. The nature of a planet is determined by the character of the solar system of which it is a part. A mammal is such because the planet on which its ancestors have lived shaped its constitution. It is moulded by its surroundings and represents the sum total of all the inherited reactions toward them of its ancestral life.

The unity of things is never a concrete reality, yet it is real. It is a fiction of the thinking mind, but it is neither an illusion nor an error. It is justified for the purpose for which it has been invented. The invention of names and the imposition of unity upon the things named is not arbitrary. Though things are in a constant flux coming into existence, changing while they exist, and passing out of existence again, the combination of certain parts or forces

produces a new thing, and we can very well temporarily treat their combination as if it were stable, for it possesses certain new features which are not contained in any one of its parts. As soon as the combination is realised the thing appears.

The clock is not in the pendulum, nor in the weight, nor in cogs and wheels, but originates by a complete and proper combination of all parts. The same is true of the steam-engine and the dynamo, as well as organisms.

The type of the thing (its idea) is eternal but the realised thing is a fleeting event. The idea is perfect, it is the eternal thought of God, of the creator, of the factors that shape the world. The fleeting realisation remains insufficient. Says Goethe speaking of Faust attaining to heaven:

"Alles Vergängliche
Ist nur ein Gleichniss.
Das Unzulängliche,¹
Hier wird's Ereigniss."

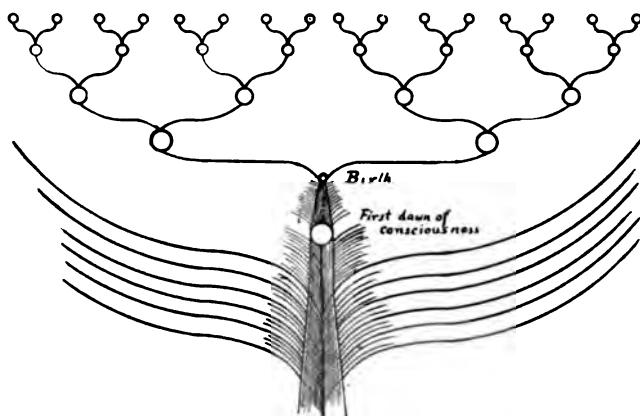
"All transiency
But as a symbol is meant.
Earth's insufficiency
Here grows to event."

The unity of man's spiritual being, his soul, is just as much a product of nature as another event or thing in the world. We are built up of many souls and our souls in turn will be used for building up future souls.

We might depict the origin of a soul as the conflux of events by strands of lines, representing first at the moment of birth an organism endowed with dispositions which are inherited from parents, grandparents, great-grandparents, and all the other more remote ancestors. They are slightly, and more or less, modified by parental influences during the time of the mother's pregnancy. With the moment of birth new sets of lines set in, producing not mere dispositions, but well-defined and definite impressions, concrete structures, not only aptitudes for receiving impressions. There are simple lines indicating the simple influences during the period of babyhood, hunger and satiation, sensations of sound, of light, of touch, of smell, of taste, of pain, now caused by injuries, now by wants, the mother's soothing voice, the satisfaction of wants,—then again a renewal of the want and the expectation of its satisfaction by like means. All these events leave memory-traces reawakened, when the occasion arises, by sense-impressions the same or similar in kind.

¹ *Unzulängliche* is Goethe's own word. Bayard Taylor is justified in translating it by "insufficient," for *zulangen* means "to suffice." But Goethe obviously did not mean that "the insufficiency of life, of the transient phenomena of material existence, are actualised in the realm of the eternal." He meant that the insufficiencies become complete, that we have here in heaven the reality that heretofore appeared incomplete and insufficient on earth. It is not impossible that Goethe, when speaking of *das Unzulängliche*, had in mind the notion of *das Unerlängliche*.

In the second year a new factor tells on the young life—language. Beginning to understand and repeat words, the infant enters upon an inheritance that comes down to him from the remote ages of the dawn of human aspirations. The civilisation of the century is instilled into his soul by means of expressions and by the example of manners. The child's spirit unfolds according to the pattern set by his surroundings. He now begins to distinguish himself from others and calls himself "I." It is the first dawn of consciousness. What spiritual treasures are showered upon him when fairy-tales are read to him, when he becomes acquainted with brothers, sisters, parents, grandparents, cousins, friends! and what a vista of important considerations opens to him when he encounters hostile elements, worries, sorrows, difficulties, cares,



testing his mettle and developing courage! The school days widen the horizon and intensify the troubles of life. The lines representing the influences of this period grow extremely complex and represent the quintessence of the souls of the greatest sages, the best teachers, the boldest heroes of mankind. Foreign languages impart a great deal of the spirit of foreign nations and a comprehension of their noblest minds. Mathematics incorporates in the mental system the maturest thoughts of the unknown masters to whom Euclid owed his education, to Egyptian and Babylonian geometricians, to Pascal, Vega, Napier, Newton, Euler, etc. Historical lessons set before his eyes the example of the noble, the strong, the powerful. Sermons in church awaken religious reflexions, and the egotistic tendency which has naturally developed with the origin of the ego-conception receives a check by the teachings of self-surrender, altruistic love, sacrifice, etc. The Christ-idea

comes and the God-problem, the notion of the mysterious powers that produce the world and regulate its course.

So far the receptive function was predominant, but soon when the period of growth is complete the tables are turned. Seed-time is over and the first fruits are being harvested. The most important period begins with maturity, when the boy has become a man, the girl a woman. New longings arise with puberty and life becomes serious. The young man must make a living, and the way in which he responds to the needs of life continues to mould his character and influence his soul. He marries and takes care of his family; he educates his children and plans for their future, until the day comes that he breaks down and dies.

We have so far only considered a diagram of lines entering into the combination of strands representing the growth of a human life; we must also contemplate the reverse of the medal. A human individual is like a living knot of strands in a large net. As many threads as are gathered up in its make-up, so many and a few more (for the fibres live and grow and multiply) emerge from it. Every action has its reaction; and all the influences here at work are spiritual factors.

Every single soul is a unity which possesses a character of its own; it is a product of the past, having at its command the span of a life to modify the past, to correct its faults, to work out its blessings, to add to and increase transmitted knowledge, to accomplish useful deeds and work out its own salvation in its own way. While living out its own individuality, it shapes the future and establishes itself as a new factor of life which will remain an indelible present for good or for evil, or for both, in all the generations to come. We live in our children, we live in our words, we live in our works, we live wherever we leave a trace of our being. And the spirit which animates our words, our works, and all other traces of our being, is not merely the result of our life, or the influence of our soul, but our soul itself.

The reality of the soul is not annihilated when we understand that the soul is not a substance but a spiritual presence. The religions of mankind inculcate the moral applications of the truth that man's life does not cease with death, and if the allegories in which their doctrines are popularly understood cannot be accepted in the letter, they still remain true in the spirit. There is a hell of the results of evil deeds, though it be not located underground, and there is a heaven of the blessings of righteousness and moral endeavor, though it must not be sought beyond the skies.

The same is true of the God-idea. There is a power that shapes our ends, roughhew them as we may. That power cannot be an individuality such as are human beings, not an ideal creature, not a world-monarch, delighting in the flattery of adoration, not a physical begetter of the universe; it is more than all that. But while God is not a concrete being, he is yet possessed of a distinct character. He is not the vague idea of existence in general nor the sum total of reality (as Pantheism represents him to be); God, being the norm of existence and the ultimate authority for conduct, is definite and his qualities can be ascertained. The conduct prescribed by God cannot be mistaken, for his dispensation is everywhere the same. We need not call by the name of God the factors that shape the world, that create order, and regulate human society; they remain real by whatever name we may be pleased to call them. Our scientists catch glimpses of it when they formulate natural laws and our moralists when they preach righteousness and good will. Even the atheist helps to understand God better by forcing the unthinking believer to revise his notion of God and eliminate mythological features. The unity of the world-order is real, its wholesomeness and goodness are true; why not call it God? True, it differs in many respects from the popular God-conception, but at bottom it is the same idea purified of popular misconceptions in the furnace of science. It changes a mythological God into the true God, recognising him as the superpersonal divinity of the cosmic world-order, the Eternal, the Everlasting, the Omnipresent, the All-embracing, the Supreme Norm of Existence in whom we all live and move and have our being.

Now, it is a fact that scientific progress is not at all welcome in religious fields. Our religious sentiments are so intimately interwoven with the symbolism of our creeds that we hate to see them touched. We cling to the word, not to the sense, we quarrel over letters and ignore their significance, and it is perhaps good (or at least inevitable) that in the dogmatic period we exaggerate the importance of the symbol, for we do not as yet understand its meaning. The symbol in that period is all we possess of truth, and with the symbol we would have lost its meaning.

Science always appears to the religious believer as a power of destruction. The language of science is dry and cold and purely spiritual, the style of religious symbolism is poetic and sensual. It appeals to our imagination and pleases childlike natures. No wonder that the mass of mankind, being sensual and being in need of sensual imagery, shrink from the serene grandeur of science

and condemn its truths as empty abstractions. It is a sign of mental immaturity to be blind to the beauty and reality of truth in the stern formulation of abstract statements, but it is not a fault of science to be rebuked or censured.

Those of my critics who take this position I should vituperate as little as I would blame children who prefer fairy-tales to mathematical theorems. The value of the latter will dawn upon some of them, by no means upon all of them, in later life; and the beauty of the former, of fairy-tales, will not fade, though their importance may be eclipsed by the brighter light of genuine truth. Their all-sufficiency only will be lost in the breadth of a scientific comprehension of the situation.

What then would be the use of quarrelling with critics from the ranks of orthodox Christianity? From their own standpoint they are right, and that another standpoint may be forced upon them in due time they are incapable of comprehending. God bless them in their faith. Their faith is the best surrogate of truth they can have. They have the religion to which their mental size is adapted, and (though I believe in progress and mental growth) I have come to the conviction that every one's religion is shaped by his needs on the basis of his insight. Accordingly every one has the religion he deserves to have.

There are critics outside the pale of churches who find fault with my book on other grounds. They speak of it as disappointing and contradictory. On the one side the materialists, who deny the reality of ideas and everything ideal, think that I merely play with words when I insist on the truth of immortality. Because I reject the letter of the traditional dogma and the popular conception of the soul, they would prefer to have me say bluntly that there is no soul and consequently no immortality worth talking about. On the other hand there are believers in spiritual substances who think that I overlook important considerations which are apt to indicate the existence of a soul-entity. The existence of the soul as form means nothing to them, and a purely spiritual immortality is branded as the denial of any immortality, as much so as the worship in spirit and in truth appeared to be an abolition of all true worship to those who still believed in sacrifices upon an altar reeking with blood.

With critics of this stamp I find no fault either. They are right from their standpoint, but I have to add, they are wrong as to facts. The materialists are wrong in identifying man with the

heap of material atoms of which he happens to consist at a given moment.

Man is the form of his life, the suchness of his existence, the character of his being. At the moment of death man's body ceases to be himself and turns into his remains,—a corpse, lifeless, void of sentiment, stark and cold like a clod, with nothing human except a reminiscence of his external shape which only serves to render it more awful and offensive to behold. The carcass is no longer the man, it is offal, it is that which has been rejected, corresponding to the slough of the snake, being the waste products of life. But, says the materialist, if the corpse is not the man, then he has disappeared and nothing is left. I agree with the materialist on his own standpoint: nothing material, no bodily corporeality, is left of the man that has died. But I add, the main part of the man remains. It is not as if the man had never been. The essential features of his life continue and act as a real and indelible presence, a formative factor of a definite description, in the general evolution of life, helping in its own way to shape the affairs of the world.

So materialistic is man by nature, having received his first education in the school of the senses, that he wants substance not form, quantity not quality, amounts and masses not character.

Hâji Abdû Al-Yasdi,¹ the agnostic poet, exclaims in the *Kasidah*, a *Lay of the Higher Life*:

"What see we here? Forms, nothing more!
Forms fill the brightest, strongest eye.
We know not substance; 'mid the shades,
Shadows ourselves we live and die."

He takes substance as real and form as a mere shade, while in fact substance is nothing but material, and there is nothing of value that is not constituted by form.

Forms are the realities of life; forms alone possess significance. Character, morality, ideals, have their conditions in the domain of form; all work, all aspiration, all endeavor, is in its very nature formative. Let us rejoice then that forms are real and that the forms of our own being are preserved in the evolution of life.

Spiritualists, on the other hand, as the name is usually understood, are the exact inverse of the materialists. While materialists deny the reality of the spiritual, because it is not material but finds expression in form, the spiritualists, convinced of the reality of the spiritual, imagine that it must or ought to have a material exist-

¹ A *nom de plume* of Sir Richard F. Burton.

ence. They are, in this respect, like the materialists that think whatever is real must be a substance of some kind. Spiritual substances may be as much more refined and sublimated as air is thinner than clods of clay, but they are after all assumed to be substances or entities. They have not as yet seriously investigated the nature of the spiritual and think of it in terms of gaseous bodies or ethereal action. Hence the important rôle that, as a rule, electricity plays in the minds of spiritualists. They speak of thought-waves and conceive them after the analogy of electric phenomena as being transmitted through the ether in the form of undulations. Such theories in explaining mind-reading and thought-transference are quite ingenious, but they are based upon a conception of spirit which materialises the spiritual.

Materialistic and spiritualistic critics agree in this, that they regard my terms and expressions as misleading or even contradictory. They think that I should consistently deny the existence of the soul and its immortality. They only prove that they have not understood the author's meaning, for the comprehension of which a certain mental and psychical maturity is indispensable. Those who have not as yet faced the difficulty (or better, the impossibility) of thinking the soul as a substance or an entity, as a concrete being, who naïvely take seriously the religious symbols in which artists represent the impalpable spirit, will naturally think that all the trouble is vain which I take to prove that the soul (though not an entity) does truly and really exist. They think that I have overlooked certain considerations which in their opinion are apt to prove the existence of a soul-entity, and claim that there is much more to be accounted for than is dreamt of in my philosophy. Certainly, my booklet does not exhaust the subject: there are additional problems to be investigated and the solution of the problem of the nature of the soul leads to other problems which I have not ventured to touch; but for that reason, my critics may be assured that I have considered all the arguments which they refer to.

One of these sages, for instance, referring to the passage in the preface (p. v) that "there is as little need for the psychologist to assume a separate soul-being . . . as there is for the meteorologist to assume a wind-entity which by blowing produces a commotion in the air," adds:

"Obviously the cases are not parallel. The true argument would be that just as there can be no air functions (or commotions of air) without the air which moves, so there can be no soul-functions without the soul."¹

¹ Published in *The Guardian*, May 15, 1901, p. 658.

To be sure there are conditions in which the soul manifests itself; there is a material world of action and reaction, there is a bodily substratum for the display of mental activities. But as the air is not the wind, so the bodily conditions and also the more sublimated and hypothetical substratum cannot be called the soul. Wind is a commotion of air, so soul is the character of feeling, of thinking, of willing, of doing. Our soul is a complex organism produced by definite conditions and the sum total of its functions is the soul itself. If that statement is, as my sapient critic claims, "equivalent to the denial of the existence of the soul," he ought to say that a mechanic who explains the mechanism of a watch as a certain combination of its parts so as to make it perform the work of indicating the time, practically denies the existence of the watch.

My critic of course still cherishes the ideas of a materialistic spiritualism which compares the soul to a body and its manifestations to physical functions, only that the soul-body is supposed to consist of a sublimated spiritual substance, the nature of which is and will ever remain a profound mystery. Obviously he has never in his life faced the difficulties of the soul-problem; he is fed on the husks of mythology and is satisfied with the food adapted to his stomach. He has nothing to learn from me. No wonder that he "cannot conceive of the person who would be wiser for the perusal of the book."

I grant to my critic that I frequently attach to terms and words a new meaning which departs from the traditional definition; but I do so on purpose and because I believe myself entitled to do so. I follow in this practice the common method of all thinkers, only I avoid equivocation by carefully indicating the new significance of the old terms. I might as well have discarded the entire old nomenclature and invented a new one, but I fear that no one will take the trouble to study a new conception of the soul if he has to forget the history of psychology and turn over a new leaf. Scientists never discard the old terms, but pour new wine into old bottles by giving a new interpretation to the traditional expressions.

Just as the soul was conceived by former psychologists as a soul-being, so the fire was said to be a fire-entity, a phlogiston, which manifested itself in certain functions such as heat and light. But the idea of fire as a phlogiston has been surrendered, and yet our physicists do not say that fire does not exist. They believe as much as ever that fire burns; then, why shall I not be entitled to continue to say that the soul is real, and that the soul-functions constitute the soul, although I have reached the point in my mental

development in which I have learned to understand that there is as little a soul-entity as there is a fire-stuff or phlogiston. I gladly forgive my astute critic the severity and the high-handed self-sufficiency with which he disposes of me, for he knows no better, and to judge of a scientific conception of the soul is not given him. Privately he may be, and in fact I trust that he is, a dear old soul of a theologian who has preached many a good sermon to the edification of his parishioners. I have too much of the theologian in me, having myself passed through the phase in which he tarries now, not to appreciate his zeal for the truth, i. e., for the truth as he sees it.

Theology has become progressive of late. It has become an historical science in its biblical studies and it will become philosophy in its dogmatology, and a branch of natural science in psychology and ethics. I confess that I am a theologian and my endeavor is to dig down to the bedrock of fact upon which theology as a science can find a safe foundation.

The immortality-conception advocated in *Whence and Whither* has one advantage which cannot be underrated. It is true and can be proved upon strict scientific evidence. It may not be satisfactory to those who believe they are in need of a soul-entity, who think that if their soul does not consist of a substance, they can have no soul at all and their immortality would be a flimsy makeshift: but they cannot say that it is untrue. They cannot deny that our soul is actually formed first by the inheritance of dispositions and then through education under the formative influence of other souls. Nor can anything be gainsaid that in our recollections and reminiscences the souls of the dead remain living presences exercising a powerful influence upon our lives. In this sense they become angels, i. e., spiritual guides, whose inspirations have proved to be of the greatest importance. The dead have finished their career; their course is run and all their troubles are over. Theirs is a condition of Paradisian bliss and peace. Yet their usefulness is not gone: they continue to surround us and to comfort us, and we deem the sentiment as expressed in many Church hymns and poems, full of assurance of an immortality, not only legitimate but even perfectly tenable from our own radical standpoint; for instance, the consolation which Mr. Bonney offers in the following words to a friend on the death of his wife:

" And thy remaining days
Shall not be darker for her absence here,
But brighter for her smile from paradise."

CONCERNING INDIAN BURIAL CUSTOMS.

BY WILLIAM THORNTON PARKER, M. D.

THE DEAD.

"Under the pure light of the stars
The dead sleep
Wrapped about in a silence unutterable,
The ages come and go, like a tale that is told
Time stretches out to the golden unbarred gate
Of eternity,
But the dead sleep on, sleep on."—*Edgerton*.

FROM the earliest times, among all races civilised or savage, man has always cared for the remains of his dead. Failure to do so is regarded as inhuman and is promptly condemned. Numerous are the rites employed in mourning, but nowhere can we find evidences of greater respect and affection for the dead than among our North American Indians.

There are those who seem inclined to find little that is praiseworthy in the Indian character, but a people with devoted love for their children, profound religious respect for the Sacred Name, a reverence for their dead and a sincere concern for their last resting-places, certainly possess qualities which are admirable and worthy of universal commendation. All these honorable characteristics are true of our North American Indians.

Among the Ojibways, particularly the Chippewas at White Earth, Minnesota, the old-time heathen rites have pretty nearly disappeared. These Chippewas are Christian Indians, intelligent and possessing all the highest qualities of the red man with much that is good and true which their paleface friends have taught them. They do not practice scaffold¹ or tree burial except in rare instances. "Above-the-ground burial" is also practically unknown to them. Their funerals are conducted with solemnity and devotion, and the services at their churches are remarkably pathetic and

¹ Occasionally some heathen Indian will be buried upon a scaffold. As late as 1889 Rev. Mr. Peake saw a scaffold burial at Red Lake Chippewa Reservation about one hundred miles north of White Earth Reservation, Minnesota.

interesting, to enable friends to look upon the grave and to make offerings of food or flowers or any other thing they may wish for the comfort or happiness of the departed.

The Christian's grave-house is usually surmounted by a cross.

Very often services in memory of the dead take place with much of feasting and dancing, but these latter are usually indulged in by the wild or so-called "heathen" Indians.¹

It is interesting to compare the burial of the famous Chippewa war-chief "Hole-in-the-Day," who died as he had lived an un-



Jordan, the Interpreter. Old Medicine Man. Long Feather. Dr. W. T. Parker.
Indian Boy. Little Deer. Pelican.

IN THE LAND OF HIAWATHA.

tamed Indian, with that of the brave and good "Iron Heart," who on his deathbed requested that a cross be placed upon his breast and a large one above his grave, so that when anyone should inquire what the signification of the cross might be, this should be the answer: "Tell him that beneath that cross rest the remains of Iron-Heart, who believes in the white man's Saviour."

¹The word heathen is a misnomer for any people who believe and reverence God whom they know as "Getche Manitow," the Mighty, the Great Spirit. A people so deeply and truly religious may not have received the light of Christianity, but heathen they are not.

In 1879 the flags still waved over the grave of the murdered Hole-in-the-Day to signify that up to that time his friends had not yet avenged his cruel death. A more restful picture is the following, which I was privileged to witness: One afternoon the bell of St. Columba's (a *wooden* church it was then) was tolling, Indians were gathering in the building and a two-wheel ox-cart was being slowly driven up the hill. The cart contained a plain board coffin, within it the mortal remains of a young Indian wife. The driver, strange to state, was the husband, and his grief and sorrow were genuine beyond a doubt. Friends helped him bring the remains



CROW INDIAN BURIAL-TREE. (Montana.)

within the church porch, and the beloved Indian priest Emmengahbowh of the "Episcopal" communion, met the corpse at the door. "I am the resurrection and the life" came forth the solemn words in clear Ojibway as the funeral procession passed up the aisle of the church. The sweet voices of the Indians with the organ accompaniment sang the old hymn "Jesus Lover of My Soul," and others just as pathetic. The service concluded, the silent Indians with moccasined feet passed by the rude coffin to take a last fond look at the dead. Then took place a curious ceremony. The lid of the coffin was only lightly held in place by nails which had been withdrawn to permit the "last look." A friend

handed the sad husband a hammer, he drove in the nails way home with sturdy blows, the sacred building resounding with the noise and with the sobs of the bereaved friends. Then tenderly the



BURIAL SCAFFOLD AND SCALP-POLE OF TEN BEAR.

The Death-Lodge, the poles of which are on the ground, has been taken down. (Crow Agency, Montana.)

bearers carried the coffin into the churchyard. The procession wound its way by graves and grave-houses till it reached the open grave for this new arrival. Great branches of pine and fir covered

the ground and lined the last resting-place. Emmengahbowh in priestly surplice read the committal service, and then, while the voices of the Indians sang again a sweet hymn, the body was gently and slowly lowered to its resting-place. Broad strips of heavy bark were placed over the coffin, and earth fell almost silently while friends continued the sweet songs of hope in the promises of the Saviour. What a picture it was in the far-away Indian Reservation, this Christian burial, this object lesson of love and duty for Christ's sake, this victory of the religion of Jesus over the mummery and fierce orgies of heathenism. And yet as the hymn of faith con-



BURIAL BOXES.

Above-ground method of caring for the dead. (Crow Agency, Montana.)

tinued, as the sinking sun shone in the western sky, it seemed as if these poor children were but voicing the doom of "passing away" just as the sun was sinking. The emblem of all these tribes of red men is the setting sun.

Soon their race will be completed, soon the last of them will have departed forever

" In the purple mists of evening,
To the Islands of the Blessed,
To the kingdom of Ponemah
To the land of the Hereafter."

The Chippewas bury their dead in almost any convenient

place, often directly in front of their cabin door so that in stepping out one has almost to step upon a grave. Before placing the body in the grave, if no coffin has been provided, it is carefully wrapped in great pieces of birch bark such as they use in building their canoes and summer camps, or it is enveloped in one or more of their beautiful mats, of the finest texture obtainable. Over the grave a long low house is built, about two feet high, and under the front or western gable a little square window is placed.

"The old heathen burial customs of my own people," writes that old hero and Indian Saint, Emmengahbowh, "were that when one dies the body is well dressed, combed well, the hair and face painted, a new blanket wrapped around his body, a new shirt and leggings and a new coat put on him and new moccasins, everything in wearing apparel all well provided. This being done, well prepared to take the body to the grave already prepared, when the body put down to the ground, a gun, powder horn and war club or toma-



SIoux BURIAL-PLACE. (Above-ground method.)

hawk, scalping knife, small kettle, and small dish and spoon, and fire-making implements are among the things put in with the body into the ground. As they are taking out the body from the wigwam the Grand Medicine Man sings a devil song beating the drum as they bear the body away towards the grave. The body is all covered, and, just before another song, one of the braves arises on his feet and says: 'My friend, you will not feel lonely while pursuing your journey towards the setting sun; I have killed a Sioux (hereditary enemies of the Ojibways) and scalped him, he will accompany you, and the scalp I have taken, use it for your moccasin.' The Grand Medicine Man then says after covering the grave: 'Do not look back, but look towards your journey, towards the setting sun. Let nothing disturb you or cause you to look away from your path. Go in peace.' Then another medicine man and all the medicine men speak thus: 'I walk peacefully, I walk on peacefully, for my long journey of life, soon to reach the end of my

journey, soon to reach my friends who have gone before me.' The song completed, all the grand medicine men with one loud voice cry out:

'Meh-ga-kuh-nuh
Meh-ga-huh-nuh (amen-amen).'

Then all disperse and the weird and melancholy and wonderfully pathetic ceremony is completed."

What ritual in any other tongue could be more appropriately funereal or more typical of future life beyond the grave? Surely Christianity need not wait long with the precious message for which these our noble aborigines seem more than ready.

Emmengahbowh also writes me that, "When a great warrior is killed in battle and while the battle is raging, the hottest battle, the battle ceases at once. The warrior is carried away from the battle-field to a short distance. Here the warriors are making preparations to dress him in style with all his best clothing they could find. First washed his face and combed his hair, hair braided down to his shoulders, painted his face with red paint, a new shirt, a new coat and new leggings put on it. A new blanket wrapped about him and a beautiful sash around his waist. This being done and completed he is taken to the battle-field and placed him on the most conspicuous place and position and always preferred to find a high knoll. Here he is placed in a sitting position. A gun placed before him in the attitude of shooting, a war club and scalping knife put on about him. Feathers on his head waving beautifully, each feather indicates a scalp taken in battle. This being done, sometimes the warriors watched the body one or two days. The enemy know it well that a great warrior had been slain in battle and they know it well too that they would not carry him away. Must be buried near about the battle-field or may be found in sitting posture. Sure enough finding him in sitting posture. Here the warriors with all the swiftness they can command run. The fast runner of course touched the head first and count one of the highest trophy among the heathen warriors, and counted a feather for his head."

Occasionally as of old the Chippewas bury their dead in a strong box placed in public view upon a scaffold, with four strong posts. Many moons come and go before the graves are neglected. Every now and then the best cooked food is brought that the faithful friends can obtain. These offerings are reverently laid upon grave or coffin. When the Indian reaches his final destiny in the "happy hunting grounds," his life is perfectly secure and his everlasting

felicity assured. "It is not true that the Ojibways believe in transmigration, neither do I know of any tribe which does," says good old Emmengahbowh. "Transmigration of souls from men to animals! No such horrible faith entertained by my people. Some pale-faces may believe it!"

Emmengahbowh has faithfully taught his beloved Chippewas the creed of the pale-face teachers, the good Bishop Whipple has sent to them, not the least of which is, I believe, "in the resurrection of the dead."

A very interesting letter from the Rev. Mr. Peake, for some time a missionary among the Ojibways, contains the following:

"I myself first observed the Indian life while I was a student at Nashotah (Wisconsin), seeing some families (Chippewas) as they went through the state gipsy-like in 1852.



INDIAN GRAVES. (White Earth Reservation, Minnesota.)

"In 1853 I saw the Oneidas at Duck Creek and preached to them through an interpreter, meeting also some of the Mohawks. In 1856 I saw the Sioux and Winnebagoes of the Minnesota River Valley. In 1856 I went with my bride (Miss Augusta Parker of Delhi, N. Y.) to live among the Ojibways or Chippewas at Gull Lake, and was with them as their missionary at Gull Lake and Crow Wing for six years, and during the Sioux outbreak of 1862." Concerning the mortuary customs Mr. Peake writes: "In winter when the ground is frozen the northern tribes, among whom I served, wrap up their dead in the furs of animals and place them in the branches of high trees." Mr. Peake saw them so placed in January, 1856, on the right bank of the Minnesota river on his first trip up the valley. "I have seen a similar placing of the dead

on a high scaffold or platform at Red Lake (Chippewa Agency, Minnesota) as late as 1889." Usually they (the Chippewas) bury their dead in the ground and wrap them in cotton or such other cloth as they may have. The body is carefully covered with birch bark in wide strips. Over the grave they usually build a roof of boards if they can obtain the necessary lumber. Just below the gable they have a little open window in the front which stands towards the west (the setting sun). "At the open window they deposit food for the departed spirits which soon disappears, and it is supposed to have afforded nourishment for the dead upon their journeyings." Mr. Peake has noted these graves also at Gull Lake and at Crow Wing.

A letter from the Crow Agency, Montana, informs me that the Crows bury their dead with the feet toward the rising sun. Several valuable illustrations of mortuary customs peculiar to this interesting race of aborigines are presented herewith.

From the Rev. A. B. Clark, missionary at the Rosebud Agency (Sioux), information with interesting illustrations has been received.

Mr. Clark states that when an Indian is thought to be dying his hair is combed and oiled and dressed as nicely as possible, the face is painted with vermillion and a new suit of clothing is provided if possible, consisting of blanket, leggings, moccasins, etc. All this may be attended to hours or even days before death actually occurs. The bodies of the dead are not washed. After some "hours, or a day's time, the body is borne to a platform or to a high hill-top, or, in case of a little child, to a large tree, where it is placed in the branches. Occasionally a child's body was laid in the river-side. The body was usually wrapped in a *parflèche* case or a home-tanned robe or skin, the best to be had at the time, when placed on platform or hill or in tree, etc. Immediately on being placed for its final rest the ghost must be fed. So a kettle of coffee or tea and a dish of meat and other foods were placed beneath or beside the body. The bag of tobacco and pipe were not omitted. Whatever fine clothing, ornaments, weapons, or furnishings the deceased had highly esteemed, must go with the body. The favorite pony, too, must be killed beside the body of the dead.

"There was one case in which the Indians always *buried* the dead: When two people of the same camp, neighbors or relatives, quarrelled and one was killed the dead was buried face down and with a piece of fat between the teeth, otherwise, they said, all the game would be scared out of the country. As the Indians become

Christianised these customs change or are dropped, though progress that way is slow. On the death of a friend all begin mourning. The hair is cut short at the neck. Both men and women slash their bodies and limbs with knives and often put sticks or thongs through the wounds as in the old sun-dance ceremony. The mourners, the chief ones, go off to the hill-tops and mourn, perhaps for days. Christian Indians now dress in black, bury the dead as we do in graves, buying coffins or getting them in some way and form, but as yet have not wholly given up the formal mourning at the graves on the hill-top. There is a custom which they call 'Keeping the Ghost.' If a man is very ambitious to be accounted thereafter a good and just man he takes some little article, a ring, a lock of hair, etc., which belonged to the deceased



INDIAN BURIAL. (Above-ground method. Brule Rosebud Agency.)

relative and wraps it up like a little mummy, binds it to a stick and plants it near his door. He keeps the ground swept about it and frequently places food and tobacco there, no matter who helps the ghost dispose of these things. He now also gathers horses and other property for the Ghost-lodge which he will set up after a year or so for a grand feast and give-away to all comers. After the affair of the Ghost-lodge this man must be careful in words and deeds to sustain his reputation as a just and good man which he has thus built up for himself."

Mr. Clark writes further, that there are none of the old-time "platform" or scaffold burial-places near here. In the illustrations we may note the "intermediate stage," bodies placed in boxes of some sort (in one case a trunk shown in the photograph). These

bodies are left unburied at the "Place of the Ghosts." Heavy stones are placed upon and around them to prevent the wind and the wolves from disturbing them. Mr. Clark writes:

"I have frequent appeals for lumber to make plain coffins and must often decline giving aid for want of one board to spare for the purpose. It gives one a pang of regret when we see the body of a child has been placed in a second-hand trunk or that a lumber-wagon box has been made over into a coffin for a Christian Indian rather than go back to the old way.

"Glancing through the little booklet of views you will find 'Resting Place of a Departed Brave,' and there are the bow and arrows and bits of toggery, suggestions of the active life whose sands are now run out.

"The Christian Indians frequently are found to have placed the baptismal certificates, prayer-books and hymnals in their children's coffins. As they become able they buy tombstones to be erected at the head of the graves."

In Colonel Inman's *Great Salt Lake Trail* is found the following account of a funeral of a Bruhl Indian chief:

"The corpse of the deceased chief was brought to the fort by his relatives with a request that the whites should assist at his burial. A scaffold was erected for the reception of the body which in the meantime had been fitted for its last airy tenement. The duty was performed in the following manner: It was first washed then arrayed in the habiliments last worn by the deceased during life, and *sewed in several envelopes of lodge-skin* with his bows and arrows and pipe. This done, all things were ready for the proposed burial. The corpse was borne to its final resting-place followed by a throng of relatives and friends. While moving onward with the dead the train of mourners filled the air with lamentations and rehearsals of the virtues and meritorious deeds of their late chief.

"Arrived at the scaffold the corpse was carefully reposed upon it *facing the east*, while beneath its head was placed a small sack of meat, tobacco, and vermillion. A covering of scarlet cloth was then spread over it and the body firmly lashed to its place by long strips of rawhide. This done the horse of the chieftain was produced as a sacrifice for the benefit of his master in his long journey to the celestial hunting-grounds."

Such is a short and necessarily imperfect account of some of the burial customs of our noble aborigines, the North American Indians. If we read aright the lessons the simple earnest lives of these people teach us, we shall be better and truer men and worship more reverently the God of the red man and of the pale-face, the "Heavenly Father" of us all, white or red, black or yellow. We are his children and He the loving parent.

OM AND THE GAYATRI.

BY EVELYN MARTINENGO-CESARESCO.

THE Gayatri is performed by pronouncing the mystic, incommunicable appellation OM, followed by a formula which, though the meaning of the words is plain, yet remains, like *Om*, in its essence incommunicable.

It has been thought that *Om* is derived from the word *Avam*, meaning "that," which may be used to signify "yes," as *oui* is a contraction of *hoc illud*. According to this theory, *Om* would mean something like the English words which have for most of us a solemnity of association possessed by no other phrase, the "*Even so saith the Spirit*" which figures in our burial service. It is usually supposed that the affirmation refers to the assent and permission of the deity—his acceptance of prayer and sacrifice—but some authorities see in it rather man's assent and submission. Is it not more probable that the assent proceeds from both sides—a common agreement embracing creator and created? We might approach nearer to understanding *Om* and the Gayatri also, if we could regard them less as prayers or confessions of faith than as sacraments. It is utterly impossible to put into language the ideas involved in any sacrament. So it is with *Om*: so it is with the Gayatri. They form the effluence of the Ineffable and effect a union in some unfathomable manner, between the transitory and the eternal, between the individual and the universal, between the book and its author.

The derivation from *Avam* is not now accepted without reserve. Prof. Max Müller appears to lean slightly to the opinion that *Om* merely imitates a deep out-breathing stopped by closing the lips. Still, even if not derived from *Avam*, it seems to be agreed that *Om* is used, as a matter of fact, to express consent, so that whatever be its etymology its affirmative character is not entirely excluded. But when we admit that it is used as an affirma-

tion, we have gone a very short way towards discerning what it means or what it is. The collector of a charming book of Southern India Folk-songs, Mr. C. E. Gover, writes of it as follows :

Om, or more properly *Aum*, is a mystic word of which no one knows the real meaning. It is used for a hundred different things : as each writer has a different idea of a something that pervades the world and yet is not God. It is supposed to typify a mysterious excellence which is for God and yet is not God . . . It is infinite wisdom and mysticism. It is the highest summit of everything that man should aspire to, yet is utterly beyond even the greatest of the rishis and they can be more than gods.

To which I may add the same writer's translation of a Tamil poem written in the tenth century :

How mad ye are who offer praise
 To carven stones. As if such things
 Could fitly image God Most High.
 Can he be but a dirty stone ?
 And can such worship reach his ear ?
 Be faithful to the glorious priest
 Who teaches truth. Receive from him
 The heavenly light that shall make clear
 What body is and what is soul.
 Let all thy mind be overwhelmed
 With that great blaze of light which beams
 From what is typified by *Om*.

From their iconoclastic tendency these lines suggest, like several other passages in Dravidian poetry, some exotic monotheistic influence, Jewish or Mohammedan, as having passed across the people's beliefs without altering them. Yet here, too, the definite statements with which the poem begins are lost at the end in the deep sea of mysticism.

Besides *Om* there is *Pranava* by which *Om* is described or rather named—for *Pranava* is no more intelligible than *Om*. Possibly the *Pranava* means "the glory" or "the breathing forth" but this is conjectural. Prof. Max Müller wrote despairingly :

However old the *Pranava* and the syllable *Om* may be, they must have had a beginning, but in spite of all the theories of the Brahmans, there is not one in the east satisfactory to the scholar.

It seems to me that the vagueness of *Om* may be best explained by supposing that it was intentional and that it arose from reluctance to refer to the Unknowable by an intelligible epithet. The Jews, in spite of claiming an intimacy of intercourse with the Supreme Being which the Indian mind could not conceive, still used all sorts of circumlocutions rather than pronounce the most holy name.

It has been said frequently that a word similar to *Om* figures in the higher branches of Freemasonry. At any rate it is a fact related on the most trustworthy testimony that a Brahman who thought he heard an English Freemason pronounce the word *Om*, at once greeted him as a fellow-Brahman and admitted him into the inner shrine of an ancient temple where none but high caste Hindus might enter. There are other recorded cases in which Masonic knowledge caused Englishmen to be shown secret places in India.

The Gayatri, which like all Brahmanical acts of worship must be preceded by pronouncing *Om*, is thus described in the Skanda Purana :—

Superior to all learning is the difficultly obtained invocation named Gayatri, preceded by the mystic syllable; nothing in the Vedas is more excellent than the Gayatri, as no city is equal to Kashi. The Gayatri is the mother of the Vedas and of Brahmins; from repeating it man is saved (*gayantam trayate*) and hence it is celebrated under the name of Gayatri. By the power of the Gayatri the Kshatriya Vishwamitra from being a Rajarshi became a Brahmarshi and even obtained such power as to be able to create a new world. What is there, indeed, that cannot be effected by the Gayatri? For the Gayatri is Vishnu, Brahma and Shiva and the three Vedas.

In the Rig Veda the Gayatri is spoken of in connexion with the primeval sacrifice: "First was produced the Gayatri joined with fire." I do not know whether this can be interpreted to mean that the Gayatri was the primal incense-cloud of recognition ascending from earth to heaven.

In the Surya-Narayan-Upanishad the Gayatri is incorporated in a hymn which resembles in many points the ancient Egyptian hymns to the sun as symbol of the all-pervading god :—

The sun is the soul of the world; from the sun proceed existence and non-existence . . . from the sun proceed life, the earth, the sky, space, and that sun which irradiates the universe is the heart, the mind, the understanding, the intellect, consciousness, the vital breath, the senses and their organs . . . Praise be to thee, O Illuminator and benefactor of this universe. Thy eye, O Sun, pervadeth all; may, therefore, thy all-provident eye protect us. We acknowledge thee, O Sun! to be the one God, and we mediate on thy countless rays; enlighten, therefore, O Sun, our understandings. The sun is in the West and the East, the North and the South: may that sun who is everywhere present bestow upon us length of days.¹ (Translated by Vans Kennedy.)

Homage to thee . . . thou risest, thou risest; thou shinest, thou shinest, O thou who art crowned king of the gods. Thou art lord of heaven, thou art lord of earth, thou art the creator of those who dwell in the heights and of those who dwell in the depths. Thou art the One God who came into being at the beginning of time. Thou hast knit together the mountains, thou hast made mankind and the beasts of

¹ Compare with this the hymn to Rā :—

the field to come into being, thou hast made the heavens and the earth . . . Hail, One, thou mighty being of myriad forms and aspects, . . . lord of eternity and ruler of everlastingness. (Translated by Dr. E. A. Wallis Budge.)

Certainly it can cause no surprise if the Brahmans guarded the Gayatri with infinite jealousy and withheld this sacred mystery even from those to whom they were willing to communicate their laws and their literature. Thus it happened that Sir William Jones who succeeded in winning the high regard of his Brahman teachers, failed for ten years in obtaining a copy of the formula of the existence of which he knew well, as it is alluded to with the greatest veneration in the ordinances of Manu. How and when it at last came into his possession has never been related in print; I think, therefore, that the following account from a manuscript left by the great Orientalist's friend, Sir C. E. Carrington, will be read with interest :—

May 10th, 1794.

About a fortnight before his death, Sir William Jones told me he had procured the Gayatri of a Sunnyasi, to whom in return he gave all the money he then had in the house and would have given, he said, ten times more, had more been within his reach at the moment. The Sunnyasi afterwards met one of Sir William's Pundits to whom he expressed himself amply satisfied, with much emphasis.

Shortly after his death I begged Mr. Harrington to request his executor Mr. Fairlie to be careful that no Pundits or Brahmans had access to his papers, as on stating to two Brahmans the question what they would do with the Gayatri if they saw it in writing, they immediately answered, "tear it, most certainly." Mr. Harrington thought Mr. Morris more able to interfere, to whom I related these circumstances and who in consequence of this information, on searching found the object of my concern and my fears, and on going myself Mr. Fairlie obligingly permitted me to take a copy.

THE GAYATRI : MOTHER OF THE VEDAS.

Om (i. e. A. U. M.)

(Savitri.)

1. Tat savitur vareṇiyam
2. Bhargo devasya dhīmahi
3. Dhiyo yo nah pracho dayāt.

Forming twenty-four syllables—ten words.¹

Literally : That sun's supremacy (or greater than that sun), God, let us adore which may well direct.

That Light far greater than the sun,
The light of God, let us adore.
Illud, sole præstantius
Lumen Dei meditemur
Intellectus qui nostros dirigit.

Then follows a paraphrase or tica thus.

¹ On the opposite side of the page it is written in Sanskrit characters.

Let us meditate with adoration on the supreme essence of the Divine Sun which illuminates all, recreates all, from which all proceed, to which all must return, and which we invoke to direct our understanding aright in our progress to his holy seats.

Another translation is afterwards added :

Than you bright sun more splendid far
The light of God let us adore
Which only can our minds direct.

The root of the mystic word *Om* is from *av*—"to preserve." *Bhargo* is a mystical word formed by the initial letters of *bha*, "to shine"; *ram*, "to delight"; *gam*, "to go"; and *sarva*, "all." The three verbs making a triad and the four letters a tetractys or tetragram.

The Gayatri of Vishnu was also on the same leaf in the following characters which are put into Sanskrit on the opposite side:—

Sadvishnoh paramam padam
Sada pasyanti surayah
Diviva chacshuratatam.

A translation word for word:—

That sun the supreme seat of the godhead, the wise perpetually see (or consider) as an Eye extended over the firmament.

A note is added to the MS.:—

On looking over some old collections of papers I again met with this memorandum which I attest to be true. C. E. Carrington. Jan. 3rd, 1830.¹

This small manuscript as it lies before me, written out in the beautiful handwriting of the eighteenth century, but the ink dim and the paper yellow with age (the few sheets enclosed in a little black silk case tied with ribands), brings up to mind vividly the days when Oriental research was a romance and a passion.

Colonel Vans Kennedy printed the Sanskrit text of the Gayatri in his "Nature and affinity of ancient and Hindu Mythology"

¹ In the "Voyages and Travels" of Viscount Valentia (London, 1809) the author writes: "at the head of the judicial department" (in Ceylon), "is Sir Edmund Carrington, a very able man and a pupil of the late Sir William Jones in Asiatic researches." But I think that my grandfather was not his friend's pupil in the technical sense which might be inferred from this paragraph. He was attached to him by common tastes and by the most sincere esteem which Sir William Jones returned. The only *souvenirs* of his residence in India which my grandfather preserved till his death, were the memorandum on the Gayatri, the proof sheets of the Ordinances of Manu with many notes in pencil, given to him by the translator, and a cinnamon cane decorated by a gold head, which Sir William cut when the two were walking together in a forest. After codifying the laws of Ceylon Sir C. E. Carrington returned to England, having been dissuaded by his doctor from accepting the chief-justiceship of Calcutta. He sat in parliament for a long time for the borough of St. Mawes. His portrait by Sir Thomas Lawrence may be seen in the South Kensington Museum as well as that of his beautiful wife, Paulina, daughter of John Belli, a member of a noble Italian family, who went to India and became private Secretary to Warren Hastings.

(1831) and he stated his belief that it had never been published till then.¹ If so, what became of the copy found among Sir William Jones' papers? Vans Kennedy translated it thus:

"*Tat.* Let us meditate on the excellence of the sun, of the god Bharga; may he excite our understandings."

Here there seems to be a misconception about the word "Bharga." I will give one more translation, Prof. Max Müller's:

"We meditate on the adorable light of the divine Savitri, that he may rouse our thoughts."

The Professor goes on to say:

"This Savitri, the sun, is, of course, more than the fiery ball that rises from the sea or over the hills, but nevertheless, the real sun serves as a symbol and it was that symbol which suggested to the supplicant the divine power manifested in the sun."

The Buddhists of Thibet have a sort of Gayatri of their own, the formula of the Jewel in the Lotus, ("Om mani padmê hûm"), which though more obscurely expressed doubtless points to the same idea of supreme creative excellence.

In the development of Brahmanism, or rather in its degeneration, legends grew round the Gayatri which illustrate the frantic tendency to materialise everything which goes side by side in India with the tendency to spiritualise everything till it becomes incomprehensible. These two tendencies must appear where religion is divided between the initiated and the masses who are purposely kept in ignorance. The legends of the Gayatri are such as we could imagine as springing up among some wholly uninstructed Catholic community about the Angelus which for lack of information, grew to be regarded as the name of a Saint, to whom homage was paid. The Gayatri became not a Saint but a milkmaid, in which, perhaps, there was some sort of symbolism, as it is elsewhere said to have been "milked from the Vedas."

These childish fables cannot detract from the sublime character of the ancient words which are for the pious Brahman the most precious inheritance of his race, words which would serve equally well as an essential epitome of the faith of Egypt, or again, of that of Persia. Ahura Mazda, lord of uncreated light, might be addressed in the Gayatri; or Mithra, effulgent with the auroral splendour, who, towards the beginning of the Christian era, was confounded with the perfect God and so passed into the Roman Empire where his cult was on the high road to become paramount when it was checked by the advance of Christianity.

¹ Colebrooke's *Asiatic Researches* in which it was again printed, appeared in 1837.

The Gayatri is still the Brahman Angelus, the salutation ever renewed in the morning and evening sandhyavandana—the twilight worship which celebrates the parting and meeting of day and night. About this Mr. R. W. Frazer¹ writes with penetration and sympathy :—

... "Underlying all is no uncertain sound of the sad wail that ever and again murmurs from the seer's soul, declaring that man's proud answers but mock at its yearning cry to know the invisible, the unbound. The true end of the struggle is found in the one verse handed down from Vedic times and murmured by all orthodox Hindus of to-day as they wake to find the reality of the world rise up around them and still know that beyond the reality is that which they still yearn to know. Like all the best of Vedic hymns this hymn known as the Gáyatrī has its form in its sound and therefore remains untranslatable in words even as does music which rouses, soothes and satisfies in its passing moods. It still holds its sway over the millions who daily repeat it, as it also held entranced the religious fervour of countless millions in the past. The birth-right of the twice-born was to hear whispered in their ear by their spiritual preceptors this sacred prayer of India :—

Om. Tat Savitur varenyam
Bhargo devasya dhīmahi
Dhiyo yo nah pracodayāt.

Let us meditate on the to-be-longed-for light of the Inspirer ; may it incite all our efforts.

Once heard in the land of its own birth, once learned from the lips of those whose proudest boast is that they can trace back their descent from the poets who first caught the music which it holds in every syllable, it rings for ever after as India's noblest tribute to the Divine, as an acknowledgment of submissive resignation to the decrees which bid man keep his soul in patience until the day dawns when all things shall be revealed."

¹A *Literary History of India*, p. 61.

MISCELLANEOUS.

GOTTFRIED WILHELM LEIBNITZ.

(1646-1716.)

The appearance of Leibnitz's most important metaphysical writings in a new volume of the Philosophical Classics¹ issued by The Open Court Pub. Co. affords us a favorable opportunity for recalling the attention of our readers to this great and commanding figure in the history of thought. The portrait of Leibnitz forming the frontispiece to the present *Open Court* is taken from the large photogravure picture of our Philosophical Portrait Series, and the photograph, reproduced in this note, of the Leibnitz monument near the Thomas-Kirche, which was the scene of the great composer Bach's famous triumphs, has been specially procured for our purpose from Leipsic.

The present volume of Leibnitz's writings, which now takes its place in the Philosophical Classics alongside the works of Descartes, Berkeley and Hume, (Kant is to follow,) is made up of three separate treatises: (1) *The Discourse on Metaphysics*, (2) *Leibnitz's Correspondence with Arnauld*, and (3) *The Monadology*. Together they form a composite and logical whole, and afford an excellent survey of Leibnitz's thought. The first two, the *Metaphysics* and the *Correspondence with Arnauld*, have never before been translated into English, while the translation of the *Monadology* is new. The translator, Dr. George R. Montgomery, has done his work well, and a clear and admirable *résumé* of the history of philosophy in Leibnitz's time and of his own system has been added from the pen of the late Paul Janet, Member of the French Institute. In fine, all the necessary material has been furnished in this volume for a comprehension of the thought of one of the most versatile geniuses the world has produced.

* * *

It would be difficult to overestimate the importance or magnitude of the labors of Leibnitz. His attainments were universal. He distinguished himself alike in history, jurisprudence, logic, metaphysics, mechanics, and mathematics, being joint-founder, in the latter department, of the infinitesimal calculus. Success seemed to crown his every effort. Not until the closing years of his life was the brilliant picture darkened. How unlike Spinoza! "The illustrious Jew of Amsterdam," says Prof. Weber, "was poor, neglected, and persecuted even to his dying day, while Leibnitz knew only the bright side of life. Most liberally endowed with all the gifts of nature and of fortune, and as eager for titles and honors as for

¹ *Discourse on Metaphysics, Correspondence with Arnauld, and Monadology*. With an Introduction by Paul Janet, Member of the French Institute. Translated from the Originals by Dr. George Montgomery. Chicago. 1902. Pages, xxi, 272. Price, paper, 35 cents.

knowledge and truth, he had a brilliant career as a jurist, diplomat, and universal *savant*. His remarkable success is reflected in the motto of his *Theodicy*, which reads: "*Everything is for the best in the best of possible Worlds.*"

Let us see briefly the position which Leibnitz occupies in the history of metaphysics. The exaggerated nonsense of the theory of "substantial" or "accidental" forms, as elaborated by the Schoolmen, was exploded by Descartes. The explana-



THE LEIBNIZ MONUMENT NEAR THE THOMAS-KIRCHE IN LEIPZIG.

tion which this theory gave of the fact that some bodies fell to the earth while others rose in the air, was that heaviness was the "substantial form" of the former and lightness of the latter. Water rose in an empty tube because of the "abhorrence" which nature had for a vacuum. Fire, with heat for its instrument, produced fire, according to Toletus, because of the activity of the "substantial form" of fire. It was to abolish the abuse of substantial forms that Gassendi and Des-

cartes founded a new physics which became the modern mechanicalism, viz., that all the phenomena of bodies are modifications of the extension of bodies (extension being all that there is contained in the conception of bodies), and that all phenomena should consequently be explained by the properties inherent in extension, viz., form, position, and motion. This theory of Descartes has been partially confirmed by modern physics, which explains sound, light, heat, and electricity as movements either of the air or of the ether.

"It has often been said," says Paul Janet (and the following quotation clearly characterises not only Leibnitz's position in philosophy, but also one of the fundamental problems of metaphysics), "that the march of modern science has been in the opposite direction from the Cartesian philosophy, in that the latter conceives of matter as a dead and inert substance, while the former represents it as animated by forces, activities, and energies of every kind. This it seems to me is to confuse two wholly different points of view, that is the physical and the metaphysical points of view. The fact seems to be that from the physical point of view, science has rather followed the line of Descartes, reducing the number of occult qualities and as far as possible explaining all the phenomena in terms of motion. In this way all the problems tend to become problems of mechanics; change of position, change of form, change of motion,—these are the principles to which our physicists and our chemists have recourse whenever they can.

"It is therefore wrong to say that the Cartesian line of thought has completely failed and that modern science has been moving away from it more and more. On the contrary, we are witnessing the daily extension of mechanicalism in the science of our time. The question takes on a different phase when it is asked whether mechanicalism is the final word of nature, whether it is self-sufficient, in fact, whether the principles of mechanicalism are themselves mechanical. This is a wholly metaphysical question and does not at all affect positive science; for the phenomena will be explained in the same way whether matter is thought of as inert, composed of little particles which are moved and combined by invisible hands, or whether an anterior activity and a sort of spontaneity is attributed to them. For the physicist and for the chemist, forces are only words representing unknown causes. For the metaphysician they are real activities. It is metaphysics, therefore, and not physics which is rising above mechanicalism. It is in metaphysics that mechanicalism has found, not its contradiction, but its completion through the doctrine of dynamism. It is this latter direction that philosophy has mainly taken since Descartes and in this the prime mover was Leibnitz.

"In order to understand Leibnitz's system we must not forget a point to which sufficient attention has not been paid, namely, that Leibnitz never gave up or rejected the mechanicalism of Descartes. He always affirmed that everything in nature could be explained mechanically; that, in the explanation of phenomena, recourse must never be had to occult causes; so far, indeed, did he press this position that he refused to admit Newton's attraction of gravitation, suspecting it of being an occult quality: while, however, Leibnitz admitted with Descartes the application of mechanicalism, he differed from him in regard to the basis of it, and he is continually repeating that if everything in nature is mechanical, geometrical, and mathematical the source of mechanicalism is in metaphysics.

"Descartes explained everything geometrically and mechanically, that is, by extension, form, and motion, just as Democritus had done before; but he did not go further, finding in extension the very essence of corporeal substance. Leibnitz's genius showed itself when he pointed out that extension does not suffice to explain

phenomena and that it has need itself of an explanation. Brought up in the scholastic and peripatetic philosophy, he was naturally predisposed to accord more of reality to the corporeal substance, and his own reflections soon carried him much farther along the same line."

* * *

The following, briefly stated, are the facts of Leibnitz's life.

Gottfried Wilhelm Leibnitz was born at Leipsic in 1646 and lost his father at the age of six years. He was very precocious, and from his infancy gave evidence of remarkable ability. At fifteen, he was admitted to the higher branches of study, philosophy and mathematics, which he pursued first at Leipsic and then at Jena. An intrigue not very well understood prevented his obtaining his doctor's degree at Leipsic, and he obtained it from the small university of Altdorf near Nuremberg, where he made the acquaintance of Baron von Boineburg, who became one of his most intimate friends and who took him to Frankfurt. Here he was named as a councillor of the supreme court in the electorate of Mainz, and wrote his first two works on jurisprudence, *The Study of Law* and *The Reform of the Corpus Juris*. At Frankfurt also were written his first literary and philosophical works and notably his two treatises on motion: *Abstract Motion*, addressed to the Academy of Sciences at Paris, and *Concrete Motion*, addressed to the Royal Society at London. He remained with the Elector till the year 1672, when he began his journeys. He first went to Paris and then to London, where he was made a member of the Royal Society. Returning to Paris, he remained till 1677, when he made a trip through Holland, and finally took up his residence at Hanover, where he was appointed director of the library. At Hanover he lived for ten years, leading a very busy life. He contributed to the founding of the *Acta Eruditorum*, a famous journal of learning, which served the purpose of the later Academies. From 1687 to 1691, at the request of his patron, Duke Ernst-Augustus, he was engaged in searching various archives in Germany and Italy for the writing of the history of the house of Brunswick. To him the Academy of Berlin, of which he was the first president, owes its foundation. The last fifteen years of his life were given up principally to philosophy. In this period must be placed the *New Essays*, the *Theodicy*, the *Monadology*, and also his correspondence with Clarke, which was interrupted by his death,—November 14, 1716. During the life-time of Leibnitz, aside from the articles in journals, only some five of his writings were published, including his doctor's thesis, *De Principio Individui* (1663), and the *Théodicée* (1710). After his death (1716) all his papers were deposited in the library at Hanover, where they are to-day, a great part of them (15,000 letters) still unpublished.

SIR JOHN MAUNDEVILLE ON THE CIRCUMNAVIGATION OF THE GLOBE.

Now that the causes of Columbus' memorable voyage which resulted in the discovery of America are under discussion, the sources of our information will doubtless be exhaustively scrutinised, but there is an item of evidence which, though well known by scholars, has received little attention from the public and is not without significance.

Whether the map and the two letters of Toscanelli to Columbus are forgeries, as Mr. Henry Vignaud seeks to prove, or not, are we wrong in believing that the

idea was quite commonly held by educated men of that time that Cathay and the Indies might be reached by sailing westward across the Atlantic?

Sir John Maundeville is believed to have written his *Voyages and Travels* in the year 1355. In his chapter describing the "Isle of Lamary" he goes on to say :

"In that Land and in many other beyond that, no Man may see the Star Transmontane (or Polar Star), that is clept the Star of the Sea, that is unmoveable and that is toward the North, that we call the Lode-star. But Men see another Star, the contrary (or opposite) to it, that is toward the South, that is clept Antarctic. And right as the Ship-men here take their advice and govern them by the Lode-star, right so do Ship-men beyond these Parts govern them by the Star of the South, the which Star appeareth not to us. And this Star that is toward the North, that we call the Lode-star, appeareth not to them. For which cause Men may well perceive, that the Land and the Sea be of round Shape and Form ; for the Part of the Firmament sheweth in one Country that sheweth not in another Country. And Men may well prove by Experience and subtle Compassing of Wit, that if a Man found Passages by Ships that would go to search the world, he might go by Ship all about the world and above and beneath.

"The which thing I prove thus after what I have seen. For I have been toward the Parts of Brabant, and beheld by the Astrolabe that the Star that is clept the Transmontane is 53 Degrees high ; and more further in Germany and Bohemia it hath 58 Degrees ; and more further toward the Septentrional (or Northern) Parts it is 62 Degrees of Height and certain Minutes ; for I myself have measured it by the Astrolabe. Now shall ye know, that over against the Transmontane is the tother Star that is clept Antarctic, as I have said before. And those 2 Stars move never, and on them turneth all the Firmament right as doth a Wheel that turneth on his Axle-tree. So that those Stars bear the Firmament in 2 equal Parts, so that it hath as much above as it hath beneath. After this, I have gone toward the Meridional Parts, that is, toward the South, and I have found that in Lybia Men see first the Star Antarctic. And so the more further I have gone in those Countries, the more high I have found that Star ; so that toward the High Lybia it is 18 Degrees of Height and certain Minutes (of the which 60 Minutes make a Degree). After going by Sea and by Land toward this Country of which I have spoken, and to other Isles and Lands beyond that Country, I have found the Star Antarctic 33 Degrees of Height and some Minutes. And if I had had Company and Shipping to go more beyond, I trow well, as certain, that we should have seen all the Roundness of the Firmament all about.

"By the which I say to you certainly that Men may environ all the Earth of all the World, as well underneath as above, and return again to their Country, if that they had Company and Shipping and Conduct. *And always they should find Men, Lands and Isles, as well as in this Country.*

"And therefore hath a Thing befallen, as I have heard recounted many times when I was young, how a worthy Man departed sometime from our Countries to go search the World. And so, he passed Ind and the Isles beyond Ind, where be more than 5000 Isles. And so long he went by Sea and Land, and so environed the World by many Seasons, that he found an Isle where he heard Folk speak his own Language, calling on Oxen at the Plough, such words as Men speak to Beasts in his own Country ; whereof he had great Marvel, for he knew not how it might be. But I say that he had gone so long by Land and by Sea, that he had environed all the Earth ; and environing, that is to say, going about, he was come again unto his own Borders ; and if he would have passed further, he had found his

Country and Things well-known. But he turned again from thence, from whence he was come. And so he lost much painful Labour, as he himself said a great while after, when he was come Home. For it befell after, that he went unto Norway. And there a Tempest of the Sea took him, and he arrived in an Isle. And, when he was in that Isle, he knew well that it was the Isle, where he had heard speak his own Language before and the calling of the Oxen at the Plough; and that was a possible Thing."

This book was written over a century before the voyage of Columbus. It was intended as a popular exposition of geographical knowledge and was so widely circulated that the British Museum alone has about a hundred different printed editions in all European languages and there are over three hundred different manuscript versions extant. And in this fourteenth century book of travels we find it stated as something more than a theory, not only that the Earth can be circumnavigated but that in its circumnavigation would be found "Men, Lands and Isles, as well as in this Country."

Little attention has been of late accorded Maundeville's *Travels* because it is alleged the book is mainly cribbed from other authors and even that no Sir John Maundeville ever existed. However, in this connection it matters nothing whether the *Travels* was written by Maundeville or Jehan de Bourgogne nor whether it is a compilation from the works of Hetoum, Odoric, William of Boldensele and others. If the latter be true it only shows the more general diffusion of the matter the *Travels* contains.

We know from Aristotle that in his day the globular form of the Earth and the possibility of sailing west to India were discussed. Eratosthenes and Seneca both maintained that the voyage could be made, and Strabo believed that other inhabited worlds lay beyond the confines of the then known world. Although during the Middle Ages these views were lost sight of and the geographical theories of Cosmos Indicopleustes generally accepted except by the learned, the travels of Carpini, Rubruquis, Marco Polo and others in the thirteenth century had revolutionised geographical knowledge. In 1267 Roger Bacon is discussing the distance from Spain west to Asia; in 1410 we find a similar discussion in the *Imago Mundi* of Alliatus. The passage quoted from Maundeville adds further weight to the conclusion that the idea of a westward route to the Indies was no novelty in the fifteenth century. And it is known that Columbus was familiar with these views.

EDWARD LINDSEY.

Warren, Pa.

PETER RIJNHART IN TIBET.

Our readers may remember occasional notes and communications made on Dr. Peter Rijnhart, a missionary of rare enthusiasm and energy bent on converting the Tibetans to Christianity. He had tried to enter the country from the south, but did not succeed. So he decided to try the longer and more dangerous way through China.

He was not sent by any Church or Board of Missions, but went on his own responsibility, a free lance for the propagation of Christianity, supported by a few friends, among whom the Rev. Charles T. Paul, pastor of the Church of Christ, Toronto, Canada, has done much to support his cause and start him on the way to Tibet.

Rijnhart was a native Dutchman, but he made many friends in the United States and married a Canadian lady, a missionary herself who had taken a degree in medicine. He was a sympathetic figure and in many respects like the ingenuous sons of Central Asia. There was a kinship between him and Kumbum Lamar, not in faith but in disposition, which he had plenty of opportunity to find out. He was as naive in his faith as were the Buddhists he met in theirs; he was cordial, open-hearted, zealous in his convictions, but his zeal was the warmth of love taught him by his religion.

Mr. and Mrs. Rijnhart had entered deep into Inner Tibet; they had suffered innumerable hardships, were threatened by robbers, had lost their native guides, and were endeavoring to cross a river when he disappeared and no trace of him has ever been found. They had discerned at a distance with the help of their telescope herdsmen on the other bank, and Mr. Rijnhart went down to the stream to swim across. Wading half across, he put out his arms to make the first stroke, but suddenly turned around and walked back again to the bank where he had first entered the water. Shouting something up to Mrs. Rijnhart which she did not hear on account of the rushing river, he walked up-stream in the opposite direction to the tents he had set out for. Then he followed a little path around the rocks that had obstructed their way the day before, until out of sight, and she never saw him again.

Whether Peter Rijnhart was drowned in the river, or slain by robbers, or met some other untoward end, is more than any one can tell. Mrs. Rijnhart, however, was left alone, a forlorn and lonely woman in the midst of the wildest tribes of Inner Asia. Her anxiety, her misery, her despair, can only approximately be measured by those who consider her desolate condition. Yet her courage never flagged, and under the most trying circumstances she succeeded in returning to the Yangtse Kiang, where she passed back through Hankow, Nanking and Shanghai to her native land.

Her new book,¹ illustrated by photographs of Mr. and Mrs. Rijnhart and some characteristic types of Tibetans, tells the story of her travels, and we need not say it is interesting reading throughout. Her report is a valuable addition to the information given by Huc and Gabet, partly confirming their statements, partly correcting, and partly adding to them; but the delineation of the character of the Tibetans is so similar that some of the figures whom one meets in these pages seem familiar, like new incarnations of old friends. Compare only the character of the Regent of Lhasa as described by Huc and Gabet to the Kanpo of Kumbum as characterised by Mrs. Rijnhart. The circumstances under which the two live are somewhat different, but the attitudes they take are typical and they speak and behave as the same person will act on different occasions.

Mrs. Rijnhart's book is so interesting that it deserves to be read all through, but for the sake of showing what the reader may expect we quote some passages from chapters that for one reason or another deserve special attention.

Kumbum is to the Buddhist the most sacred place in Outer Tibet; in fact, next to Lhasa there is no place in the world regarded with greater awe, not even the sacred land of the Buddhists in India itself excepted. Mrs. Rijnhart rightly compares it to Rome; and as there the pilgrims go on their knees up the steps of St. Peter's, so in Kumbum they show their reverence in a similar way. And the abbot of the lamasery is practically the pope of Outer Tibet. As the pope is

¹ *With the Tibetans in Tent and Temple.* By Susie Carson Rijnhardt, M. D. Chicago, New York, and Toronto: Fleming H. Revell Company. 1901. Pages, 400. Price, \$1.50.

deemed infallible and the successor of Peter, the vicegerent of God on earth, so the abbot is believed to be the living incarnation of the Buddha.

Mr. Rijnhart had the good fortune to become the personal friend of Mina Fuyeh, the *kanpo* or *fa tai* of Kumbum. Mr. Rijnhart's guide, Ishinima, had often spoken of him as inaccessible; but, says Mrs. Rijnhart: "To our amazement we received from the kanpo an invitation to take up our abode in the lamasery during the rebellion, an offer which, needless to say, we eagerly accepted, not only because of the safety it offered us, but also because of the prestige it would give us in the eyes of those whom we were seeking to help. This apparently sudden kindness on the part of the abbot was dependent upon an amusing incident during Mr. Rijnhart's visit to Kumbum in 1892. One day he was sent for by one of the 'living buddhas' of Kumbum, and, expecting to have a pleasant and profitable conversation about spiritual matters, he went immediately to the buddha's apartment, where he learned with some disappointment that he had been summoned not from any religious motive, but to be consulted about a music-box which the buddha had bought as a curiosity when on a visit to Pekin. The music-box was, to express literally what the lama had said 'sick,' and had ceased to give forth music; and the lama had concluded that since it had been made by foreigners it could surely be cured by a foreigner. Mr. Rijnhart carefully examined the instrument, and finding it only needed lubricating, gave it a liberal treatment of castor-oil, the only kind available, whereupon its powers returned, and the wonderful box was, as the lama expressed it, 'cured.' He had therefore conceived great confidence in the skill of the foreigner, for if he could cure a sick music-box with one dose of medicine, how much more could he do for a sick man! The result of an apparently insignificant act of kindness cannot be estimated. The music-box incident, though forgotten by Mr. Rijnhart, had evidently left an impression on the lama, who had in the meantime risen to the dignity of the abbotsip, for he it was who now again summoned the foreign doctor with his magic oil to come and treat the treasurer of the lamasery, who had fallen ill, although he did not know at the time that Mr. Rijnhart was the same foreigner who had 'cured his sick instrument.'

"The kanpo was particularly interested in the fact that Mr. Rijnhart had a wife, and as more ominous reports of the progress of the rebellion reached the lamasery, he evinced a sincere anxiety about our welfare. He had indeed a greater surprise in store for us than the privilege of paying him a visit, for he told us very cordially that his own home in the lamasery was at our disposal, and bade us move our goods at once to his apartments and take up our abode there until the rebellion was over. 'If the Mohammedans attack Lushan,' he said gravely, 'the people will take shelter in the lamasery and leave you to be killed.' We could but feel that the kanpo's offer was providential, so, accepting it as heartily as it was given, we removed those of our valuables which were not hidden in the cave, over to his house, where we found he had prepared for our occupancy two large rooms and a kitchen."

Mrs. Rijnhart describes the *kanpo* as "far superior to the average lama in intelligence, yet his knowledge was extremely limited, a fact which he cheerfully admitted. He knew practically nothing of the outside world, and was wofully ignorant of natural science; but we found him an accomplished linguist conversant with Tibetan, both classical and colloquial, Chinese and Mongolian." The superstitions to which he was addicted Mrs. Rijnhart describes as mainly consisting in a firm and obviously honest conviction of the doctrine of reincarnation. "Although only twenty-seven years of age, he confidently asserted that he had lived in this palatial

abode previous to the year 1861. He professed even to have vivid recollections of all that pertained to his previous incarnation, and more than that, he could tell some things that were going to happen in the next. He took great pleasure in prophesying that Mr. Rijnhart would in his next life-time reappear on earth as a Buddha, as a reward for the good work he was doing in the present existence.

"Frequently the kanpo expressed an ardent longing to accompany us to America or to Europe if we should ever go home, in order that he might see for himself and learn something of the world beyond, so full of mystery.

"Of the occult knowledge of the hidden things of nature, attributed by Theosophists to the Tibetan priests, Mina Fuyeh, although abbot of one of the greatest lamaseries in all Tibet and occupying a position of spiritual and intellectual eminence surpassed only by the 'Dalai Lama' at Lhasa, knew nothing. He had never seen a mahatma, and was much surprised when we told him that Western people believed such to exist in Tibet. On the question of mahatmas we made very careful and minute inquiries of many lamas, all of whom confessed their ignorance of any such beings. There was no record or even legend of any having ever visited Kumbum, and one of the oldest priests in the lamasery, who had spent years in Lhasa, told us he never heard of a mahatma, even in that 'City of Spirits.' There are, it is true, some lamas who profess to have magical powers.

"During our stay in the Palace, Mina Fuyeh came with his secretary and treasurer to perform religious devotions in his household temple during a period of three days. Their worship consisted mainly in the chanting of prayers to the accompaniment of the jingling of bells, and the beating of little drums made of skins stretched over human skulls. When they had chanted themselves hoarse they swallowed copious quantities of tea, and then came into our apartments, seeming to enjoy the respite from the dull routine as keenly as school children enjoy recess.

"During such intermittent visits much time was spent in conversation on Christianity and Buddhism, subjects of which Mina Fuyeh never seemed to tire. Soon after we had made his acquaintance Mr. Rijnhart had given him copies of the Christian Gospels in the Tibetan character, among them a copy of St. John, which he prized very highly. He had a marvelous memory, and was soon almost as familiar with the text of the Gospels as we ourselves, and was able quite intelligently to discuss the various incidents of the life of Jesus, quoting passages with astonishing accuracy and appositeness. He told us that he believed thoroughly in Jesus, but that he did not see any reason why he should renounce Buddhism and become a Christian. He could not see any insurmountable difficulties in accepting both systems, for even on the great doctrine of reincarnation with respect to which Christianity and Buddhism are supposed to stand at the opposite poles, he claimed that whereas the Gospels did not explicitly teach the doctrine, yet they did not expressly deny it. He indeed went further and declared his belief that Jesus was no other than a reincarnation of Buddha, and that Tsong K'aba, the great Tibetan reformer, was a later incarnation of Jesus. At the same time Mina Fuyeh confessed himself charmed with the gospel story. He told us there were many parallels between Jesus and Tsong K'aba; that the latter had gone about healing the sick and teaching the people just like Jesus. When we spoke of the crucifixion he said that Tsong K'aba had been persecuted, too, and added that even to-day in Tibet it was not wise for a lama to be 'too good.' I believe that, all unconsciously perhaps, Mina Fuyeh has been the means of spreading gospel teaching among his people to an extent that has as yet been possible for no Christian

missionary. With all the famous lamas and pilgrims from the far interior, even from Lhasa, as also from Mongolia, he conversed on the subject, telling them what he knew about Christian doctrines, and teaching them to pronounce for the first time the name 'Yesu Ma'shika,' Jesus Christ."

If we were to select all the interesting incidents, we should have to reprint half of the book, so we limit our quotations to one passage only, because it refers to the mooted question of the trees with one thousand images, of which M.M. Huc and Gabet say that they had seen the trees and Tibetan characters on their leaves, an incident which they had no means of explaining. Mrs. Rijnhart's account of the trees is rather disappointing, for having seen them she declares that the leaves bear neither images nor Tibetan characters, but are simply leaves, just like those of other trees. Whether, perhaps, in some season of the year when the Rijnharts were not staying in Kumbum, the veins of the leaves present the appearance of Tibetan characters, which would explain the statement of MM. Huc and Gabet, or whether the whole thing is imagination, we leave to our readers to decide. Mrs. Rijnhart says: "Of the sacred tree from which the lamasery takes its name, and which grew up from the hairs of Tsong K'aba, a word must be said. There are three of these trees in a yard near the Golden Tiled Temple. All pilgrims visiting the lamasery take special pains to pay reverence to the central tree, and to receive some of its leaves, on each one of which is clearly discernible to the eye of the faithful the image of Tsong K'aba. No one around Kumbum seemed to question this marvel but the two foreigners. We frequently visited the tree and had the leaves in our hands, but our eyes were holden from seeing the image or anything approaching it, a disability which the lamas coolly informed us arose from the fact that we were not true followers of the Buddha. This explanation is rather damaging to the reputation of MM. Huc and Gabet, who declare they saw on the leaves of the tree, not images of Tsong K'aba, but well-formed Tibetan characters. There is nothing in Huc's narrative so perplexing as this, and without questioning his veracity one cannot refrain from wondering to what extent he fell under the magic spell of the Tsong K'aba legends; nor is it any the less clear why the leaves which in Huc's day bore Tibetan characters, should have passed on from literature to art, producing now only images of the saint! The tree has been variously classified. Rockhill, following Kreitner, first thought it was a lilac (*Philadelphus coronarius*), but later he concluded it was a species of syringa (*syringa villosa*, Vahl). We saw the tree once when it was in bloom—the flowers are very much like lilacs, but the leaves seem to be stiffer."

THE RELIGION OF SCIENCE LIBRARY EXCLUDED BY THE POSTAL AUTHORITIES FROM THE PRIVILEGES OF SECOND-CLASS MATTER.

We understand that there has long been an abuse of the postal laws with reference to second-class matter, which admits periodical and paper-bound literature to the right of very cheap carriage by post; and that the postal authorities have therefore deemed it wise to restrict as much as possible the privileges granted by Congress to this kind of literature. The abuse of the privileges in question has been mainly for advertising purposes and for pandering to vulgar tastes through the circulation of cheap novels and sensational news, which only serve to warp the imagination of the reader.

The postal authorities, in their justifiable endeavor to reduce the privileges given to second-class matter, have, as a result of mistaken zeal, suspended also the Religion of Science Library and withdrawn from it the privilege of being sent through the mails as second-class matter. They inform us that they have examined two copies of it, and have found that they partake of the nature of *books*, which, according to the law as they understand it, are to be excluded.

According to this interpretation of the law, it seems that only such publications should be granted the privilege of second-class matter as contain current news and other materials of only transient interest : while anything that might have permanent value or should bear the character of method and system, so as to form a unity and thus partake of the nature of a book, should be excluded.

We differ from the postal authorities, for the spirit of the law obviously is to grant the privilege of reduced postage to such publications as will help to educate the public and to make everything that is educational as accessible as possible ; and in fact such is the law. It reads as follows :

"The conditions upon which a publication shall be admitted to the second class are as follows :

"*First.* It must regularly be issued at stated intervals, as frequently as four times a year, and bear a date of issue, and be numbered consecutively.

"*Second.* It must be issued from a known office of publication.

"*Third.* It must be formed of printed paper sheets, without board, cloth, leather, or other substantial binding, such as distinguish printed books for preservation from periodical publications.

"*Fourth.* It must be originated and published for the dissemination of information of a public character, or devoted to literature, the sciences, arts or some special industry, and have a legitimate list of subscribers : *Provided, however,* That nothing herein contained shall be so construed as to admit to the second-class rate regular publications, designed primarily for advertising purposes, or for free circulation, or for circulation at nominal rates. (Act of March 3, 1879, Sec. 14, 20 Stats., 359, Sec. 277, P. L. & R., 1893.)"

Now, it is true that *books* are excluded under the *Third* section ; but the definition of *book* is expressly given,—the condition being that second-class matter must be "formed of printed paper sheets, *without board, cloth, leather, or other substantial binding, such as distinguish printed books for preservation from periodical publications.*" The meaning of the law is to reduce the price of reading material and to help publishers to comply with this special demand. Those who are excluded from this privilege are the book-binders, for book-binding does not properly belong to the publication of literature, and is merely an ornament and an additional expense which must be classed with any other line of business, such as furniture-making, house-building, farming, the provision of food stuffs, etc., etc., which although useful in themselves do not, according to the ideas of Congress, serve the educational wants of the people.

The law is so explicit that we cannot understand how the postal authorities can deny the Religion of Science Library the privilege of classification under second-class matter. They continue however the *Police Gazette* because its publications do not partake of the nature of books. It is "published for the dissemination of information of a public character," but perhaps not in the sense of the law, and it will be difficult to say that it is "devoted to literature, the sciences, arts or some special industry."

The logic of the postal authorities is obviously sound if they think that any-

thing that proves to be first-class in intrinsic worth ought not to be tolerated in the category of second-class matter. Since the publication of the Religion of Science Library, consisting of some of the works of the foremost philosophers of mankind : Descartes, Hume, Berkeley, Kant, Leibnitz, Locke, etc., etc., are unequivocally first-class, it seems to be a matter of course that when they travel in the mails they should not pay second-class postage, but according to such a standard they ought to go by letter rate, first-class.

Now, we can do one of two things : Either we can quietly submit, or we can try to overthrow the ruling of the postal authorities. If we do the former, we by no means recognise the justice of the ruling, but simply yield because the expense of the other course would be too great, and the benefits to be gained therefrom are too small. The Religion of Science Library is not published for gain, but for the accommodation of the public, and it is by no means a mine of wealth. The privilege of the reduced postage rate granted to second-class matter plays an important part in the plan of its publication. The reduction of the postage is only one consideration ; the saving of time and labor through the facility of paying the cost of carriage in one bill, doing away with the stamping and weighing of each single package, is probably more important.

The public which we serve is at any rate limited, nor is it organised to exercise any political pressure, consisting mainly of professors, teachers, students, clergymen, etc. Yet the reduction of labor to the Post Office in handling the second-class mails, caused by the exclusion of these books, will prove a drop in the bucket only.

We shall continue, however, to serve the public as well as we can under the changed conditions, but we shall be obliged in all cases to add to the regular prices of the books the cost of carriage. The old numbers shall be sold at the stated price, merely adding thereto the postage for carrying them through the mails as ordinary printed matter.

P. C.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE GĀYATRĪ.

The Countess Evelyn Martinengo-Cesaresco's¹ article on the *Aum and Gāyatrī* is an interesting contribution to the history of our knowledge of Sanskrit literature and the Brahman religion. It is natural that any Hindu Samnyasi would be reluctant to initiate foreigners into their ceremonies or to recite to them their most sacred prayers. But Sir William Jones might have found the text of the Gāyatrī more easily and without any special sacrifice, if he had known that it was contained in the Rig-vedas, where we find it in Book III., 62, 10.

The Gāyatrī is the most sacred prayer of the Hindus and takes about the same place in their religion as the Lord's Prayer does in Christianity. It is addressed to the sun, and Sir Monier Monier-Williams calls it "that most ancient of all Aryan prayers, which was first uttered more than three thousand years ago, and which still rises day by day toward heaven, incessantly ejaculated by millions of our Indian fellow-subjects."

The ancient Indians worshipped many divine powers, but the true gods of the period of the Veda were three ; First, the fire god, the earth-born Agni ; secondly, the rain god, the earth-born Indra ; and thirdly, the sun god, the sky-born Sūrya.

¹ The Countess Evelyn Martinengo Cesaresco is a granddaughter of Sir E. C. Carrington, and is thus in a position to verify the data concerning Sir William Jones's discovery of the Gāyatrī.

or Sāvitrī. This triad of gods presided over the three worlds, the earth, the air, and the sky. The worship of the sun has almost entirely died out in India, for there are very few temples or shrines dedicated to the sun in any part of that country. The most celebrated temple at Konārak (for Konārka, "corner-sun,"), in Orissa, now lies in ruins; while the temple of the sun at Gaya stands neglected. Nevertheless, there are reminiscences of solar worship left even to the present day in the daily prayers of the Hindus, and the most sacred among them is the Gāyatrī. Every pious Hindu of whatever sect pays homage to the rising sun every morning by repeating this brief prayer:

"AUM !

That essence which transcends the sun,

The light divine let us adore.

May of our minds it be the guide !"

The prayer, though still reverencing the sun, points beyond to something greater, to that light which is the guide of our mind and of which the sun is a mere symbol. Visāmitrī¹ is named as the author of these beautiful lines; or as the Brahmans would say, its *rishi*, i. e., seer or discoverer; for the poem is divine, it existed from all eternity, but remained unknown until it was revealed to mankind through the prophetic inspiration of Visvāmītra.

At the midday service, another invocation of the sun, the Sūryā-sūkta,² is repeated by many Hindus, which is considerably longer than the Gāyatrī, and its character may be determined by the following fragment which we quote in Sir Monier Monier-Williams's translation:

" Behold the rays of dawn, like heralds, lead on high
The Sun, that men may see the great all-knowing God.
The stars slink off like thieves, in company with Night,
Before the all-seeing eye, whose beams reveal his presence,
Gleaming like brilliant flames, to nation after nation.
Sūrya, with flaming locks, clear-sighted god of day,
Thy seven ruddy mares bear on thy rushing car.
With these thy self-yoked steeds, seven daughters of thy chariot,
Onward thou dost advance. To thy refulgent orb
Beyond this lower gloom, and upward to the light
Would we ascend, O Sun, thou god among the gods."

India is the classical country of the religio-philosophical development of mankind, and the Gāyatrī is the great landmark on the road from the ancient sun-worship to a purely philosophical conception of the deity.

THE FIRST CHRISTIANS ACCORDING TO F. J. GOULD.³

F. J. Gould is one of the most active authors among the English rationalists of the present day, and the present book shows him at his best. He is not a believer

¹ It is a remarkable fact that Visvāmītra was not a Brahman but a Kshatriya; he did not belong to the priestly but to the warrior caste, which is an evidence of the truth that progress in a certain line is not always made by the profession but is forced upon the profession by outsiders. Cf. also Garbe's *Philosophy of Ancient India*, p. 57 ff.

² The Sūryā-sūkta, recorded in the Rig-veda, I., 50, has been translated by Prof. A. Weber in *Ind. Studien*, v. 177 ff. The same hymn described the marriage ceremony of Sūryā, daughter of the sun, to Soma, here probably the personified moon, which is the reason why it is also used in marriage ceremonies.

³ *The Religion of the First Christians*. By F. J. Gould. Watts & Co., 17 Johnson's Court, Fleet Street, London. 1901. Pp., 143. Price, 2s. 6d.

in miracles and dogmas, but does not belong to that class of freethinkers who speak only to condemn and write to ridicule. He recognises that we must learn to comprehend the spirit of Christianity and understand its origin and history.

We can do no better than characterise his booklet by extracts in his own words. He says:

"Treat the Gospel, if you will, as an entire legend. It makes no difference. Legend or half-legend, it was conceived in sincerity and believed with passion, and, for that reason, may be accepted as a sure index to the mind and character of its adherents. Our study of Christian origins must take a fresh turn or become unprofitable. A disciplined mind cannot now receive the Christian Gospel as historical; but neither can it remain contented with the mere proof of its mythical beginnings. Mythical structure is not the ultimate fact in the Christian or any other supernatural religion. The ultimate fact consists in the moral sentiment which chose the myth for its vehicle. Assume that Christ never performed a miracle, or rose from the dead. That is not the end of our research. We wish to know why the people came to believe in a Christ who performed miracles and rose from the dead. The Christ-myth is not the essential point of interest. The interest gathers round the people who embraced the myth, or the half-myth. Their religious temper, and not the dogmatic form of their creed, is the final goal of our study. We seek, not the narrow and personal, but the broad and popular significance of the Gospel. What were the social forces which it conveyed? What were the human grief, gladness, and anticipation which it imaged? And because we approach the Gospel as a token of the emotions of a community, and not as a display of individual moral prowess, we shall speak, not of the religion of Christ, but of the religion of the first Christians. Or, to word the question more scientifically, we shall attempt to ascertain the meaning of the Gospel, not as a biography, but as a factor in sociology.

"The man who can accuse the early Christians of fraud in thus creating an ideal religious figure must be grievously wanting in knowledge of human nature and of history.

"The Christian Gospel was created by the poor, for the poor, and in the language of the poor; and all its details betray the psychology of the poor.

"The poor have the Gospel preached to them,' so Jesus tells the messengers from John the Baptist. Yet more explicitly he says at the synagogue of Nazareth (when quoting Isaiah), 'The Lord anointed me to preach good tidings to the poor.' Elsewhere we read, 'The common people heard him gladly.' It is quite evident that the bulk of the audiences described in the Gospels as listening to Jesus was composed of the poorer folk. It was the poor who drank in his words through the long, long day until the sun set and the evening star closed the assembly. If only we knew how to read the Gospels, not to follow the Son of God on his tour of miracle, but to see the people—the poor fishermen and peasants—we should feel the extreme pathos of their continual hunger. In their prayer they murmur, 'Give us this day our daily bread!' Daily! As if every day dawned in doubt, and the loaf was for ever uncertain. The people dog the Master's steps in order to obtain food. When he provides loaves and fishes, they are anxious to make him a king. He can feed them, and is therefore royal! Plain bread constantly appears as the staple meal, and even the Kingdom of God borrows magnificence from its unlimited supply of bread.

"The Gospels teem with prejudice against the learned and (to use the current phrase) upper classes. This feeling against the upper classes is not a wholesome

democratic conviction that the possession of wealth lays the owners open to special vices of luxury and tyranny. It is an uncritical, sweeping vehemence which includes all rich men and officials under the head of villains.

"Whoever wrote the book of Matthew desired to convey the impression that the doctrines of Jesus were taught in an atmosphere of disease. The Sermon is preceded by an account of immense crowds resorting to Jesus for physical cure. Scarcely was the final word spoken when 'there came a leper who worshipped him, saying, Lord, if thou wilt, thou canst make me clean.' To the leper succeeds a centurion, who beseeches the Master's pity upon a sick servant. Jesus passed into a cottage, and found Peter's wife lying ill with fever. When even was come 'they brought him many that were possessed with devils,'—it being a superstition, peculiarly liable to adoption by the more ignorant classes, that hysteria and lunacy were caused by the indwelling of evil spirits. Jesus crossed the lake of Galilee, and expelled the devils from two maniacs who haunted the cemetery. He recrossed the water, and a paralytic implored his help. Having begun a discourse on the contrast between the old Pharisaic teaching and the new Gospel, he was interrupted: 'While he spake these things, behold, there came a certain ruler, and worshipped him, saying, My daughter is even now dead; but come and lay thy hand upon her, and she shall live.' On his way to the ruler's house, Jesus was delayed by the woman with the issue of blood. Having restored the ruler's daughter from death, he was met by the appeal of two blind men. They departed with opened eyes, and a dumb man was led to the Master. Then, as if to carry the scene to a climax, the writer adds, in one sweeping sentence, that 'Jesus went about all the cities and villages, teaching in their synagogues, and preaching the Gospel of the Kingdom, and healing every sickness and every disease among the people.' And he closes with the tender passage:

" 'When he saw the multitudes, he was moved with compassion for them, because they were distressed and scattered, as sheep not having a shepherd. Then saith he unto his disciples, The harvest truly is plenteous, but the laborers are few. Pray ye therefore the Lord of the harvest, that he send forth laborers.'

"Nothing so reveals the temper of the founders of the Gospel as their conception of prayer. There is a captivating simplicity in the manner of their approach to God. They come without caution, without balancing the probabilities. They come as children who imagine that their father has boundless storehouses, or as ill-instructed voters who suppose an Act of Parliament is omnipotent to change a social custom. An educated man, or a man sufficiently educated to be a theologian, would frame his prayer with a certain collegiate nicety, as if God were a professor who would carefully revise the terms of the supplication, or scan the prosody of the verse. He would ask Heaven for things in general, and carefully avoid committing himself to particular requests. The collegiate method, if one may so call it, is well enough illustrated in the collect which the Church of England uses on Trinity Sunday:

" 'Almighty and everlasting God, who hast given unto us thy servants grace by the confession of a true faith to acknowledge the glory of the eternal Trinity, and in the power of the Divine Majesty to worship the Unity; We beseech thee, that thou wouldst keep us steadfast in this faith, and evermore defend us from all adversities, who livest and reignest, one God, world without end. Amen.'

Now, that is the prayer of a bureaucracy. It has an official polish; it preserves a shrewd equipoise between deference and flattery; it gives more space to eulogy of God than to the business of the petitioner; half of it is a preface; a phrase or two

suffices to give a delicate hint that the speaker expects a gratuity; and the prayer ends with a return to the original theme of compliment. The peasants of the New Testament have never learnt this devout urbanity. They pray as a wounded creature cries, as a desolate woman sobs, as a bereaved parent sighs: 'Lord, if thou wilt, thou canst make me clean'; 'Save us, we perish'; 'My daughter is even now dead; but come and lay thy hand upon her, and she shall live'; 'Thou son of David, have mercy on us.' The contrast between the formal and spontaneous is quite clear to the mind of the proletariat. Pharisees have a mannerism which deserves ridicule. When the shallow ritualist goes to the temple, he delivers himself in pompous style, at which the workingman cannot forbear smiling: 'God, I thank thee that I am not as other men are, extortioners, unjust, adulterers, or even as this publican. I fast twice in the week. I give tithes of all that I possess.' But the publican, eloquent in his uneloquence, utters only a broken exclamation, 'God, be merciful to me a sinner,' and touches the very heart of Heaven with his plaint. Prayer must be clothed with modesty, and its sensitive fibres shrink from the glare of the public way. He who has anything to beg of God had better whisper. Hypocrites stand at street corners and address speeches to the crowd, under pretence of beseeching the pity of the Lord. But the artless Christian retires to a little chamber of his cottage, and secretly murmurs his griefs and hopes. He lisps, as a child might lisp, 'Papa, mamma.' Hunger-driven, burdened with debt to the village merchant, tried by the whims of quarrelsome neighbors, fearful of the mystery of nature and fate, the poor soul lays bare its anxieties, its wants, and its trust. The Lord's Prayer is, in reality, the People's Prayer. Lords receive and grant; they do not implore. The prayer enshrined in the Sermon on the Mount (Matt. vi. 9-13) is essentially the expression of the poor man's heart. No aristocrat would ask for bread, or vex his mind with the question of debts. He would wish for a greater dignity, a larger tranquillity of temper, a more extensive and philosophic view of life and death. But the plebeian prays thus (and I change the worn and traditional wording in order to display the spirit and suppress the mere formula):

"Father dear in heaven; With respect we utter your name; Let the kingdom that we wait for come soon; And we, poor simple folk, will do your bidding quite as honestly as it is done in heaven; Give us bread, for we are hungry; Wipe out our debts to you, as we forgive our neighbors their little debts to us; Do not let the trial of life be too hard for us, for the world has scant mercy on the poor; And save us from the Evil One."

"There is a pathetic quaintness in this innocent faith. Good fathers anticipate their children's desires; God is a good father; he will hasten to provide all we need,—that is the reasoning of the first Christians. One has only to knock, and the door of the treasury will swing open. If only the disposition be kept sweet and pious, the material world may be trusted to bend itself to the service of the children of God. The disciple should make no calculations for the meals and the clothing of the future. All is planned as surely as the march of the stars and seasons. 'Your heavenly Father knoweth that ye have need of these things.' Such is the placid assurance which the Christian experiences in his blither moods. But, like all untrained characters, he suffers changes from hope to sadness. He then encourages himself with the parable of the persistent widow. By force of repetition, she compelled a callous judge to listen to her story of ill-treatment, and at length he avenged her. And so also will God yield to the suasive tears of his chosen people: 'Shall not God avenge his own elect, who cry day and night unto him, though he bear long with them?'"

Our author concludes:

"The New Testament will now have an interest for us, not as a picture of Jesus, not as a wonder-book, not as a divine revelation, but as the unveiling of the heart, the grief, the struggles and the hopes of the people in whose breasts the new religion was created. The Gospel is not in the book, but in the life of the people.

"The Christ of the New Testament shows us the first Christians more than he shows us himself. In him, as in a looking-glass, we see a crowd of fishermen, tanners, dockers, dyers, slaves, tax-gatherers, and tear-stained women who had fled from the shame of the harlot's house . . . and Christianity has had to stay here until the world has learned that the poor are members of the human family. . . . It raised them to a feeling of self-respect, and it brought them nearer to each other in fraternal sympathy. It gave value to the soul, not the body; to the spiritual element, not the civic. The poor Christian proudly claimed relationship with God, but did not ask for political freedom and suffrage. The Gospel stamped 'the least of these my brethren' as a thing of living and abiding value in the constitution of the world. Christianity, as such, could do no more. But it was a great work to accomplish."

CONSOLATION.

TO A FRIEND ON THE DEATH OF HIS WIFE.

Once at a funeral I heard, surprised,
The Minister, in tender, reverent tones
Which touched all hearts, say: Friends, let us rejoice!
Let us rejoice that death has lost its sting!
That one beloved is freed from care and pain,
Hath gained eternal peace, and joy, and love,
That e'en the grave is bright with victory!
And then a breath of that celestial peace
Seemed to descend and touch the audience
With an ineffable and holy calm.
Over and o'er again I have recalled
The consolation of that place and hour,
As I do now for thee, though thou hast lost
Thy best beloved of those most near and dear.
For she at last has triumphed over pain,
And grief, and weariness, and suffering,
And hath become, for so the Scriptures teach,
One of God's ministers to those who still
Have duties to perform which keep them here.
Still softly speaking to thy thought and heart,
She bids thee lift thine eyes and see the glow
Of the eternal life upon the hills.
She waits thee there, and thy remaining days
Shall not be darker for her absence here,
But brighter for her smile from paradise.

Be thus consoled, and though to-day be dark,
To-morrow will be filled with heavenly light.

CHARLES C. BONNEY,

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTES.

DEMOCRACY VERSUS SOCIALISM. A Critical Examination of Socialism as a Remedy for Social Injustice and an Exposition of the Single-Tax Doctrine. By Max Hirsch (Melbourne), New York: The Macmillan Company. 1901. Pages, xxxiv, 481. Price, \$3.25.

The scope of this work may best be set forth in the language of its author. The first part of the book, he says, "is devoted to an analysis of the teaching embodied in Socialism, exhibiting its leading principles and conceptions and the changes in social arrangements which must directly result from their application. The second and third part expose the erroneous nature of the economical and ethical conceptions of Socialism, and exhibit what I regard to be the true principles of social economy and ethics. The fourth part exhibits the conflict between the industrial and distributive proposals of Socialism and the principles thus established as well as the disastrous consequences which must arise from the acceptance of the former. In the fifth and concluding part I have endeavored to depict and vindicate the Social reforms necessary to bring our social system into harmony with these economic and ethical principles, as well as their sufficiency for the achievement of the ultimate object of Socialism and Individualism alike, the establishment of Social justice."

The author's idea of social justice is the same as that of Herbert Spencer, whose philosophy really furnishes the ground-principles of the author's treatment. Due acknowledgment is made to Spencer, to Böhm-Bawerk and to Henry George. Those familiar with these writers may almost predict the outcome of a book drawing its inspiration and material from these sources.

The demonstration of the inadequacy of Socialism as a scheme for the re-organisation of society is a task assumed by the author in order to clear the ground for the erection of his single-tax doctrine. The Socialists, of course, will not admit that his demonstration is conclusive, and indeed, those not in sympathy with the proposals of Karl Marx and his followers may conclude after reading the book that the author has made the mistake of identifying Socialism with one of its forms. "It would be a serious mistake," said Mr. Kirkup, "to identify Socialism with any of its forms, past or present. They are only passing phases in a movement which will endure." Socialism as criticised by this writer is a compulsory Socialism, and compulsion is one of the chief points of his attack. He fails to perceive that the development of a form of Socialism necessarily accompanies the movement in the direction of a higher social intelligence, which intelligence must manifest itself in the elimination of waste through the organisation of labor and a better utilisation of capital.

As an Individualist, the author, of course, rings the changes on the virtues of competition. And yet he is compelled to admit that competition as it may be observed in industrial life to-day does not produce a balance of benefits. "Abolish the dam of State interference with men's equal rights," he tells us, "the special privileges accorded to some, and competition, restored to its normal condition, will distribute the fruits of industry to the door of every one who takes part in it in proportion with the services which he renders, and will raise the reward of each to the highest point which the existing skill, knowledge, and industry of mankind can make possible" (p. 174). One might say, "Tone down competition through the development of human character to conform to what may be termed a rivalry in

social service, and the Individualism which the author favors would manifest itself as a matter of economy in some form of Socialism."

One feels that neither Socialism nor Individualism is the true expression of the ideal society. There must be a synthesis of the two.

Among the most interesting chapters of the book are those in which the author distinguishes between real capital and interest and spurious capital and interest. While the distinction is familiar, of course, to students of economics, it does not as a rule receive its due emphasis. Such analysis is the first step toward the solution of the great problem of a more equitable distribution of economic goods.

In the concluding part of the book, which the reader, no matter whether he agrees with him or not, will concede is a strong one, Mr. Hirsch expounds the single-tax doctrine and takes up seriatim the various objections that have been offered against it.

I. W. HOWERTH.

DIONYSOS AND IMMORTALITY. The Greek Faith in Immortality as Affected by the Rise of Individualism. By *Benjamin Ide Wheeler*, President of the University of California, and Ingersoll Lecturer for 1898-99. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1899. Pages, 67. Price, \$1.00.

LIFE EVERLASTING. By *John Fiske*, Ingersoll Lecturer for 1900. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1901. Pages, 87. Price, \$1.00.

The rise of Dionysos worship is the most important single phenomenon in the history of Greek religion, and the story of its growth is fraught with the greatest interest for the student of the development of religious beliefs. Nor was its import entirely ethical. "It laid hold upon all the thought of men," says Dr. Wheeler, "and gave shape even to the forming moulds of philosophic reflection. Without Dionysos and Orphism there could have been, for instance, no Plato. Plato's philosophy builds on a faith, and that faith is Dionysism. Everywhere in his thinking religion gleams through the thin gauze of philosophic form, and except his system be understood as a religion and as a part of the history of Greek religion, it yields no self-consistent interpretation, and is not intelligible either in its whence or whither. The things many and various he has to tell about the Ideas refuse to take orderly place and position in a doctrine of logical realism such as metaphysics teaches, but are satisfied all in a doctrine of spirituality and the higher life, such as poetry and religion can preach."

And again, remarking on the import of the Dionysos cult for the future development of the doctrine of immortality, Dr. Wheeler says: "If in the throb of Dionysos's passion men seem to gain an insight into the spiritual harmonies of nature, and intimations of their own potential kinship with the divine, which cold reason and dull sense had not availed to give, it was still grim, groping vision; but yet the face was set thither, where, in a later day,—a day for which Greece and Dionysos prepared,—men learned through the Convincing Love to know and live the eternity within them."

The worship of Dionysos is popularly much misunderstood, and Dr. Wheeler's brief and excellent account will serve to place it in the right light in the minds of many.

Mr. Fiske's lecture was delivered only a few months previous to his death. His conclusions regarding the immortality of the soul can hardly be said to be satisfactory. They are negative rather than positive, and according to his own admission merely remove the only serious objection that has ever been alleged against man's immortality, but are insufficient to support an argument in favor of

it. He says: "If consciousness is a product of molecular motion, it is a natural inference that it must lapse when the motion ceases. But if consciousness is a kind of existence which within our experience accompanies a certain phase of molecular motion, then the case is entirely altered, and the possibility or probability of the continuance of the one without the other becomes a subject for further inquiry. Materialists sometimes declare that the relation of conscious intelligence to the brain is like that of music to the harp, and when the harp is broken there can be no more music. An opposite view, long familiar to us, is that the conscious soul is an emanation from the Divine Intelligence that shapes and sustains the world, and during its temporary imprisonment in material forms the brain is its instrument of expression. Thus the soul is not the music, but the harper; and obviously this view is in harmony with the conclusions which I have deduced from the correlation of forces." Further, the sole guides upon which we can call for help in this arduous inquiry are, according to Mr. Fiske, general considerations of philosophic analogy and moral probability.

The little book is written in Mr. Fiske's usual clear and intelligible style.

GOVERNMENT OR HUMAN EVOLUTION. Individualism and Collectivism. By *Edmund Kelly, M. A., F. G. S.*, Late Lecturer on Municipal Government at Columbia University, New York City. New York: Longmans, Green & Co. 1901. Pages, xv, 608.

In the first volume of the present work, Prof. Kelly defines justice to be the "effort to eliminate from our social conditions the effects of the inequalities of nature upon the happiness and advancement of man," etc. In the present volume he endeavors to apply this definition of justice to the problem of government, and finds himself confronted in so doing by two theories, individualism and collectivism. These theories it is his endeavor to define, as well as to determine their respective use and consequence. Referring to the double meaning of the word collectivism, he says: "It is used to mean not only the method by which justice may be promoted, but also the condition of society in which justice might be ultimately attained. Now with collectivism in the latter of these two meanings this work has comparatively little to do; for we have no reason for believing that justice ever will be attained in the perfection proposed by the ideal collectivist State," etc. His book, to use his own words, is an effort to glean the truth from both the individualistic and collective tendencies in the development of human society, "to preserve the care for the individual which distinguishes human from pre-human evolution on the one hand, and to recover the care for the race—for the community—which man in departing from Nature seems unwisely to have neglected. The progress of man is not likely to lie in the direction of either one extreme or the other; by leaning over too much in the direction of Individualism we have moved in a circle rather than in advance; were we now to lean too much on the side of Collectivism we should make a similar mistake. What we need is equilibrium, and, as Aristotle told us many years ago, the essential of all virtue, moderation."

CREATION. RE-CREATION. By *Ernst Eduard Lemcke*. Orange, N. J.: Privately printed. 1901. Pages, 102.

Under the above title Mr. Ernst Eduard Lemcke has published for private circulation only a collection of poems in three languages: German, French and English. The author is one of the members of the well-known publishing house of Lemcke & Buechner, formerly Westermann, of New York. The poems begin with

his home, Stettin, in Germany, offering the thoughts and sentiments of his youth. Then they pass over to Brunswick, exhibiting the author's interest in the political storm and stress of the day. His French poems are in reply to a reverie by Monsieur François Coppée on Emperor Frederick III., written shortly before the death of the latter. From his English poems, we quote as an instance of the poet's versatility, the translation of Goethe's famous little poem, which has the run of the original :

Cowardly pondering,
Anxiously wondering,
Womanish failings,
Timorous wailings
Ward off no misery,
Make thee not free.

Spite all defiance
With self-reliance,
Submitting never.
By sturdy endeavor
Call forth the gods' help
To rescue thee.

NEUROLOGICAL TECHNIQUE. By Irving Hardesty, Ph. D. Instructor in Anatomy in the University of California, formerly Fellow and Assistant in Neurology in the University of Chicago. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. 1902. 180 pages, 8vo, illustrated; cloth, net, \$1.75; postpaid, \$1.85.

The book furnishes a collection of methods for histological investigations of the nervous system, with special attention to the details of procedure. A brief series of directions for the dissection of the mammalian brain is an important feature, together with a copy of the neurological terms adapted from the German Anatomical Society.

Few of the Annual Reports of the Smithsonian Institution can compare with that of 1900 for the variety and solidity of its contents. The opening 112 pages of this large volume are devoted to the official business of the Institution and the remaining 601 pages which constitute the "general appendix" consist of reprints of the most notable summaries of scientific research which the year has produced. For example, astronomy and the related sciences are represented by Sir Norman Lockyer, S. P. Langley, J. Jansen, and Sir Robert Ball; chemistry by Professors William Ramsay and James Dewar; and geology by the late Prof. James Le Conte and Prof. W. J. Sollas. Full accounts of the progress in aerial navigation are given; the progress of physics in the nineteenth century is narrated by Prof. T. Mendenhall; the photography of sound waves is treated by Prof. R. W. Wood; the geographic conquests of the nineteenth century are described by Gilbert H. Grosvenor; life in the ocean is portrayed by Karl Brandt; while the story of the growth of biology in the nineteenth century is told by Oscar Hertwig. The illustrations are also notable, especially the nature pictures by A. Radclyffe Dugmore. From Frederick Wells Williams, nephew of the famous lexicographer of the Chinese language, we have also in the same volume of the *Reports* an extremely fascinating study on Chinese folklore stories, referring to their Western analogies, and his readers will be astonished to find in Eastern Asia parallels which they would little expect in that remote part of the world. There are, for instance, Chinese versions of the tale of Solomon's judgment of the Bible, the story of a Chinese Berurya, "Rabbi Meir's Faithless Wife," retold in Goldsmith's "Citizen of the World," Voltaire's "Zadig" and one of Chamisso's ballads, etc; further, of virgin sacrifices to a dragon, resembling the myth's of Andromeda, down to St. George the dragon-killer. Chinese folklore as well as other matters Chinese deserve to be known better. Though we are naturally better pleased with our own language, civilisation, religion, ethics, poetry, and art, it is interesting as much as instructive to study

resemblances of our own modes of thought and life in a nation that appears to be radically different from our own. The foregoing form a part only of the many reprints in this volume, among which must not be forgotten the account of the discoveries in Mesopotamia by Dr. Friedrich Delitzsch. (Washington: Government Printing Office. 1901.)

A very timely and welcome study is presented to us by John A. Fairlie, Ph. D., Assistant Professor of Administrative Law in the University of Michigan, in his new work on *Municipal Administration*. Dr. Fairlie believes the time has come for a more comprehensive and more systematic treatise than has yet been written on municipal administration, the literature of which, hitherto, while extensive, has been quite fragmentary. The work begins with a historical survey of cities, and more at length of municipal development during the nineteenth century. It then considers the active functions of municipal administration, and in its concluding chapters deals with the problems of municipal finances and with the methods, mechanism, and questions of municipal organisation, with special reference to tendencies and proposed reforms in American cities. (New York: The Macmillan Co. 1901. Pages, xiii, 448.)

F. Marion Crawford has added another novel to his long list of romantic and semi-historical writings. The title is, *Marietta, a Maid of Venice*, and the scenes, incidents, and characters of the story are taken from the history of the Venetian glass blowers. The plot of the romance is based upon the story of Zorzi Ballarin and Marietta Beroviero, the common account being that Zorzi stole the famous secrets which Angelo Beroviero had received from Paolo Godi, and therefore forced Angelo to give him his daughter in marriage. It has been Mr. Crawford's purpose to rescue Zorzi's reputation for fair and honorable dealing with regard to the secrets, —a fact which we now know is based on historical evidence. Like all of Mr. Crawford's books, the novel is an interesting and readable one. (New York: The Macmillan Co.)

Something unique in the way of text-books is Mr. S. T. Wood's simple and practical *Primer of Political Economy*. The object of the book is "to afford a ground-work for economic study, to explain some of the actual economic phenomena passing through our hands from day to day, that their laws, principles, and relationships may be more intelligently studied and more clearly understood. Everything has been brought within the comprehension of pupils in the fourth forms of the public schools." Beginning with simple descriptions of the herdsmen of the plains, of how oil is obtained, of the manufacture of shoes, etc., he carries the reader along in the brief scope of some 140 pages to a consideration of the highest questions of political economy. (New York: The Macmillan Co.)

We may notice among the recent publications of Watts & Co., of London: (1) *The New Story of the Bible*, by William A. Leonard, which is a summary from a Rationalist point of view of some recent thoughts about the Bible (price, 1s.); and (2) three lectures by Mr. F. J. Gould, entitled: *Will Women Help? An Appeal to Women to Assist in Liberating Modern Thought from Theological Bonds*. The most lengthy of the last-mentioned three lectures is devoted to an examination of the attitude which the Bible takes towards woman,—an attitude which in Mr. Gould's opinion is not one that will recommend itself as an ideal of womanhood.

The World Almanac and Encyclopædia for the year 1902, which has recently been issued by the Press Publishing Co., Pulitzer Bldg., New York City, contains an incredible amount of statistical information. It is almost impossible to hit upon a subject of which the revised current data are not furnished here. Besides astronomical, chronological, and meteorological data it contains the gist of such standard works as the *Statesman's Year Book*, Muhlhall, and of other similar geographical and economic publications. It is an abstract of the political, religious, financial, industrial, educational and even sporting news' records of the year, constituting in short a *vademecum* which, considering its low price of 25 cents, no person should be without. If it would not make the book too bulky, it might be improved by the incorporation of some of the more domestic and cultural features of the French *Almanach Hachette*.

The December number of *The Light of Dharma* is quite characteristic of the Buddhist mission that is maintained by some Japanese priests at 807 Polk St., San Francisco, California. They have come for the purpose of ministering to the spiritual wants of their countrymen, and publish a little magazine to put Buddha's "message of strength and love to all mankind" broadly before the people. The present number contains a picture of the building called "Buddhist Church" at Sacramento, Cal., where Buddhist religious services are held. It also contains the addresses of the Rev. T. Mizuki, a poem entitled "The Path," by A. E. Albers, a lecture of Sister Sanghamitta on "Nirvāna," and similar contributions. (Bi-monthly, per year, 50 cents; per copy, 10 cents.)

Mr. John Bates Clark, Professor in Columbia University, in a booklet entitled *The Control of Trusts* has advanced an argument in favor of the curbing of the power of monopolies by a natural method. The little volume is not a history of trusts, nor a description of the forms they are now taking, but merely advocates a certain definite policy in dealing with them. This policy is that which relies wholly on competition as the regulator of prices and wages, and as the general protector of the interests of the public. "It welcomes centralisation but aims to destroy monopoly, and to do this by keeping the field open to all independent producers who may choose to enter it." (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1901. Pages, x, 88.)

We are glad to see the fugitive poems of Mr. Edwin Emerson published in book form. Mr. Emerson is a graduate of Princeton University, of the class of 1845, and has passed the later years of his life at the University of Munich, Germany. His poems, some of which are in German, are replete with delicate sentiment, and will, we hope, find many readers. Some of them have appeared in *The Open Court*, others in *The Christian Register* and *Public Opinion*. The frontispiece to the volume is a fine portrait of Mr. Emerson by the well-known artist, Franz von Lenbach. (Denver, Colo.: The Carson-Harper Company. 1901. Pages 228.)

The October, November, and December issues of *The Bibelot* for 1901 are: *Æs Triplex*, by Robert Louis Stevenson; *Celtic: A Study in Spiritual History*, by Fiona Macleod; and three fugitive essays by different authors *In Praise of Thackeray*. *The Bibelot* is a serial publication consisting of reprints of "poetry and prose for book lovers, chosen in part from scarce editions and sources not generally known." Each number costs but five cents.

The interesting story of the struggle between the Roman papacy and the Roman republic which took place between the years 1846 and 1849 has been well told by Mr. R. M. Johnston in *The Roman Theocracy and the Republic*. It is the epoch of Pius IX., of Mazzini and Garibaldi, and of the rise of the national sentiment in Italy. The events leading up to the historical drama enacted during these years are described in sufficient detail to enable the reader to understand the situation perfectly, though it must be admitted that the conclusion to the work has not been so skilfully handled. (New York: The Macmillan Co. 1901. Pages, xi, 375.)

God Wills it is an interesting tale of the First Crusade by William Stearns Davis. The story revolves around the adventures of Richard Longsword, a redoubtable young Norman cavalier, settled in Sicily: how he won the hand of the Byzantine Princess, Mary Kurkuas; how in expiation of a crime committed under extreme provocation, he took the vows of the Crusaders; how in Syria his rival in love, the Egyptian Emir, Iftikhar-Eddanleh, stole from him his bride; and how he regained her under romantic circumstances at the storming of Jerusalem by the French. (New York: The Mamillan Co. 1901. Pages, ix, 552. Price, \$1.50.)

Readers of the early volumes of *The Open Court* will remember the earnest and even-tempered correspondence on religious questions furnished by Mr. David Newport, a member of the Society of Friends, of Abington, Penn. Mr. Newport has now published a volume entitled *Eudemon*, which is a species of spiritual autobiography, or diary of his religious metamorphosis. Much of the author's correspondence in the liberal journals, on ethical and theological questions has been reprinted in the volume, to which a portrait of the author is added as a frontispiece. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. 1901. Pages, 527.)

Our friend and contributor, William Herbert Carruth, Professor of German language and literature in the University of Kansas, has again published a book in the line of his profession, namely the German text of Schiller's *Bride of Messina*. It is accompanied with a commentary and notes sufficiently exhaustive for the needs of the student, and yet sufficiently concise. Schiller's picture as a frontispiece, a general view of the city of Messina, and the picture of the cathedral, form an appropriate adornment for the book. (New York, Boston and Chicago: Silver, Burdett & Co. Pages, 185.)

Mr. Robert Herrick, author of "The Gospel of Freedom," "The Web of Life," etc., has published a new novel bearing the title: *The Real World*. The chief woman in this novel is the daughter of an Ohio manufacturer, and the plot is developed through the story of a young man's life. The underlying idea is: that the world does not exist until created afresh for each person. The way the hero makes his own world forms the pith of the story, the scene of which moves back and forth between the East and the West. (New York: The Macmillan Co. 1901. Pages, 358. Price, \$1.50.)

Mr. Peter Eckler, of New York, has published a reprint of Erasmus's *Praise of Folly*. Erasmus was a contemporary of Luther, and the most scholarly critic of his age. His *Praise of Folly*, which is in part a criticism of the priesthood of his day, is justly famed for its wit. The volume is rendered still more attractive by the reproduction of the famous engravings of Hans Holbein.

In an elegant volume adorned by several handsome pictures, Mr. Norman Hapgood has given us a new *Life and Appreciation of George Washington*. The subject is one in which interest can never wane, and Mr. Hapgood's portraiture of the most commanding figure in American history has been executed with great skill and loyalty; it has also the rare advantage of brevity. The book contains an interesting facsimile of Washington's opinion of the field officers alive in 1791. (New York: The Macmillan Co. 1901. Pages, 419. Price, \$1.75.)

The third and concluding volume of Dr. J. Shield Nicholson's *Principles of Political Economy* has appeared. Its purpose is to give us a survey of economic principles in the light of the great advancement made by historical, comparative, and mathematical methods since the publication of J. S. Mills's *Principles*, and to provide an introduction to the more special treatment of pure theory, economic history, and the economic side of social questions. (New York: The Macmillan Co. 1901. Pages, xi, 460.)

Mr. Peter Roberts, Ph. D., has in a recent volume made a very exhaustive study of the economic history and condition of the anthracite coal industry of Pennsylvania. While rather perfunctory in its treatment, and far from concise, his work contains many data and statistics (graphically illustrated with great clearness) that will be of value to economic students. (*The Anthracite Coal Industry*. New York: The Macmillan Co. 1901. Pages, xiii, 261. Price, \$3.50.)

Good Will is the title of a little periodical published by the Church of Good Will, of Streator, Ill. It is an independent church organisation in which freedom of thought prevails, and yet is pervaded by an earnestness of endeavor which can scarcely be eclipsed by the churches of other denominations. The minister of the church and editor of *Good Will* is the Rev. D M. Kirkpatrick.

The reports and proceedings of the International Congress of Electricity, held in Paris during the international exposition of 1900, have been published. They constitute an exhaustive *résumé* of the present state of electrical research and of the broad field of the practical applications of electricity. (Paris: Gauthier-Villars, Imprimeur-Libraire. 1901. Pages, 526.)

The second part of the well-known treatise on *The Ethics of Judaism* by Dr. M. Lazarus has appeared. The work is translated from the German by Henrietta Szold, and will consist of four parts. (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America. 1901. Pages, 301.)

Miss Mary Morgan (Gowan Lea), whose sonnets in the early numbers of *The Open Court* will be remembered by our older readers, has recently issued a dainty volume of verse, and poetical thoughts in prose, under the title: *Echoes from the Solitudes*. (London: George Allen.)



WU TAO TZE'S NIRVANA PICTURE.

Frontispiece to The Open Court.

(Copyrighted.)

THE OPEN COURT

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

**Devoted to the Science of Religion, the Religion of Science, and
the Extension of the Religious Parliament Idea.**

VOL. XVI. (NO 3.)

MARCH, 1902.

NO. 550

Copyright by The Open Court Publishing Co., 1901.

THE TAXATION QUESTION.

BY JUDGE A. N. WATERMAN.

IN political economy the problem of taxation remains always the predominant issue of the day. It is everywhere the same, and the mistakes which are made in settling it are similar the world over. We have again experimented with it of late in the State of Illinois, and the bad results will become more and more apparent. Other states have passed through similar experiences, and we have not grown wiser by their example. Nor is it probable that the new states of the West, which are coming to the front, will escape the same fate, for mankind is inclined to be taught by experience only. But "experience keeps a dear school," as Poor Richard says, and it may be that a consideration of the problem may save at least some of the harm that is being done by the constant repetition of maladministration in matters of taxation.

The instance of the State of Illinois is instructive to all other states and also to other countries, and so it may serve us as an illustration of the mode of taxation as it ought not to be done.

Over the portals of every legislative chamber, and visible from the seat of each member of any body having power to levy taxes should be graven, "Governments have and can spend no money save that they take from the people."

Of all forms of oppression that from excessive taxation has been most constant and in its sum the greatest. Exhumed from the sands of thirty centuries, the records of Egypt tell what taxation, there, was when Europe was a wilderness. The falling due of the taxes came upon the nomads as a terrible crisis. For days there was nothing to be heard but protestations, threats, beating, cries of pain from the tax payers and lamentations from the women and

children. "The tax-gatherers cry out, 'Come now, corn.' There is none, and they throw the cultivator full length upon the ground; bound, dragged to the canal, they fling him in head first; his wife is bound with him, his children are put in chains."—"The stick facilitated the operations of the tax-collector, it quickly opened the granaries of the rich, it revealed resources to the poor of which he had been ignorant."

Excessive taxation contributed much to the downfall of the Roman Empire. "The arrival of the time when the general tax was to be collected was announced by the tears and terrors of the citizens." Death and confiscation of estate was the punishment to which every farming proprietor was liable who should attempt to evade taxation. The proprietor of personal property was questioned under oath; and every attempt to prevaricate or elude the intentions of the legislators was punished as a capital crime and held to include the double guilt of treason and sacrilege. If the results of such interrogation were not satisfactory to the officials, they were empowered to administer torture, and when this failed to effect the desired results "the faithful slave was tortured for evidence against the master, the wife to depose against her husband, the son against his sire."

Under such a system, how must the revenues of Rome have increased! Not so! they steadily declined. The agriculture of the provinces was ruined. Within sixty years from the advent of the Emperor Constantine, three hundred thirty thousand acres of one of the fairest portions of Italy had been abandoned. "Men produced only what would suffice for their immediate needs, for the government laid in wait for all savings. Capital vanished, the souls of men were palsied; population fled from what was called civilisation. Men cried for social death and invited the coming of the barbarians."

The French, as the English revolution, grew out of burdensome and unjust taxation.

Taxes are like and unlike the rain, they fall upon the just and the unjust; most hardly upon the just because they will not resort to devious ways to escape the imposition.

It is said by many economists that ultimately all taxation falls upon and is paid by the consumers, by those who use that which is taxed. The statement has in it much of truth; indeed, if by "ultimately" is meant "in the course of centuries" it is entirely true.

A tax levied upon an article must be paid when demanded.

Whether the owner when he sells will be able to obtain, as whether the consumer will be compelled to pay more because of the tax, is uncertain.

Taxes enter into the cost of everything consumed, so does labor; an increase in wages adds to the cost of production; but neither an increase of the wage paid to his farm hand nor an addition to the tax upon his farm can ordinarily be added by the farmer to the price of his wheat, his cattle or his butter. It often happens that owing to causes beyond the sea, with increased taxes and increased cost of labor he is compelled to sell his produce for less than he had before obtained.

The question as to upon whom the burden of taxation falls is not, taking into consideration all mankind and all time, who pays the tax? but where rests the yoke when the tax collector presents his demands? Who must find the money and pay it?

He who pays will, if possible, add the payment to the price he asks for the article taxed, but will *he* be able so to do is the dilemma presented to *him*: not will, upon the average, such articles cost more to the millions who must use them.

If it were the case that the owner of property could always obtain therefor the increased cost caused to him by taxation, mankind are not so dull that they would not long ago have found this out; instead of which, from the subjects of the Pharaohs to the brewers of the United States, producers and owners have striven for a removal of the import placed upon their goods.

Taxes are a burden, they have never been and never will be anything else; but there is no reason why the government should insist upon the load being carried at arm's length.

The first question presented to a taxing body should be, for how little can the affairs of the state be properly and wisely carried on? Second, in what manner can this sum be obtained with the greatest fairness, the least annoyance and loss to the people?

Some economists insist that all taxation should be direct in order that the people may know just what they pay.

It is desirable that the people know what they pay in the way of taxes; but is this accomplished by direct taxation? If by "the people" is meant only those who directly pay, it is. Direct taxation compels him who hands the money to the government to reimburse himself so far as he can from those who hire or buy from him the property taxed; but the vast majority of consumers take no thought of the enhanced cost caused by taxation.

In New York City in 1895, under a direct tax upon all real and

personal property, only four per cent. of the population paid anything. In Boston only 7.27 per cent. Throughout the country not over ten per cent. of the inhabitants directly pay any general tax. Of the remaining ninety per cent. very few think of or care for the fact that a tax upon all real and personal property must ultimately effect the cost of everything used or consumed.

So far as bringing home to the consumers the fact of the burden of taxation is concerned it is of little consequence whether taxation is direct or indirect. He who hands over the money to the collecting agency is the one who most keenly appreciates that he is paying taxes. The tenant whose rent is all paid directly to his landlord feels very differently as to the tax on the realty from one who in addition to what he pays his landlord pays to the tax-collector the taxes on the property.

Whatever adds to the cost of maintaining a home, obtaining a living, producing an article or doing business necessarily affects the habits, manners, and morals of a people: taxation should be so shaped as to do this with the least possible injury.

It should not hold out great temptations to fraud nor present the constant spectacle of an escape from its direct burdens by deceit and iniquity.

Throughout the United States the most complete, the most conspicuous and the most general failure to carry out the law for many years has resulted from the inability to collect the tax on personal property.

The law of the State of Illinois has for many years been that all property, real and personal, shall be equally and directly taxed; in this respect the law is not different from that of most of the states. The result of an attempt to administer this law according to its unmistakable letter and spirit has been a complete failure. Never for any considerable length of time has personal property been actually assessed and taxed at its fair or proportionate value, as has real.

The effort to do this has been made in all sovereignties and by all kinds of men, without success. Neither the Czar of Russia, the Sultan of Turkey, the Emperor of Germany, the Parliament of England, nor the free states of America have been able to directly tax and collect from the owners of personalty as they do from the possessors of realty.

Why is this? Simply because real property can always be found, inventoried, appraised, is visible to the eye and can neither be hidden nor carried away; while all personalty is movable, can

be carried into other sovereignties and a large portion can be so secreted that no tax officer can find or learn of it.

It is doubtless the case that a number of persons residing in Chicago, are each the owner of over ten million dollars worth of stocks, bonds, cash, and evidences of indebtedness.

If we had an inquisitorial system and a despotism to enforce it we might discover these hidden hordes, but we would do so only once. The next year their owners would not reside where such espionage or tax could reach them; they would have become residents of Lake County or Wisconsin or even of England.

It is quite possible to drive the owner of many bonds and much cash out of the country, but to directly and fairly tax him upon this kind of property is impossible, has never been done.

But, cries the indignant citizen, is it just, is it fair or right that old Bullion who has a million dollars of New York Central Railway bonds should pay nothing thereon, while I pay a tax of one hundred dollars upon my humble homestead worth not to exceed five thousand dollars? Let us admit that this is wrong and unjust; what then? what can be done to right the matter? Old Bullion will not submit to a tax of twenty or ten thousand dollars upon his bonds. Rather than pay this he will move away to another state or to Scotland. This will be of no benefit either to the owner of the homestead taxed at one hundred dollars or to the city. Bullion is a good neighbor, an excellent patron of the butcher and the baker, the tailor and the mantua maker; his living here conduces to the support and well-being of many industrious citizens; they do not wish to have him driven out.

But can he escape direct taxation by changing his residence? Certainly. There are plenty of communities that will welcome his coming and tacitly agree that his tax upon all his bonds shall be but a nominal sum. These communities recognise that his residence among them, because of the money that he there spends, is an advantage and that his bonds cost the people nothing.

Arrangements of this kind are continually made whenever there is a serious and persistent effort to directly tax intangible property. George Gould has become a citizen of New Jersey, because in New York the authorities insisted upon taxing the large amount of railway stocks of which he is the owner.

There are also sovereignties where the attempt to directly tax stocks, bonds, mortgages, and credits has been after long experience abandoned.

There is much force in the assertion that all property ought to

be equally and directly taxed ; the statement appeals to one's sense of fair dealing, it seems to be right and just, and is. The objection to the attempt to do this, for it has never been more than an attempt, is not that such method is unfair but that it is impractical ; results in inequalities, in a general evasion of the law and all the demoralisation consequent upon an attempt to run counter to human nature.

The indignant citizen here asks if the well-to-do portion of mankind are so dishonest that they will resort to fraud to escape the payment of a fair tax. The well-to-do citizen wishes to know what is meant by a fair tax, and if it is fair that merely because he has come to Chicago to live, he should be made to pay two per cent. upon the par value of his bonds when in Podunk, his former residence, he was taxed only upon his household furniture, horses, and carriages ; and he says it is fair that I give in and pay upon my ten thousand of credits when my next door neighbor who has fifty thousand, pays upon only five.

The excuse that if the evidence is forthcoming that his neighbor has fifty thousand, he will be taxed at that sum is unavailing. He replies that he is not an assessor nor an officer of the law ; neither does he wish to make an enemy of one who lives near to him.

He feels willing to pay a fair tax, but that it is unfair that he should pay upon all his credits while most men pay upon only half of theirs ; that this is neither just to himself nor well for the state.

In this city of the many thousand owners of investments in building societies and possessors of savings in banks, how many have gone to an assessor with a truthful statement of these sums, that they might be taxed thereon ? The law requires that this be done. Who does it ? Are all these people dishonest ? By no means. Most of them are willing to be fair, but not to pay that which thousands escape.

But why continue to state the reasons which have made the attempt to directly tax intangible personal property a failure ?

Is it necessary to explain why men cannot live without eating ? Is not the result of experience sufficient ?

It is true that something may be and is realised by this form of taxation. Estates in probate, in the custody of the law, as the heritage of infants, imbeciles and other wards, as well as a proportion of that owned by citizens too conscientious to endeavor to conceal that which the law requires them to disclose. The amount thus reached continually decreases.

The injustice of paying when others do not, saps the moral strength of the best, so that the sum of the tangible property taxed, instead of increasing with the added wealth of the community, diminishes.

One of the favorite methods for directly taxing credits is to provide that the amount of mortgages shall be deducted from the assessment of the real property upon which they are, and such sum assessed against the mortgagee, he being, it is said, the real owner. This seems fair and is. Theoretically there is no valid objection to it. It is merely unwise, and instead of relieving the owner of the realty from his burden, adds to it.

The money lender, either as a condition of his loan, requires the borrower to agree to pay the taxes on the mortgage, and secures such promise as he does the loan, or if such agreement be by law forbidden, increase the charge for interest, enough to assure him against taxation; and in doing this the lender, especially if he be a foreigner, takes into consideration the fact that direct taxes may be imposed for the purpose of enhancing the value of the real property: as for roads, parks, boulevards, fountains, statuary, etc.; that none of the enhanced value goes to him, the mortgagee, but all to the mortgagor, who, if he can compel the foreigner to pay half the cost thereof, will turn a handsome penny.

The consequence is that such laws always result in loss to the mortgagor.

It must be borne in mind that taxation affects business; that commerce may be destroyed by taxes; a notable instance of which is that the immense issue of state bank notes in circulation in 1862 was taxed out of existence.

As a business proposition it is not very clear; why, when we are anxious for the investment of foreign capital, we should say to the citizens of Massachusetts, if you lend in this state any money upon mortgage you will be taxed upon it, here, notwithstanding you may pay taxes upon it at the place where you live.

Most kinds of tangible personal property, not representative merely, but the thing itself, often can be directly taxed with approximate equality.

In agricultural communities the horses, cows, sheep, swine, farming implements, household furniture, crops, etc., are objects, the value of which is well known and which cannot be effectually hidden.

In large cities no one person is capable of making a correct estimate of the value of the great variety of personality. Hundreds

of experts would be required, and they would have to make long and careful search that nothing escape them.

Practically with all large mercantile and manufacturing houses the statements of, and the showing made by the books of the owners must be taken.

There seems to be no good reason why property received as the result of the death of its former owner should not be subject to a succession tax. Nor is there any sufficient reason why any real property not fully owned, governed and controlled by, and for the equal benefit of, the people, should be exempt from taxation. In other words, all real property owned or controlled wholly or in part by private persons or corporations should be taxed.

Taxes should be imposed and collected with perfect fairness and with as little annoyance and disturbance of business interests as is possible.

As to this it must always be borne in mind that it is not so much fairness in the imposition of the tax as the fairness that can be realised in its collection that is of the greatest importance.

The trouble with a tax levied equally upon tangible and intangible property is not that such levy is unfair, but that unfairness and inequality are inevitable results of the attempt to collect it.

An income tax may be as just as any, provided there be included all incomes, the tax upon which will exceed the cost of collecting. The difficulty with such an impost is that it cannot in this country be fairly collected; and that the attempt to collect necessitates inquisitorial methods so odious that they will not here by long endured.

In England, where incomes are much more steady and where the administration of the law is removed from political influence and measurably above the sway of popular passion, an income tax can with approximate fairness be collected from estates in court, from great corporations, from the holders of official positions, from the owners of very large landed estates and such merchants and manufacturers as are too honest to attempt to conceal the true condition of their affairs. The number of these continually diminishes and the income tax has by every Chancellor of the Exchequer from Gladstone down been regarded as one to be removed as soon as the exigencies of public affairs do not demand its continuance. An income tax exempting all incomes below four thousand dollars is neither just nor fair, but is class legislation of a vicious kind. A just income tax exempts none save those so small that the tax realised will not pay the expense of collecting.

The history of our legislation concerning taxation is illustrative of the prevalence of the legislative idea that whatever the law commands will be done, and the universal indifference to disobedience and evasion of statutes.

The constitution of the State of Illinois has for more than fifty years declared that "The general assembly shall provide such revenue as may be needful by levying a tax by valuation, so that every person and corporation shall pay a tax in proportion to the value of his, her, or its property."

During all this period it has been notorious that at no time has every person and corporation paid a tax in proportion to the value of his, her, or its property; while for most of the time not only has no effort been made to obey the constitutional mandate, but laws have been enacted and are in force expressly designed to exempt and which have exempted certain kinds of property from taxation.

Under this constitution a curious condition arose. The legislature, fearing that taxation might become oppressive, for the protection of the people, by statutory enactments, *restricted* the power of the various municipalities to tax, to certain fixed percentages, which in the aggregate amounted to ten per cent. As the actual collection of such a tax would have amounted to confiscation, the gradual increase of the percentage of taxation was, in open disregard of the law, met by a gradual reduction of the value placed by assessors upon real property, and an ignoring of the existence of the bulk of personality; so that upon the average a tax of one per cent. per annum was paid upon real property, and very little upon personal.

The law all the while required each person to each year give in a verified list of all his personal property, with a statement of its fair cash value. Had any person in the City of Chicago done this, he would have been taxed ten per cent. upon the full value of his personal property—the law for most of this period made it unlawful to exact more than seven per cent. interest—one loaning money would, under the plain requirements of the statute, have been compelled to pay a tax of three per cent. more than the greatest interest he could lawfully obtain thereon.

Nobody obeyed the statute which commanded him to make a true schedule of all his personal property, with a truthful statement of the value of each article. To have done this would have been ruin. None of the assessors obeyed the law which commanded each to make a list of all property, real and personal, in his dis-

trict, and to affix thereto a statement of its fair cash value. Each assessor before he began his work solemnly swore that he would do this, and at its conclusion again swore that he had done so. Everybody knew that this was not done, and the Supreme Court, in the teeth of the unmistakable requirement of the statute, declared it unnecessary.

It was found to be a great deal easier by universal acquiescence to ignore the law than to change it, and so the entire people deliberately resolved to disobey the statute.

At the present time in Chicago real property is assessed at its full cash value; this value is then divided by five, and upon the one-fifth thus obtained taxes are assessed.

Such personal property as can be found is assessed in the same manner, but as a great portion of the personalty cannot be found, many people pay taxes upon all the personal property they have, and many others who have vastly more pay on none or very little.

If a man to-day had fifty thousand dollars worth of Chicago city bonds of a recent issue, he would receive from the city as interest thereon fifteen hundred dollars per annum. Under our system of taxation the net income he would have therefrom for the support of his family would depend very largely upon where he lived.

The fifty thousand being divided by five he would be taxed upon ten thousand dollars.

The rate of taxation is as follows:

North Chicago,	.0881 $\frac{7}{10}$	tax on \$10,000 assessment.....	\$881.70
South Chicago,	.0836 $\frac{1}{10}$	" " 10,000 "	836.70
West Chicago,	.0924 $\frac{1}{10}$	" " 10,000 "	924.70
Hyde Park,	.0836 $\frac{7}{10}$	" " 10,000 "	836.70
Evanston Dist. 3,	.0814 $\frac{1}{10}$	" " 10,000 "	814.10
Cicero Dist. 1,	.1046 $\frac{1}{10}$	" " 10,000 "	1046.50
Schaumburg,	.0254 $\frac{1}{10}$	" " 10,000 "	254.10

From his fifty thousand dollars of city bonds his net income would be, if living in

North Chicago.....	interest \$1500, less tax \$881.70=	\$618.30
South Chicago.....	" 1500, " " 836.70=	663.30
West Chicago.....	" 1500, " " 927.70=	575.30
Hyde Park.....	" 1500, " " 836.70=	663.30
Evanston Dist. 3.....	" 1500, " " 814.10=	685.90
Cicero Dist. 1.....	" 1500, " " 1046.50=	453.50
Schaumburg.....	" 1500, " " 254.10=	1245.90

If finding such income insufficient for the support of his family he took up his abode in London, he would not be taxed upon his

bonds as such, but would pay under, owing to the South African war, the abnormally high income tax of one shilling in the pound of his income in excess of eight hundred dollars.

His income upon his \$50,000 of bonds being \$1500 per annum, there would be deducted from this \$800, leaving \$700 upon which he would annually pay \$35, leaving his net income in London \$1465.00 against

\$663.30 in South Chicago
 618.30 in North Chicago
 517.30 in West Chicago
 663.30 in Hyde Park
 685.90 in Evanston
 453.50 in Cicero
 1245.90 in Schaumburg.

Manifestly it is for the interest of the owner of these bonds to live in London, and clearly the people of Chicago do not desire that he should live in their city, else they would not by taxation drive him out.

Just why the people should desire to drive away the possessor of bonds, stocks, or notes, is not very clear. The advent of another barber, druggist, merchant, undertaker, or doctor might by those of his calling be unwelcome in any place; he would be a rival; but the man living upon his income, carrying on no business, is a customer only. All who do business seek for customers; numerous places advertise attractions in the way of mountains, sea, springs, parks, drives, bathing facilities; seeking thus to draw thither those who have money to spend. What would be thought of Saratoga, Newport, Baden Baden, or Long Branch if the authorities should announce that visitors would be required to make a schedule of their personal property and would be taxed upon the amount thereof as fixed by the local assessors for the proportion of the year they remained in the city?

If it would be unwise to tax a mere visitor for three months upon the amount of his stocks, bonds, and notes, why is it wise to tax a mere resident of one or more years upon the same property?

If a person owing real property in Boston were to reside in Chicago no one would think of taxing him here on his Boston real estate; all would perceive that this would drive him away. Why is it then that taxing him upon bonds, etc., which have no locality, are as likely to and may as well be kept in New York as elsewhere, does not always drive him away? Simply because the fact of the ownership of such property is not often disclosed.

The effect of our law is to drive away the citizen who will not conceal his shares, notes, and bonds, evade taxation thereon, and keep the man who successfully hides his personal effects.

Taxes are imposed upon intangible personal property not because of business considerations, but as a matter of sentiment.

The feeling is strong that every one should pay in proportion to the value of all his property. The feeling is proper and just; if such result could be realised without disastrous result to the interests of the community, there would be no valid objection to the law.

It is because such law cannot be fairly enforced, and because its enforcement would drive away many whom it is for the interest of all should remain that such law is not only unwise but disastrous and demoralising.

A person having a collection of paintings and other works of art and a library the value of which is one hundred thousand dollars, removing from London and taking up his residence in Evanston, carrying there his collection and library, if the law is enforced, must pay an annual tax of \$1628.50 for the privilege of there keeping such personal property.

While if, to the delight of the people of Cicero, he takes his pictures and books to that suburb, he will be taxed thereon the sum of \$2093.00. Evidently Evanston and Cicero do not expect to have owners of such property make their home in either of those places.

Is Chicago determined by taxation to drive away all such private collections?

If not, why is a similar rate of taxation thereon maintained?

OUR CUSTOM HOUSE.

BY THE EDITOR.

AN assurance of international citizenship and a certificate of good character, such as the Hon. C. C. Bonney suggested in his article in *The Open Court* for April of 1901 (page 218), would be a great convenience to American travellers for protection against imposition in foreign countries, but what shall be done to protect us against unfairness and encroachment upon our personal rights when we return to our own country? I am sorry to say that protection at home is much more needed than abroad. There is much that is strange to an American in the custom houses of Europe. Everywhere, even in free-trade England, the custom house officers search for spirits and tobacco, and on the continent also for food stuffs in every form and even in small quantities. On the German frontier one is liable to have trouble on account of half a box of chocolate, or a few biscuits, or even a quarter of a loaf of bread. The duty is only a few cents, but there are heavy penalties for the assumed dishonesty of not declaring the contraband goods. It is pedantic and troublesome, but upon the whole harmless. It almost seems that the machinery instituted for inconveniencing the public must cost the government more than the returns warrant.

On my last trip abroad, I was obliged in Germany to declare an article as dutiable and was detained for a long time which was spent in looking the questionable piece all over and weighing it, small and light though it was, on a big scales. The facts of the case were taken to protocol and registered in ledgers nigh a foot in size, and at last I had to lay down five German pennies (i. e., one and one-fourth cents in American money), the payment of which was duly receipted by the custom house officer with a visible consciousness of his official dignity.

On another occasion I remember the case of a young lady travelling first class in company with an elderly companion, apparently her grandmother, who for the sake of a tin box half filled with crackers was so rudely handled by the German custom house officers that she burst into tears. When my turn came for inspection, I suggested to the custom house officer that he might have dealt more tenderly with the young lady. But he felt indignant; "She ought to be glad that I did not report her, for the concealment of dutiable goods is a penitentiary offence." Giving another look at the sobbing young lady and her distinguished aged companion at her side, I could not help shuddering at the threat of the officer, and the thought occurred to me which since then comes back whenever I see the custom house officers at work, that this most modern method of protecting the various countries against the competition of their more skilled neighbors, *confessedly instituted to reduce and minimise commerce and trade*, is nothing but a relic of mediæval barbarism when the nobility and the princes believed that to play the highwayman was their inalienable, God-given right. German history still keeps on record the watchword and war-cry of the robber knights, which ran as follows:

*"Reiten und rauben ist keine Schande,
Es thun's die Edelsten im Lande."*

The nature of the hold-ups which one has to endure at the various frontiers in passing from one country to another has become less virulent than in the chivalrous days of mediæval knighthood, but remains after all the same in kind. They are regular hold-ups. No protest avails; the traveller must open his valises and allow his luggage to be mercilessly searched; and there is no redress if property is destroyed by the careless packing which is the inevitable result of the hurry in which it must be done.

The German custom house regulations appear pedantic to us and are great in small things. How much different is the American custom house about which there is nothing small. We have the advantage here that our officials do not bother with trifles for which the fee to be collected does not pay the trouble of collecting it. But when they begin to collect, they have rates which render the taxes not protective but prohibitive, going up to sixty per cent, on the value of goods and more.

Knowing that we are blessed with a high protective tariff, I decided, while abroad, to buy as little as possible. But I happened to return shortly before Christmas, and knowing that there would

be no time left for shopping after my arrival, I could not help buying abroad a few Christmas gifts for the children. To comply with the laws, I noted down the average sum of my expenses and made my declaration accordingly.

Under present circumstances it is probable that we cannot do without a custom house. It seems that a custom house is one of the most indispensable emblems of a government. In the Middle Ages, the gallows was the proud symbol of an independent jurisdiction, and so in modern times the custom house indicates a separate sphere of national industry. It stands there as a challenge and seems to proclaim: "We can live without any communication with the rest of the world, but we are full of magnanimity and will tolerate commerce as a kindness to foreigners, on the condition, however, that every one who imports anything from the outside will pay a penalty."

We are a free people, or at least believe we are free; and we take pride in teaching to our children the famous story of the English tea tax which was imposed upon the colonies and, after being gloriously resisted, finally led to the Declaration of Independence. What is that tea tax in comparison to the taxes imposed upon the country by Congress in the interest of a small but powerful fraction of the people!

Well, be that as it may, the custom house is perhaps indispensable for our present national patriotism, but we ought to demand at least that those coming from foreign countries who have to submit to the official hold-up at the frontier should have a printed statement handed to them for their information as to what is and what is not dutiable and at what rate. As matters stand at present, the conscientious man is at a great disadvantage, for what he declares he must pay whether it be fair or no. The statement that is handed to the passengers on the steamer is simply a threat but affords no information. It reads as follows:

UNITED STATES CUSTOMS NOTICE.

To Passengers Arriving from Foreign Countries.

It will be necessary for you to make a declaration before the United States Customs Officer in the saloon of this vessel, stating the number of your trunks and other packages and their contents; and residents of the United States, returning from abroad, should provide a detailed list of articles purchased abroad and the prices paid therefor.

A failure to declare all dutiable goods in your possession will render the same liable to seizure and confiscation, and yourself to fine and imprisonment.

Section 26 of the Customs Administrative Act of June 10, 1890, provides a fine of not exceeding \$2,000, or imprisonment at hard labor not more than a year, or both, in the discretion of the court, for giving or offering to give a gratuity to an officer of the customs in consideration of any illegal act in connexion with the examination of baggage, or for attempting by threats or demands to improperly influence or control any such officer.

Passengers will facilitate the work of Customs Officers and contribute to their own comfort and speedy departure from the wharf, by noting on the back of a copy of this circular, which may be obtained from the officers of the vessel, their purchases abroad, with prices paid therefor.

We all were glad to come home again, but the very sight of this paper startled the passengers, who spoke about it in very different terms. Some hinted at former experiences and admired the ingenuity of some officers in forcing the passengers to pay bribes. One gentleman said, the best way to pass your baggage through the custom house was to put a five or ten dollar bill within reach of the custom house officer, for, said he, some goods are spoiled by handling, delicate things are broken, and even if they remain whole, they cannot, on the dock, be repacked as they ought to be and consequently will suffer in their further transportation.

My late friend, Gen. M. M. Trumbull, used to admire the smartness with which a certain class of American politicians (who all the while live in the hope of some time having an opportunity to receive bribes) succeed in protecting the bribe-taker. They simply had a law passed which holds the bribe-giver equally responsible. It is an excellent plan and serves the purpose splendidly. The law takes the high moral ground that if there were no bribe-offering, there could be no bribe-taking, and if the poor bribe-taker were spared the temptation of the wealthy bribe-giver he would remain an honest man. Thus it found the support of all moral enthusiasts and was passed without difficulty through the tacit consent of the truly righteous and those who in their hearts stood before their own conscience as convicted rascals. The result of the law is that he who has been forced to bribe an officer is for strong and good reasons forced to keep quiet ever afterwards. It is said that the footpads in the street would be glad to have this ingenious law extended to their profession. If the man that walks about laden with a purse or a gold watch would not give up his pelf, how could a highwayman take it? *Ergo*, hold the person that is robbed equally responsible with the robber, and it will follow as the night the day that our courts will no longer be molested with complaints of robberies.

The custom house officer on the steamer took my declaration

in a perfunctory manner; but in an other case he made further inquiries. There was a man, apparently of the second cabin, whom he asked: "Now, is that all you have to declare?"

The sturdy passenger to whom the question was addressed seemed to wince under the question. Apparently he had something to conceal. The officer repeated the question and, I believe, added: "Remember, you are under oath." The eyes of all present hung on the flushed face of the poor victim of the custom house. He began to consider the gravity of the situation and the seriousness of the results. He relented and began slowly: "Well, I have in my trunk four pounds of honey."

The smile all around was audible. The crime was confessed, but the trouble of collecting the tax did not pay. So the custom house officer said: "Never mind the honey, take it along!"

When I had my baggage on shore, the inspector came round to look at the things which I had declared. "Pshaw!" he said, in looking at the different items, "that is not worth declaring; where are the rest of the things you bought?" and not recollecting all the places where the most valuable presents lay hidden, I tried to unearth something that would justify my declaration. The inspector seemed to be sorry for my having made any declaration at all and said: "Now that you have made the declaration, I must make you pay." So I paid on a pair of gloves and some other sundries a tax of I don't know how many per cent. of the value,—a total of about thirty-five dollars for a declaration of fifty dollars. I was glad at not having bought more, for the duty comes very near to the original price, and this almost doubles the expense.

When the Bey of Tunis demanded a tribute from the ships that sailed on his seas, we called it piracy and sent our men of war to enforce free trading on the waters round the north coasts of Africa. We can enforce protection abroad, but we would not do it at home.

If we were Russians we might, whenever we have reasons to complain about the U. S. custom house, go to the Russian ambassador who would threaten the U. S. government with retaliation; but being Americans we have no redress, for we ourselves elected the men that made the laws of the land, and our present officers can do nothing but enforce them.

Mr. Bonney's idea of international citizenship is a beautiful dream, but the best way of its realisation would be by having the the rights of citizenship respected first at home.

FRIENDS OR SLAVES.

AN APPEAL TO CONGRESS.¹

BY THE EDITOR.

THERE is a great difference in the method of managing a concern of any kind, be it the government of a country, the administration of colonies, the running of a factory, or the working of farms and plantations. A manager may sway the men subject to his control either by force of arms, by the whip, by threats, or by the intrinsic worth of his returns for their services so as to secure their assistance on the basis of a treaty or contract in which both parties remain free.

The king of England has more power than a savage chief; yet the rights of the former over his subjects are extremely limited while the latter is the absolute master of his people.

Formerly the plantations in the South were worked with slaves, and the slave owners thought that the abolition of slavery would ruin the country. Now the plantations are worked by free labor, and the institution of free labor is not only more humane but also cheaper. There is no one now who would advocate a return to the old slave system.

Progress in social as well as political conditions consists in a gradual replacement of the rule by force through a management of affairs by treaty, and the latter implies an increase of power undreamt of by the petty tyrants of the ages of savagery and barbarism.

When the thirteen colonies of North-America had gained their

¹ In connection with this article, I briefly repeat another appeal to Congress made some time ago through the columns of *The Open Court*, "Duplicate the Naval Academy." The expense is small in comparison to the benefits to be derived therefrom both in peace and in war. We should thus educate a number of well-trained professional sailors to serve as officers and captains in our mercantile fleet, but in the emergency of war the strength of our navy might be considerably and quickly increased through their services. It would almost duplicate our fighting capacity without at the same time duplicating the expense of keeping twice as many warships.

independence, England had learned a valuable lesson which taught her to adopt a policy of freedom in her colonial management and it resulted, not only in a flourishing condition in all her colonies, but also in an enormous increase of her own power.

The present premier, Lord Salisbury, influenced by Cecil Rhodes and Lord Chamberlain, failed to apply the lesson so dearly paid for in America to the Dutch-speaking population of South Africa, and this apparently insignificant mistake may cost England her leading position in the control of the affairs of the world. Although the English arms may claim to be victorious, the unsettled state of things forces them to keep an army almost as large as the entire Boer population, and the drain on the state treasury is enormous, even for the rich resources of Great Britain. It is not that the Boers are angels, or that they are absolutely in the right. They too showed a disregard of the rights of others and blundered in diplomacy, but they had no means of knowing better, while there is no such excuse for Salisbury.

But there is no need of our speaking about England and her troubles while we continue to make the same mistake in the Philippine Islands. It is done on a smaller scale, but it is done; and the results are analogous. The expenses for the Philippine war amount now nearly to one hundred million dollars, not to mention the loss of lives and the host of other evils incidental upon an unsettled state of things.

The writer of this article does not believe in surrendering our control over points of strategic and commercial importance, for the time will come when their possession may be of great value to us; but he believes that we should adopt the principle of pursuing and holding our advantages, not through subduing the inhabitants of the conquered islands, but by making them free and granting them the self-government which we regard as the inalienable right of our own citizens.

We could most easily and without expense to ourselves control the Philippine Islands by making them allied republics as we have done with Cuba. We ought to divide the country according to geographical and ethnological conditions, making Manila with its great contingent of foreign residents a Free City (after the pattern of the Hanseatic towns of Germany), the Philippine municipalities independent republics, leaving the Mohammedans as they are now, and allowing the chiefs of uncivilised tribes the right of administering their own affairs, provided they preserve peace and are responsible for maintaining order in their districts. The

United States have all they want if they keep Cavite and the small strip of land, as well as the islands that have the strategic command of Manila Bay. They may make commercial and political treaties with Manila and the Philippine republics that will prove of mutual benefit, but to subdue the inhabitants is a useless, unnecessary, expensive, and morally wrong undertaking.

If we had at once voluntarily given to the Filipinos their freedom, we could have retained Cavite, the forts, and other property of the Spanish government without difficulty and should have peacefully established our control over the islands forever, which would have been a control by treaty, by moral influence, and through the advantages we can offer them. We have lost a golden opportunity. But it may not yet be too late, provided our policy of changing our conquered territories into allied republics is not forced upon the party in power, but is done voluntarily as an act of generosity and justice.

We have expressed our views on the subject in former articles and have received the private endorsement of some of our congressmen; but neither the President nor Congress has taken any action! We have purposely abstained from making any propaganda for our views that would force the affair upon the notice of our legislators and the government. For unless the government and Congress take this step *voluntarily*, it will be without any avail, and the Filipinos will continue to distrust us. There ought to be no division of parties on the subject, and the party in power should advocate the measure.

There is no need of abandoning the advantages we have gained by right of conquest. On the contrary: we should render them enduring and beneficial, which can be done to the promotion of the interests of all concerned, ourselves and the inhabitants of the conquered districts. But we ought to know that we can accomplish more by treaties and alliances than by bloodshed and violence. Our power will be greater by making the Filipinos independent and having them as friends than by keeping them in bondage.

THE RELIGION OF SIAM.

BY MRS. ANNA HARRIETTE LEONOWENS.¹

BUDDHISM cannot be clearly defined by its visible results. There are more things in that subtle, mystical enigma called in the Pâli *Nibbâna*, in the Birmese *Niban*, in the Siamese *Niphan*, than are dreamed of in our philosophy. With the idea of Niphan in his theology, it were absurdly false to say the Buddhist has no God. His Decalogue² is as plain and imperative as the Christian's: I. From the meanest insect up to man thou shalt kill no animal whatsoever. II. Thou shalt not steal. III. Thou shalt not violate the wife of another, nor his concubine. IV. Thou shalt speak no word that is false. V. Thou shalt not drink wine, nor anything that may intoxicate. VI. Thou shalt avoid all anger, hatred, and bitter language. VII. Thou shalt not indulge in idle and vain talk. VIII. Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's goods. IX. Thou shalt not harbor envy, nor pride, nor revenge, nor malice, nor the desire of thy neighbor's death or misfortune. X. Thou shalt not follow the doctrines of false gods.

Whosoever abstains from these forbidden things is said to "*observe Silah*"; and whosoever shall faithfully observe Silah, in all his successive metempsychoses, shall continually increase in virtue and purity, until at length he shall become worthy to behold God, and hear his voice; and so he shall obtain Niphan. "Be assiduous in bestowing alms, in practising virtue, in observing Silah, in performing Bavana, prayer; and above all in adoring Guadama, the true God. Reverence likewise his laws and his priests."

Many have missed seeing what is true and wise in the doctrine of Buddha because they preferred to observe it from the standpoint and in the attitude of an antagonist, rather than of an inquirer.

¹From *Siam and the Siamese*. By Mrs. Anna Harriette Leonowens. Philadelphia: Henry T. Coates & Co. 1897. Pages, xi, 321.

²Translated from the Pâli.

To understand aright the earnest creed and hope of any man, one must be at least sympathetically *en rapport* with him,—must be willing to feel, and to confess within one's self, the germs of those errors whose growth seems so rank in him. In the humble spirit of this fellowship of fallibility let us draw as near as we may to the hearts of these devotees and the heart of their mystery.

My interesting pupil, the Lady Tâlâp, had invited me to accompany her to the royal private temple, Watt P'hra Kêau, to witness the services held there on the Buddhist Sabâto, or One-thu-sin. Accordingly we repaired together to the temple on the day appointed. The day was young, and the air was cool and fresh; and as we approached the place of worship, the clustered bells of the pagodas made breezy gushes of music aloft. One of the court pages, meeting us, inquired our destination. "The Watt P'hra Kêau," I replied. "To see or to hear?" "Both." And we entered.

On a floor diamonded with polished brass sat a throng of women, the *élite* of Siam. All were robed in pure white, with white silk scarfs drawn from the left shoulder in careful folds across the bust and back, and thrown gracefully over the right. A little apart sat their female slaves, of whom many were inferior to their mistresses only in social consideration and worldly gear, being their half-sisters,—children of the same father by a slave mother.

The women sat in circles, and each displayed her vase of flowers and her lighted taper before her. In front of all were a number of my younger pupils, the royal children, in circles also. Close by the altar, on a low square stool, overlaid with a thin cushion of silk, sat the high-priest, Chow Khoon Sâh. In his hand he held a concave fan, lined with pale green silk, the back richly embroidered, jewelled, and gilt.¹ He was draped in a yellow robe, not unlike the Roman toga, a loose and flowing habit, closed below the waist, but open from the throat to the girdle, which was simply a band of yellow cloth, bound tightly. From the shoulders hung two narrow strips, also yellow, descending over the robe to the feet, and resembling the scapular worn by certain orders of the Roman Catholic clergy. At his side was an open watch of gold, the gift of his sovereign. At his feet sat seventeen disciples, shading their faces with fans less richly adorned.

We put off our shoes,—my child and I,—having respect for the ancient prejudice against them;² feeling not so much reverence

¹ The fan is used to cover the face. Jewelled fans are marks of distinction among the priesthood.

² "Put off thy shoes from off thy feet, for the place whereon thou standest is holy ground."

for the place as for the hearts that worshipped there, caring to display not so much the love of wisdom as the wisdom of love; and well were we repaid by the grateful smile of recognition that greeted us as we entered.

We sat down cross-legged. No need to hush my boy,—the silence there, so subduing, checked with its mysterious awe even his inquisitive young mind. The venerable high-priest sat with his face jealously covered, lest his eyes should tempt his thoughts to stray. I changed my position to catch a glimpse of his countenance; he drew his fan-veil more closely, giving me a quick but gentle half-glance of remonstrance. Then raising his eyes, with lids nearly closed, he chanted in an infantile, wailing tone.

That was the opening prayer. At once the whole congregation raised themselves on their knees and, all together, prostrated themselves thrice profoundly, thrice touching the polished brass floor with their foreheads; and then, with heads bowed and palms folded and eyes closed, they delivered the responses after the priest, much in the manner of the English liturgy, first the priest, then the people, and finally all together. There was no singing, no standing up and sitting down, no changing of robes or places, no turning the face to the altar, nor north, nor south, nor east, nor west. All knelt *still*, with hands folded straight before them, and eyes strictly, tightly closed. Indeed, there were faces there that expressed devotion and piety, the humblest and the purest, as the lips murmured: "O Thou Eternal One, Thou perfection of Time, Thou truest Truth, Thou immutable essence of all Change, Thou most excellent radiance of Mercy, Thou infinite Compassion, Thou Pity, Thou Charity!"

I lost some of the responses in the simultaneous repetition, and did but imperfectly comprehend the exhortation that followed, in which was inculcated the strictest practice of charity in a manner so pathetic and so gentle as might be wisely imitated by the most orthodox of Christian priests.

There was majesty in the humility of those pagan worshippers, and in their shame of self they were sublime. I leave both the truth and the error to Him who alone can soar to the bright heights of the one and sound the dark depths of the other, and take to myself the lesson, to be read in the shrinking forms and hidden faces of those patient waiters for a far-off glimmering *Light*,—the lesson wherefrom I learn, in thanking God for the light of Christianity, to thank him for its shadow too, which is Buddhism.

PROFESSOR PEARSON ON THE BIBLE.

BY THE EDITOR.

A GREAT stir has been created in the press all over the country by an essay of Charles W. Pearson, Professor of English Literature in the pious Northwestern University at Evanston, Ill. The remarkable feature of his essay is not that the Bible is conceded to contain errors, but that he expects the Churches openly to acknowledge the truth which at present is an open secret. The Professor speaks boldly and fearlessly, but with modesty; and his sole motive is love of truth. He follows the dictates of his conscience and unburdens his soul of the oppressive idea that he should remain guilty of dishonesty and cowardice by conniving at a lie. Professor Pearson has been forced to resign his position. At Evanston his is still a voice crying in the wilderness; but there are other universities where the boards of directors are more truly religious so as to respect the man that gives utterance to the thought that moves him.

Mr. Pearson's views are shared by thousands of his colleagues and by members of the clergy themselves. No better sign that our theologians do not mean to refuse the truth and are willing to accept it could be given than the encouragement which Professor Pearson received from his own pastor, the Rev. Dr. William Macafee, whom he consulted before publishing his article. Dr. Macafee did not try to induce the Professor to keep his peace and though by no means in full agreement with his views, bade him Godspeed.

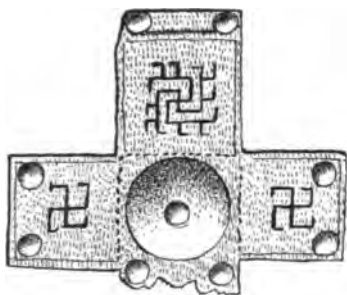
Professor Pearson's article is a significant symptom of the times. It indicates that a reformation of our churches is near at hand which will be accomplished by their doors' being opened to the truth wherever it may be found and allowing a rich harvest to ripen in the light of intellectuality and scientific comprehension.¹

¹ The papers have made many comments upon Professor Pearson's essay, but the text of it has remained practically unknown. We therefore reprint it in full on pp. 175-181 of the present number of *The Open Court* as it appeared in the *Evanston Index* of Jan. 18, 1902.

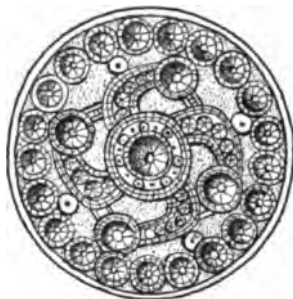
FYLFOT AND SWASTIKA.

BY THE EDITOR.

FYLFOT¹ is an old English word which is supposed to be a corruption of the Anglo-Saxon *feówer fōt*,² i. e., four-foot. The change was perhaps effected because of its resemblance to the Saxon *felafo̥t*, corresponding to the modern German *Vielfuss*, or perhaps to the English *flyfoot*, and it denotes a peculiar form of an equilateral cross with ends turned (卐) which among the Germanic tribes is said to have been sacred to Thor, the thunder-god, and is therefore, rightly or wrongly, also called the hammer-mark of Thor



SCANDINAVIAN HORSEGEAR.³



GOLD BROOCH. Island of Fyen.³

or the cross of Thor. The figure is an ancient pagan symbol and is now commonly called by its Sanskrit name *swastika*.

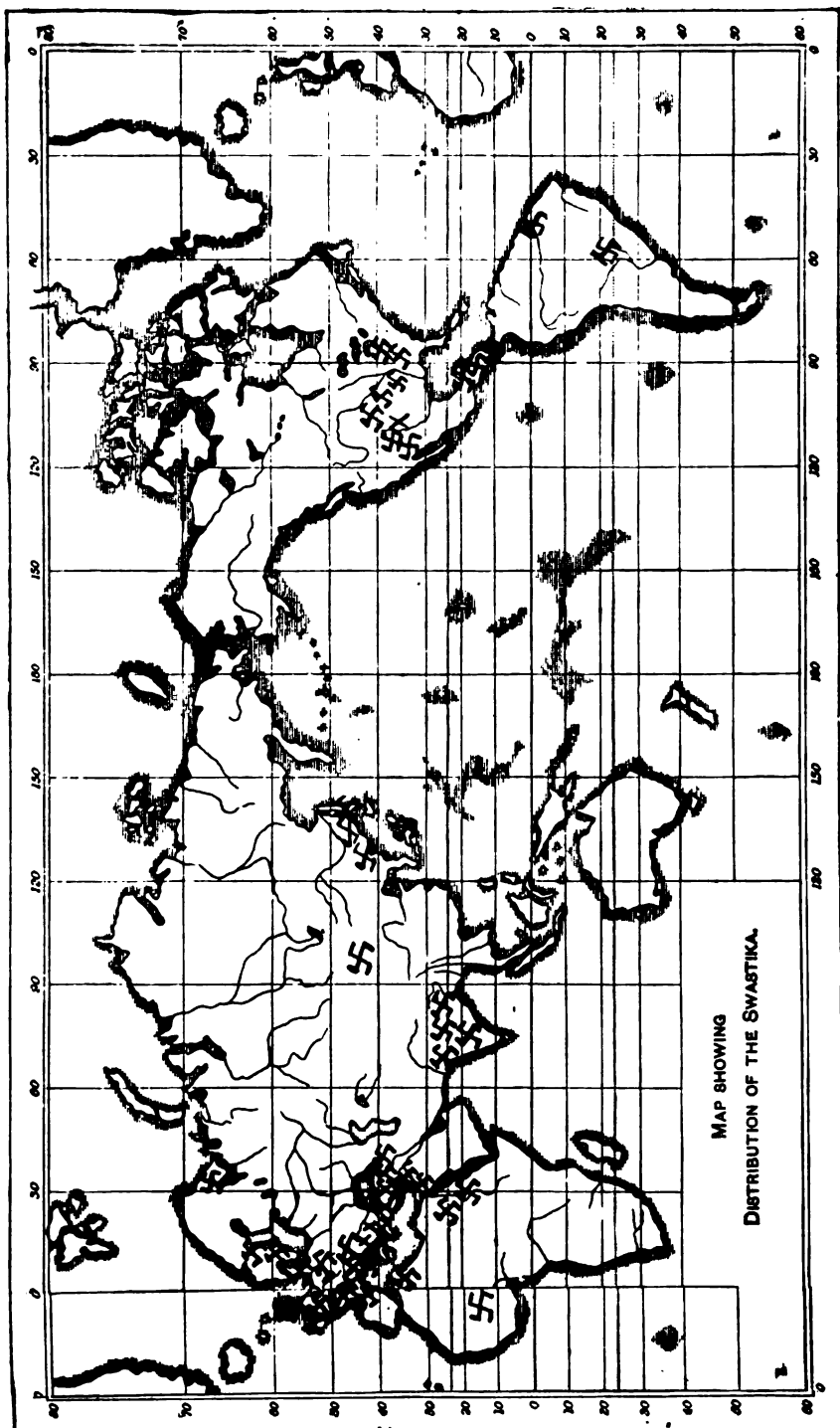
The Sanskrit name "swastika" is derived from *su*="well" and *asti* "welfare," or "hail," and may be translated as "a symbol of bliss and salvation."

Max Müller thinks that originally the swastika was a mere cross, for the word "to swastika oneself," means in the ancient Brahmanical literature what we now would call crossing oneself.

¹ Also spelled *Filfo̥t*.

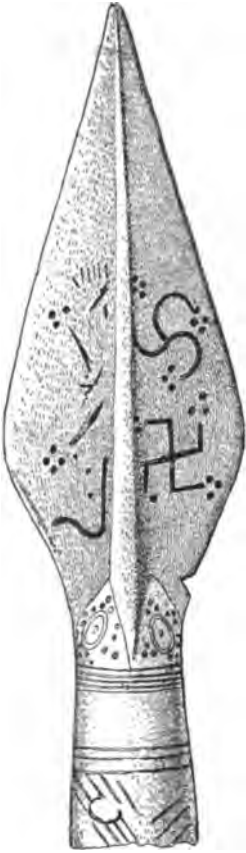
² Also written *fíther* and *fyther*, corresponding to the Gothic *fidwōr*, four.

³ Waring, *Ceramic Art*, pl. 44, fig. 16, pl. 42, fig. 11. Wilson, *Swastika*, 867.



We read that a woman "swastikaed" her arms over her breast, or, when a person sits cross-legged, he is said to "swastika" his legs.

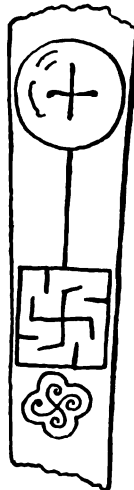
Mr. Thomas Wilson's map of the distribution of the Swastika¹ shows that it has been found wherever anthropologists have



SPEAR-HEAD FOUND IN
BRANDENBURG, NORTH
GERMANY.²



GOLD BRACTEATE OF DENMARK.³



SCULPTURED
STONE OF PRE-
HISTORIC IRE-
LAND.⁴



BRONZE PIN OF
PREHISTORIC
GAELS, SCOT-
LAND.⁵



SCANDINAVIAN
SWORD SCAB-
BARD (Vimose
bog find).

searched, although he has accidentally forgotten to record the swastikas of Java, Siam, and Cochin-China.

¹ "The Swastika, the Earliest Known Symbol, and Its Migrations; With Observations on the Migration of Certain Industries in Prehistoric Times," by Thomas Wilson, *Report of the U. S. National Museum for 1894*, pages 757-1011.

² Waring, *Ceramic Art*, pl. 44, fig. 21. Wilson, *loc. cit.*, 863.

³ Waring, *Ceramic Art*, pl. 1, fig. 9. Wilson, *loc. cit.*, 878.

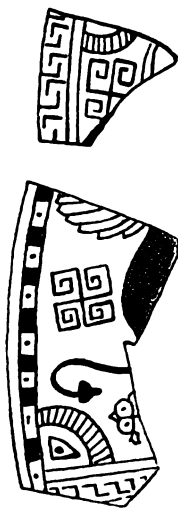
⁴ Zmigrodski, *Zur Gesch. d. Sw.*, pl. 6, fig. 248.

⁵ Munro, *Lake Dwellings of Europe*, p. 417. Wilson, *loc. cit.*, 868.



GREEK VASE DISCOVERED IN NAUCRATIS, EGYPT.

Petrie, *Third Memoir of Egyptian Exploration Fund*, I., pl. 4, fig. 3. Wilson, *loc. cit.*, 834. The vase is of the fifth or sixth century B. C.



POTTERY FRAGMENTS OF NAUCRATIS, EGYPT.

Petrie, *loc. cit.*, pl. 5, figs. 15 and 24. Wilson, *loc. cit.*, 835. Although Naucratis is situated in Egypt, the city was a Greek colony and the pottery here discovered must be classified as Greek. It is noteworthy that the swastika has not been found on the ancient monuments in the valley of the Nile, and we may fairly well assume that it was unknown to the indigenous Egyptians until the symbol was imported from abroad.



FRAGMENTS OF ARCHAIC GREEK VASE. (British Museum.)

Waring, *Ceramic Art*, pl. 41, fig. 15. Wilson, *loc. cit.*, 840.



DETAIL OF THE NAUCRATIS VASE.

The swastika is here turned contrary to the course of the sun, being, as the Scotch Highlanders call it, *Witcher-shins*, which (if it is not accidental) may indicate that this vessel served as an urn for funeral purposes. Four-spoked dotted sun-wheels and crosses occupy prominent places near the handles. Compare the use of emblems with the dipylon vase in the next article.

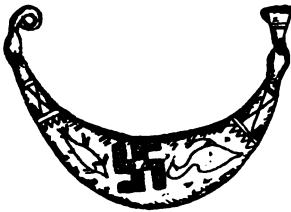
The swastika is mostly cruciform, i. e., four-armed and rectangular, but sometimes the corners are rounded off, and there are many instances of three or five-armed (卐 卐 卐) or even multiplex swastikas, and it is characteristic that almost all the irregular swastikas are rounded off at the tips of their arms like the wriggling pseudopodia of an octopus or the curved rays of star-fishes.

Swastikas are found on monuments of the most ancient date, on pottery of the Neolithic and bronze ages, on prehistoric terra-cotta figures, on altars, on coins, on shields, on weapons, and on amulets of various description.

The swastika appears frequently in combination with symbolical animals, especially the goose or swan, the ram, the gazelle, the horse, the serpent, the fish.



ETRUSCAN GOLD
BULLA.¹



PREHISTORIC BRONZE
FIBULA.²
(Found in Bœotia, Greece.)



THE SOLAR RAM ON A GREEK VASE.³
With crosses and a swastika.
(British Museum.)

The swastika is in its application so frequently referred to the sun and to solar worship that the explanation has almost been thrust upon archæologists to interpret it as the sun in motion, and as a rule the swastika whose arms point toward the right 卐 indicating the course of the sun, called "*Sunwise*" is regarded as a sign of good omen while the opposite direction 卐, is a symbol of

¹ Waring, *Ceramic Art*, pl. 42, fig. 4a. Wilson, *loc. cit.*, 859.

² Dr. Mortillet, *Musée Préhistorique*, fig. 1265. Wilson, *loc. cit.*, 841.

³ Salzmann, *Nécropole de Camir*, LI. Cf. Wilson, *loc. cit.*, 846.

contraries and of reversing the course of nature. The sunwise motion toward the right is called *deasil*¹ and its opposite *withershins* in Scotland.² The withershins swastika seems to have been used in connection with rituals performed for the sake of the dead. The inverted swastika is called in India *suavastika*.



DEASIL.

The word "deasil" is Gaelic and means "rightwards." *Deas* is Old Irish *deas* or *dess*, Latin *deter*, Sanskrit *dakshina*, i. e., right or south; Dekkan is the land of the south; and *sul* denotes direction or guidance.³ The deasoil circumambulation corresponds exactly to the Hindu rite *dakshinikarana*.⁴

The Gaelic word for withershins, *cartua sul*, meaning "contrary-wards," is mentioned by William Simpson in *The Buddhist Prayer Wheel*, p. 183.



THREE COINS OF KRANANDA. (About 330 B. C.)⁵
With swastikas, trees, dagobas, and wheels.



CROSS-SHAPED HINDU
COIN WITH FOUR
SWASTIKAS.⁶
(Found at Ujain.)

F. Max Müller, Count Alviella, and others claim that the swastika and the solar disc (thus ○) are interchangeable, a theory which, to some extent, finds support in the frequent reference of both symbols to solar worship. If they are not interchangeable, they are at least closely related, for they frequently served similar purposes; but there are many instances in which the swastika appears to have found a broader application.

The swastika is frequently called the Buddhist cross, but the Buddhists, far from being the inventors of the swastika, merely

¹ Also spelled "deasoil" and "deisul." Pronounce *dé'shll*.

² *Withershins*, also spelled *withersins*, *widderskins*, etc., is derived from *with* (German *wider*) = against, contrary. It is doubtful whether the word was originally *withersun*, i. e., opposite to the sun; or *witherling*, i. e., any thing or any one antagonistic.

³ Shaw in his *History of Morals*, in referring to Deas-soil processions, derives the word from *deas*, south, and *soll*, sun, which latter is presumably a mistake.

⁴ Cf. Dr. Otto Schrader's *Prehistoric Antiquities of the Aryan Peoples*, p. 255.

⁵ Reproduced from Waring, who makes his statements on the authority of E. Thomas. Cf. Wilson, *loc. cit.*, 877.

⁶ Waring, *Ceramic Art*, pl. 41, fig. 18. Wilson, *loc. cit.*, 877.

adopted the use of this symbol, or perhaps in the beginning only tolerated the respect in which it was held.



FOOT-PRINTS OF BUDDHA.
(Amaravate Tope.)



STONE ALTAR OF THE
CELTS IN GAUL.¹



ANCIENT ASTARTE.²

A nude figure with swastikas. Curium, Cyprus.



CHARIOT OF THE SUN-GOD.³ (Cyprus).

With swastikas on the wheel and a swastika-like solar symbol on the shield.

According to Fa Hsien, Hsüan Tsang, and other ancient Chinese authorities, the swastika was worshipped not only in India, but

¹ Museum of Toulouse. From Dr. Mortillet's *Musée Préhist.*, fig. 1267. Wilson, *loc. cit.*, 869.

² From Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Bull. Soc. d'Anthrop.*, Paris, 1888, p. 676, fig. 8. Wilson, *loc. cit.*, 853. The position of the arms is characteristic of Astarte.

³ From Cesnola's *Salamina*, p. 240, fig. 226. Wilson, *loc. cit.*, 853.

also in Thibet and China long before the disciples of Shakyamuni converted these countries to Buddhism.

In Chinese script the swastika is the numerical abbreviation for 10,000.

General Cesnola and Ohnefalsch-Richter have unearthed in



LATER ASTARTE.¹

The swastikas, in ancient times tattooed on the naked body, appear now on the garment.



STATUETTE OF TERRA-COTTA.³

A priestess carrying holy water, with swastikas on her garment.



LEADEN IDOL.⁵

With a swastika upon the body. (1½ natural size.)



ANCIENT COIN OF GAZA, PALESTINE.²



STAMP FOR MARKING POTTERY.⁴ SWISS LAKE DWELLERS.

(Musée de Chambéry.)

Cyprus a great number of terra-cotta statues, amulets, and other antiquities bearing swastika symbols.

¹ Ohnefalsch-Richter, *loc. cit.*, p. 677, fig. 10. Wilson, *loc. cit.*, 854.

² The meaning of the symbol on this coin, which looks like an incomplete swastika, is not established. It may be an $\mathbb{X}$ or some other letter. Wilson, *loc. cit.*, 878.

³ From Cesnola's *Cyprus*, p. 300. Wilson, *loc. cit.*, 841.

⁴ From Chantre, *Age du Bronze*, figs. 53 and 55. Wilson, *loc. cit.*, p. 861.

A great number of archæic stamps have been found in various parts of the world, which proves that the idea of printing is quite ancient and it is only astonishing that the invention of printing with movable type was not made at an earlier date.

⁵ See Schliemann, *Ilios*, p. 337, fig. 126. Wilson, *loc. cit.*, 829. The idol was discovered in the third city at a depth of 23 feet. The hair ringlet on the right side of the head is broken off.

Schliemann discovered a leaden idol of crude Chaldæan workmanship in the third city of Ilios. It represents a female deity and must be of great antiquity. Schliemann says that the only figures to which the idol has any resemblance are female statuettes found in the tombs of Attica and in the Cyclades. Six of them, representing naked women, marked with decorated triangles in the same way as our idol, are in the Museum of Athens. Others made of Parian marble are in the British Museum.

Lenormant, in *Les Antiquités de la Troade* (p. 46), says:

"The statuettes of the Cyclades, in the form of naked women, appear to be rude copies made by the natives, at the dawn of their civilisation, from the images of the Asiatic goddess which had been imported by Phœnician merchants. They were found in the most ancient sepulchers of the Cyclades, in company with stone weapons, principally arrow-heads of obsidian from Mila, and with polished pottery without paintings. We recognise in them the figures of the Asiatic Venus found in such large numbers from the banks of the Tigris to the island of Cyprus, through the whole extent of the Chaldeo-Assyrian, Aramæan, and Phœnician world. Their prototype is the Babylonian Zarpanit, or Zirbanit, so frequently represented on the cylinders and by terra-cotta idols, the fabrication of which begins in the most primitive time of Chaldea and continues among the Assyrians."

Professor Sayce explains the statuette as follows:

"It is the Artemis Nana of Chaldea, who became the chief deity of Carchemish, the Hittite capital, and passed through Asia Minor to the shores and islands of the Ægean Sea. Characteristic figures of the goddess have been discovered at Mycenæ as well as in Cyprus."

In the present state of our Assyriological knowledge we should prefer to identify the statue with Belit.

A similar representation of the Babylonian goddess is sculptured on a piece of serpentine, with ringlets on either side of the head and accompanied by the god Bel, discovered in Mæonia.¹

Mr. Thomas Wilson throws a new light upon the significance of the triangle of our statuette by reproducing two richly ornamented terra-cotta shields of the U. S. National Museum, called *tunga* by the natives,² which are of the same shape and were formerly worn in the same manner by the women of Brazil. The little holes in the three corners apparently served the purpose of suspending this primitive adornment and of holding it in its place.

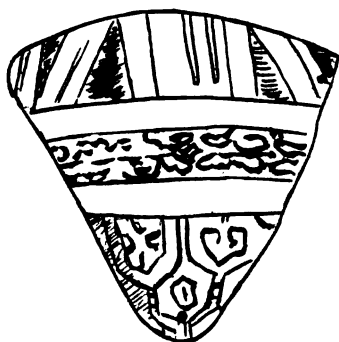
We reproduce one of these shields only which comes from Majaro Island, omitting the other more interesting specimen on account of the dimness of its complicated ornamentation. The latter

¹ Published by Salomon Reinach in the *Revue archæologique*.

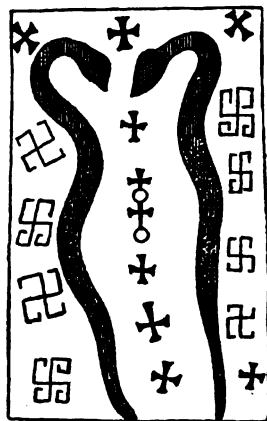
² Registered as *Folia ficus*, or fig leaves. Cat. Nos. 59089 and 36542.

comes from the Cancotires River, and is covered in the same manner as the Majaro *tunga*, with geometric characters. Mr. Wilson says:

"Midway from top to bottom, near the outside edges, are two swastikas. They are about five-eighths of an inch in size, are turned at right angles, one to the right and the other to the left. These may have been a charm signifying good fortune in bearing children."



TERRA-COTTA TUNGA.
(From Marajo Island, Brazil.¹)



DETAIL OF ARCHAIC GREEK VASE.²
(Found in Bæotia.)

How old must the swastika be as an auspicious symbol of light, life, and propagation if we accept the theory that its appearance upon the ornaments of the most primitive woman's dress in the Old World as well as in the New is not accidental but indicative of a common primitive custom!

¹ Goodyear, *Gr. of the Lotos*, Plate 60, Fig. 9. Wilson, *loc. cit.*, p. 852.

² U. S. National Museum, Washington, D. C. After Wilson, *loc. cit.*, Plate 18.

(TO BE CONCLUDED.)

WU TAO TZE'S NIRVÂNA PICTURE.

THE BUDDHA'S NIRVÂNA, A SACRED BUDDHIST PICTURE BY WU TAO TZE.

BY THE EDITOR.

THE photogravure of the Buddha's Nirvâna forming the frontispiece to the present *Open Court* is a reproduction of a Japanese hand-finished, colored art-print,—a reproduction of an ancient Chinese painting, the original of which is ascribed to Wu Tao Tze 吳道子, a famous artist who flourished under the Tang dynasty which ruled China from 620 to 905 of the Christian era.

Wu Tao Tze is the most famous painter of Eastern Asia. His name denotes the beginning of painting as an art, and though he himself is historical, the story of his life is full of legend and other fanciful traditions. Like other great men, he did not die but simply disappeared from sight, an Elijah among the painters. We are told that the Emperor of China had ordered a picture to decorate a room in the imperial palace. The old master spent months in finishing it, and when the Emperor was summoned to see the painting, which represented garden scenes with palatial summer houses, he was overwhelmed with the beauty of the landscape, saying: "I wish, I could possess a pleasure-park like that, and walk in its paths." Whereupon Wu Tao Tze invited his sovereign patron to inspect the scenery. He opened a door, painted in the front of the picture, entered and disappeared from sight. It was as though the canvas had swallowed him. The door closed behind the artist, and before the Emperor and the other spectators could recover from the surprise, the painting disappeared and left a mere blank canvas.

A Japanese legend claims that Wu Tao's painting was carried by Buddhist missionaries to Japan, where it has been frequently reproduced to serve as a wall pendant in Buddhist temples, and the

Anagárika Dharmapála received a copy of it as a present when on his return from the World's Parliament of Religions in 1893 he visited Japan for the first time.¹ The wall pendants in temples representing the Nirvāna are as a rule of a large size, covering a great part of the wall, but the Anagárika's copy is not more than 7×11 inches and is a marvellous sample of an artistic hand-finished print, executed in the most dainty colors and gold, and recommends itself for reproduction as being typical in all its essential features, while claiming to be orthodox.

Rarely is there a Buddhist temple or even a private house among the Buddhists of Eastern Asia in which a picture of the Buddha's Nirvāna is missing, and Wu Tao Tze's picture is in its way classical, being characteristic of a whole class of religious paintings, invented for the purpose of giving to Buddhist believers comfort in death and an assurance of a blissful beyond.

The pictures consist of eight groups. The title of the whole appears at the top, and reads as follows: "Eight | scenes | of Nir- | vāna | pictures | in the orthodox way | represented."²

The order of the pictures begins in the lower left-hand corner, where the Buddha is seated on a throne, and receives his last meal from Chunda, the smith. Māra, the Evil One, stands by and rejoices at the idea of the imminent death of the Tathāgata.³ The inscription reads: "The World | Honored One | receiving | Chunda's | food | offering."⁴

Next in order is the middle group on the left-hand side, where the inscription reads: "The Tathāgata | ascending | into space | as witnessed by | a great | multitude."

It represents a legend which is not mentioned in any of the Buddhist writings accessible to us. If it does not refer either to the Buddha's farewell address to his disciples, or to the transfiguration scene,⁵ it may illustrate a legend similar to the Christian story of

¹ The donor is a prominent Japanese priest, but unfortunately Mr. Dharmapála does not remember his name,—a circumstance which is easily explained when we consider how difficult it is for a foreigner to catch the sounds of the names of a strange people, let alone to remember them.

² Translated verbatim and in the order of the original. The words are separated by lines to indicate the significance of each Chinese word. The term *Nirvāna* takes two Chinese characters.

³ Tathāgata is a common designation of the Buddha, and is commonly explained as "The Perfect One."

⁴ There are two words beside which are uniformly added to all inscriptions. The last character means place and the last but one is the sign of the genitive, indicating that here is the place devoted to the above-mentioned subject.

⁵ Both are mentioned in the *Mahā-Parinibbāna Suttanta* the former in II., 27-35, and the latter in IV., 42-52. (See *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XI., pages 35-39, and pages 79-82; *Gospel of Buddha*, chapters 93 and 95, especially, verses 14-25.) Concerning the transfiguration, we read in

Christ's ascension, as told in Matthew xxviii. 58 ff., and acts iii. 21 ff.

The central group which now follows is the main part of the picture. It represents the Buddha dying under the sala trees of the garden of the Mallas. His disciples are in despair; they weep, they throw themselves upon the ground, and beat their breasts. Their grief is shared by the whole animate creation and also by the gods who descend from the heavens and mourn over the death of the Tathâgata, the Perfect One. Mâra, the Evil One, alone grieves not. He is full of triumphant joy. The artist deemed it unnecessary to give an explanation of this scene.

The fourth group is the picture in the lower right-hand corner. The legends which are preserved in Chinese translations only, and have not as yet become accessible to Western readers unfamiliar with Chinese literature, contain the report that Buddha's mother descended from heaven to lament over the death of her son.¹ At her approach the body of the Tathâgata was again animated with life, through the mysterious power of the Buddha, and the Buddha arose from the coffin, folding his hands as a token of filial affection, preaching the glorious doctrine to his mother. The inscription reads: "The World | Honored One | before | his mother | seated | preaches | the Dharma."

The Chinese version of the Mahaparinirvana-Sutra contains the story that, before the arrival of Kâshyapa, the coffin refused to move, and the Mallas were unable to lift it. The inscription reads: "The Mal | las² | [trying] to move | the coffin | without | [being able] to lift it."

A Buddhist legend tells that Buddha wanted Kâshyapa to be recognised as his main disciple after his death, in token of which wish the body of the Tathâgata showed its feet when Kâshyapa approached the coffin. We must remember that the foot-prints of a man are regarded as the trace of his life's activity.³ The inscription

the Buddha scriptures, "There are two occasions on which a Tathâgata's appearance becomes clear and exceeding bright. In the night, Ananda, in which a Tathâgata attains to the supreme and perfect insight, and in the night in which he passes finally away in that utter passing away which leaves nothing whatever of his earthly existence to remain."

¹ I owe my knowledge of this subject as well as others of the same kind to the oral information of Mr. Teitaro Suzuki, a Japanese Buddhist, the translator of *Acavaghosha's Discourse on the Awakening of Faith in the Mahâyâna*.

² Mallas, which forms two characters in Chinese, literally translated means "strong men," a coincidence which the artist utilises by painting the Mallas as wrestlers.

³ The footprint of Jesus which he made when appearing on the Via Appia to St. Peter, who addressed him with the famous question, *Quo vadis?* is still preserved in a chapel at Rome. Footprints of Buddha, of Odhin's horse, and of divinities of all kinds are well known in the folklore of Asia and Europe.

of this sixth group which appears on the top of the picture reads: "The Tathâgata | for the sake of | Kâ | shyapa | makes visible | both | feet."

The Mallas had in vain exhausted their strength, in trying to remove the coffin through the south gate, but now since the arrival of Kâshyapa, it lifted itself up without the assistance of any mortal, passed through the north gate and placed itself upon the funeral pyre. The inscription of this, the seventh, group in the series of pictures (which is on the right-hand side, at the top) reads: "The sacred | coffin | spontaneously | lifting itself up | to reach | Ku | shi | nagara¹ | castle.

The eighth and last picture appears on the left-hand side at the top, and shows the distribution of the relics, to which much importance is attached by Buddhist priests. When the Buddha's body was burned there remained, beside the main bones, nothing but little drops that oozed out, many of which were as large as grains of rice.² The urn containing these relics stands on the altar and shines with a flamboyant light of transcendent glory. The inscription reads: "Dro | na | the B | rah | man | dividing | the relics."

The sun which appears high in the upper region of the picture, at the left hand, is the Nirvâna, the all-illuminating spotless disc.

The picture is very different from the religious art productions we Western people are accustomed to. Christians have the pictures of Christ's crucifixion, burial, and resurrection, and in Roman Catholic countries crucifixes are a marked feature of the landscape. In spite of all differences, however, in both the dogmatic conception and the national manner of artistic production, there is a decided kinship of spirit, indicating the sameness of the problem of death, by which mankind is confronted everywhere and also an undeniable similarity of the religious sentiment that animates the solutions in which different people have found comfort.

¹ *Kushinagara* consists of three Chinese characters. The Indian village is here represented as a Chinese castle or lordly mansion.

² For details see the communication of the Rev. Seelakkhandha, a Buddhist High Priest of Ceylon, in *The Open Court*, Vol. XI., No. 2, pp. 123-125.

THE ORIGINS OF MITHRAISM.¹

BY PROFESSOR FRANZ CUMONT.

IN that unknown epoch when the ancestors of the Persians were still united with those of the Hindus, they were already worshippers of Mithra. The hymns of the Vedas celebrated his name as did those of the Avesta, and despite the differences obtaining between the two theological systems of which these books were the expression, the Vedic Mitra and the Iranian Mithra have preserved so many traits of resemblance that it is impossible to entertain any doubt concerning their common origin. Both religions saw in him a god of light, invoked together with Heaven, bearing in the one case the name of Varuna and in the other that of Ahura; in ethics he was recognised as the protector of truth, the antagonist of falsehood and error. But the sacred poetry of India has preserved of him an obscured memory only. A single fragment, and even that partially effaced, is all that has been specially dedicated to him. He appears mainly in incidental allusions,—the silent witnesses of his ancient grandeur. Still, though his physiognomy is not so distinctly limned in the Sanskrit literature as it is in the writings of the Zends, the faintness of its outlines is not sufficient to disguise the primitive identity of his character.

According to a recent theory, this god, with whom the peoples of Europe were unacquainted, was not a member of the ancient Aryan pantheon. Mitra-Varuna, and the five other Adityas celebrated by the Vedas, likewise Mithra-Ahura and the Amshaspands, who according to the Avestan conception surrounding the Creator, are on this theory nothing but the sun, the moon, and the planets, the worship of which was adopted by the Indo-Iranians “from a neighboring people, their superiors in the knowledge of the starry

¹ Extracted by the author from his *Textes et Monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra* (Brussels: H. Lamertin). Translated by T. J. McCormack.

firmament," who could be none other than the Accadian or Semitic inhabitants of Babylonia. But this hypothetical adoption, if it really took place, must have occurred in a prehistoric epoch, and it will be sufficient for us to state, without attempting to dissipate the obscurity of these primitive times, the simple fact that the tribes of Iran have never ceased to worship Mitra from their first assumption of worldly power till the day of their conversion to Islam.

In the Avesta, Mithra is the genius of the celestial light. He appears before sun-rise on the rocky summits of the mountains; during the day he traverses the wide firmament in his chariot drawn by four white horses, and when night falls he still illuminates with flickering glow the surface of the earth, "ever waking, ever watchful." He is neither sun, nor moon, nor stars, but watches with "his hundred ears and his hundred eyes" the world. Mithra hears all, sees all, knows all: none can deceive him. By a natural transition he has thus become for ethics the god of truth and integrity, the one that was invoked in the solemn vows, that pledged the fulfilment of contracts, that punished perjurers.

The light that dissipates darkness, restores happiness and life on earth; the heat that accompanies it fecundates nature. Mithra is "the lord of the wide pastures," the one that renders them fertile. "He giveth increase, he giveth abundance, he giveth cattle, he giveth progeny and life." He scatters the waters of the heavens and causes the plants to come forth from the ground; on them that honor him, he bestows health of body, abundance of riches, and talented posterity. For he is the dispenser not only of material blessings but of spiritual advantages as well. His is the beneficent genius that accords peace of conscience, wisdom, and honor along with prosperity, and causes harmony to reign among all his votaries. The devas, who inhabit the places of darkness, disseminate on earth along with barrenness and suffering all manner of vice and impurity. Mithra, "wakeful and sleepless, protects the creation of Mazda" against their machinations. He combats unceasingly the spirits of evil; and the iniquitous that serve them feel also the terrible visitations of his wrath. From his celestial eyrie he spies out his enemies; armed in fullest panoply he swoops down upon them, scatters and slaughters them. He desolates and lays waste the homes of the wicked, he annihilates the tribes and the nations that are hostile to him. On the other hand he is the puissant ally of the faithful in their warlike expeditions. The blows of their enemies "miss their mark, for Mithra, sore incensed, hath received

them"; and he assures victory unto them that "have had fit instruction in the Good, that honor him and offer him the sacrificial libations."

This character of god of hosts, which is the predominating trait in Mithra from the days of the Achæmenides, undoubtedly became accentuated in the period of confusion during which the Iranian tribes were still at war with one another; but it is after all only the development of the ancient conception of struggle between the day and the night. In general, the picture that the Avesta offers us of the old Aryan deity, is, as we have already said, similar to that which the Vedas have drawn in less marked outlines, and it hence follows that Mazdaism left unaltered the main foundation of its primitive nature.

Still, though the Avestan hymns furnish the distinctest glimpses of the true physiognomy of the ancient God of light, the Zoroastrian system, in adopting his worship, has singularly lessened his importance. As the price of his admission to the Avestan Heaven, he was compelled to submit to its laws. Theology had placed Ahura-Mazda on the pinnacle of the celestial hierarchy, and thenceforward it could recognise none as his peer. Mithra was not even made one of the six Amshaspands that aided the supreme deity in governing the universe. He was relegated, with the majority of the ancient divinities of nature, to the host of lesser genii or *Yazatas* created by Mazda. He was associated with some of the deified abstractions which the Persians had learned to worship. As protector of warriors, he received for his companion, Verethraghna, or Victory; as the defender of the truth, he was associated with the pious Sraosha, or Obedience to divine law, with Rashnu, Justice, with Arshtât, Rectitude. As the tutelar genius of prosperity, he is invoked with Ashi-Vaňuhi, Riches, and with Pâreñdî, Abundance. In company with Sraosha and Rashnu, he protects the soul of the Just against the demons that struggle to drag it to Hell, and under their guardianship it soars aloft to Paradise. This Iranian belief gave birth to the doctrine of redemption by Mithra, which we find developed in the Occident.

At the same time, his cult was subjected to a rigorous ceremonial, conforming to the Mazdean liturgy. Sacrificial offerings were made to him of "small cattle and large, and of flying birds." These immolations were preceded or accompanied with moderate libations of the juice of Haoma, and with the recitation of ritual prayers,—the bundle of sacred twigs (*baresman*) always in the hand. But before daring to approach the altar, the votary was obliged to

purify himself by repeated ablutions and flagellations. These rigorous prescriptions recall the rite of baptism and the corporeal tests imposed on the Roman mystics before initiation.

Mithra, thus, was adopted in the theological system of Zoroastrianism; a convenient place was assigned to him in the divine hierarchy; he was associated with companions of unimpeachable orthodoxy; homage was rendered to him on the same footing with the other genii. But his puissant personality had not bent lightly to the rigorous restrictions that had been imposed upon him, and there are to be found in the sacred text vestiges of a more ancient conception, according to which he occupied in the Iranian pantheon a much more elevated position. Several times he is invoked in company with Ahura: the two gods form a pair, for the light of Heaven and Heaven itself are in their nature inseparable. Furthermore, if it is said that Ahura created Mithra as he did all things, it is likewise said that he made him just as great and worthy as himself. Mithra is indeed a *yazata*, but he is also the most potent and most glorious of the *yazatas*. "Ahura-Mazda established him as the protector of the entire movable world, to watch over it." It is through the agency of this ever-victorious warrior that the Supreme Being destroys the demons and causes even the Spirit of Evil, Ahriman himself, to tremble.

Compare these texts with the celebrated passage in which Plutarch expounds the dualistic doctrine of the Persians: Ormuzd dwells in the domain of eternal light "as far above the sun as the sun is distant from the earth," Ahriman reigns in the realm of darkness, and Mithra occupies an intermediary place between them. The beginning of the Bundahish expounds a quite similar theory, save that in place of Mithra it is the air (*Vayu*) that is placed between Ormuzd and Ahriman. The contradiction is only one of terms, for according to Iranian ideas the air is indissolubly conjoined with the light, which it is thought to support. In fine, a supreme god, enthroned in the empyrean above the stars, where a perpetual serenity exists; below him an active deity, his emissary and chief of the celestial armies in their constant combat with the Spirit of Darkness, who from the bowels of Hell sends forth his devas to the surface of the earth,—this is the religious conception, far simpler than that of Zoroastrianism, which appears to have been generally accepted among the subjects of the Achæmenides.

The conspicuous rôle that the religion of the ancient Persians accorded to Mithra is attested by a multitude of proofs. He alone,

with the goddess Anâhita, is invoked in the inscriptions of Artaxerxes alongside of Ahura-Mazda. The "great kings" were certainly very closely attached to him, and looked upon him as their special protector. He it is whom they call to bear witness to the truth of their words, and whom they invoke on the eve of battle. They unquestionably regarded him as the god that brought victory to monarchs; he it was, they thought, that caused that mysterious light to descend upon them which, according to the Mazdean belief, is a guaranty of perpetual success to princes, whose authority it consecrates.

The nobility followed the example of the sovereign. The great number of theophorous, or God-bearing, names, compounded with that of Mithra, which were borne by their members from remotest antiquity, is proof of the fact that the reverence for this god was general among them.

Mithra occupied a large place in the official cult. In the calendar the seventh month was dedicated to him and also doubtless the sixteenth day of each month. At the time of his festival, the king, if we may believe Ctesias, was permitted to indulge in copious libations in his honor and to execute the sacred dances. Certainly this festival was the occasion of solemn sacrifices and stately ceremonies. The *Mithrakana* were famed throughout all Hither Asia, and in their form *Mihragân* were destined to be celebrated, in modern times, by Mussulman Persia at the commencement of winter. The fame of Mithra extended to the borders of the Ægean Sea; he is the only Iranian god whose name was popular in ancient Greece, and this fact alone proves how deeply he was venerated by the nations of the great neighboring empire.

The religion observed by the monarch and by the entire aristocracy that aided him in governing his vast territories could not possibly remain confined to a few provinces of his empire. We know that Artaxerxes Ochus had caused statues of the goddess Anâhita to be erected in his different capitals, at Babylon, Damas, and Sardis, as well as at Susa, Ecbatana, and Persepolis. Babylon, in particular, being the winter residence of the sovereigns, was the seat of a numerous body of official clergy, called *Magi*, who sat in authority over the indigenous priests. The prerogatives that the imperial protocol guaranteed to this official clergy could not render them exempt from the influence of the powerful sacerdotal caste that flourished beside them. The erudite and refined theology of the Chaldeans was thus superposed on the primitive Mazdean belief, which was rather a congeries of traditions than a

well-established body of definite beliefs. The legends of the two religions were assimilated, their divinities were identified, and the Semitic worship of the stars (astrolatry), the monstrous fruit of long-continued scientific observations, became amalgamated with the nature-myths of the Iranians. Ahura-Mazda was confounded with Bel, who reigned over the heavens, Anâhita was likened to Ishtar, who presided over the planet Venus, while Mithra became the Sun, Shamash. As Mithra in Persia, so Shamash in Babylon is the god of justice; like him, he also appears in the east, on the summits of mountains, and pursues his daily course across the heavens in a resplendent chariot; like him, finally, he too gives victory to the arms of warriors, and is the protector of kings. The transformation wrought by Semitic theories in the beliefs of the Persians was of so profound a character that, centuries after, in Rome, the original home of Mithra was not infrequently placed on the banks of the Euphrates. According to Ptolemy, this potent solar deity was worshipped in all the countries that stretched from India to Assyria.

But Babylon was a step only in the propagation of Mazdaism. Very early the Magi had crossed Mesopotamia and penetrated to the heart of Asia Minor. Even under the first of the Achæmenides, it appears, they established themselves in multitudes in Armenia, where the indigenous religion gradually succumbed to their cult, and also in Cappadocia, where their altars still burned in great numbers in the days of the great geographer Strabo. They swarmed, at a very remote epoch, into distant Pontus, into Galatia, into Phrygia. In Lydia even, under the reign of the Antonines, their descendants still chanted their barbaric hymns in a sanctuary attributed to Cyrus. These communities, in Cappadocia at least, were destined to survive the triumph of Christianity and to be perpetuated until the fifth century of our era, faithfully transmitting from generation to generation their manners, usages, and modes of worship.

At first blush the fall of the empire of Darius would appear to have been necessarily fatal to these religious colonies, so widely scattered and henceforward to be severed from the country of their birth. But in point of fact it was precisely the contrary that happened, and the Magi found in the Diadochi, the successors of Alexander the Great, no less efficient protection than that which they enjoyed under the Great King and his satraps. After the dismemberment of the empire of Alexander, there were established in Pontus, Cappadocia, Armenia, and Commagene, dynasties which

the complaisant genealogists of the day feigned to trace back to the Achæmenian kings. Whether these royal houses were of Iranian descent or not, their supposititious descent nevertheless imposed upon them the obligation of worshipping the gods of their fictitious ancestors. In opposition to the Greek kings of Pergamus and Antioch, they represented the ancient traditions in religion and politics. These princes and the magnates of their *entourage* took a sort of aristocratic pride in slavishly imitating the ancient masters of Asia. While not evincing outspoken hostility to other religions practised in their domains, they yet reserved special favors for the temples of the Mazdean divinities. Oromazes (Ahura-Mazda), Omanos (Vohumano), Artagnes (Verethraghna), Anaïtis (Anâhita), and still others received their homage. But Mithra, above all, was the object of their predilection. The monarchs of these nations cherished for him a devotion that was in some measure personal, as the frequency of the name Mithradates in all their families attests. Evidently Mithra had remained for them, as he had been for the Artaxerxes and the Dariuses, the god that gave monarchs victory, —the manifestation and enduring guaranty of their legitimate rights.

This reverence for Persian customs, inherited from legendary ancestors, this idea that piety is the bulwark of the throne and the sole condition of success, is explicitly affirmed in the pompous inscription engraved on the colossal tomb that Antiochus I., Epiphanes, of Commagene (69–34 B. C.), erected on a spur of the mountain-range Taurus, commanding a distant view of the valley of the Euphrates. But, being a descendant by his mother of the Seleucidæ of Syria, and supposedly by his father of Darius, son of Hystaspes, the king of Commagene merged the memories of his double origin, and blended together the gods and the rites of the Persians and the Greeks, just as in his own dynasty the name of Antiochus alternated with that of Mithradates.

Similarly in the neighboring countries, the Iranian princes and priests gradually succumbed to the growing power of the Grecian civilisation. Under the Achæmenides, all the different nations lying between the Pontus Euxinus and Mount Taurus were suffered by the tolerance of the central authority to practice their local cults, customs, and languages. But in the great confusion caused by the collapse of the Persian empire, all political and religious barriers were demolished. Heterogeneous races had suddenly come in contact with one another, and as a result Hither Asia passed through a phase of syncretism analogous to that which is

more distinctly observable under the Roman empire. The contact of all the theologies of the Orient and all the philosophies of Greece produced the most startling combinations, and the competition between the different creeds became exceedingly brisk. Many of the Magi, from Armenia to Phrygia and Lydia, then doubtless departed from their traditional reserve to devote themselves to active propaganda, and like the Jews of the same epoch they succeeded in gathering around them numerous proselytes. Later, when persecuted by the Christian emperors, they were obliged to revert to their quondam exclusiveness, and to relapse into a rigorism that kept growing more and more inaccessible.

The definitive form that Mithraism assumed will receive brief consideration in our next article.

OPEN INSPIRATION VERSUS A CLOSED CANON AND INFALLIBLE BIBLE.

BY PROF. CHARLES W. PEARSON.

JESUS told the Scribes and Pharisees that they had made "the word of God of none effect through their tradition." Very many of our religious teachers are to-day doing the same thing. Modern preaching lacks truth and power because so many churches cling to an utterly untenable tradition that the Bible is an infallible book. This dogma is their besetting sin. It is the golden calf of their idolatrous worship. It is the palpable lie that gives the ring of insincerity to all their moral exhortations. If theologians wish to regain their lost intellectual leadership or even to possess an influence on the thoughtful part of the community, co-ordinate with that of poets, philosophers, and men of science, they must throw aside the dogma of an infallible Bible as completely and frankly as Protestants have thrown aside the dogma of an infallible pope.

The Bible is the most precious of all books. Its teaching that man is a child of God and heir of heaven ennobles human life, and is the great basis of virtue, happiness, and high achievement. All other charters and constitutions are small in value beside the documents and titles that the prophets and apostles and Jesus Christ have left us. The Bible is a noble collection of law, history, biography, precept, and poetry. Of all writers, the psalmists and prophets, evangelists and apostles best deserve Wordsworth's eulogy :

" Blessings be with them and eternal praise,
Who gave us nobler loves and nobler cares,
The poets who on earth have made us heirs
Of truth and pure delight by heavenly lays."

But the great spiritual treasure of the Bible is in an earthen vessel, and the water of life has been colored by the medium which has preserved it. The credulous and the ignorant disciple, the allegorist and the poet, the priest and the scribe, in their efforts to expound and popularise religious truth, have all more or less clogged and corrupted the spiritual message of the prophets, and our teachers must frankly recognise this fact. Let us look at a few examples of tares among the Bible wheat.

There is a story in the book of Daniel that Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego for refusing to bow down to the image of a Babylonian king were cast into a burning fiery furnace, the flames of which slew those that threw them into it, and yet the fire had no power upon the three opponents of idolatry. "Not a hair of their heads was singed, neither were their coats changed, nor the smell of fire had passed on them." (Dan. iii. 27.) He must be a very bold or a very ignorant man who

will assert that he believes that this account is literally true. It is certainly a thousand times more probable that it is a legend or allegory.

We read in the book of Kings that when Elijah fled from Ahab and dwelt in the wilderness "the ravens brought him bread and flesh in the morning and bread and flesh in the evening." (1 Kings xvii. 6.) We read in that quaint mediæval book, *The Voyages and Travels of Sir John Mandeville*, that the monks of the church of St. Catharine at Mount Sinai have plenty of olive oil for their lamps "by God's miracle; for the ravens, crows, and choughs and other fowls of that country, assemble there once every year, and fly thither as in pilgrimage; and each brings a branch of bays or olive in its beak, instead of offering and leaves it there; of which the monks make great plenty of oil." The story of Elijah's ravens and Mandeville's story of the ravens of St. Catharine's monastery are akin. They are mere poetic fancies, one as untrue and incredible as the other.

We read that Elijah smote the waters with his mantle and "they divided hither and thither," so that he and his companions "went over on dry ground." (2 Kings ii. 8.) Elijah is said to have miraculously multiplied meal and oil, and even to have raised the dead. (1 Kings xvii. 8-23.)

With his successor Elisha the myth-making fancy has been even more active. He, too, was said to have had power over the elements. He divided the waters with his mantle and went through Jordan dry-shod (2 Kings ii. 14), he made iron to swim (2 Kings vi. 6), he multiplied a widow's single pot of oil until it filled many vessels (2 Kings iv. 1-7). He, too, raised the dead. (2 Kings iv. 18-37.) Some of these stories are crude and childish, some are pathetic and sublime, but they are all alike legendary and not historic.

It is impossible to draw any dividing line between these alleged miracles in the Old Testament and similar accounts in the Gospels and Acts of the Apostles. When a gate opens "of its own accord" to let Peter through (Acts xiii. 10), we think of the story of Elisha and the axe that he made to swim. When Jesus is represented as multiplying loaves and fishes to feed a great multitude, we think of the widow's barrel of meal multiplied by Elijah and the cruse of oil increased by Elisha. When Jesus is represented as walking on the lake of Gennesaret, we think of Moses dividing the Red Sea and of Elijah and Elisha cleaving the waters of the Jordan. The story of the raising of the son of the widow of Nain by Jesus recalls the story of the raising of the son of the Shunammite woman by Elisha. The legendary element is as obvious and as indisputable in the New Testament as in the Old.

It is admitted by all commentators that the differences in substance and style in the books of the Bible correspond to the differences in the temperaments and opinions of the writers of the respective books. John's Gospel differs from Mark's because the intellectual and spiritual endowments of those who wrote them were different. The writings of Isaiah differ from those of Jeremiah and Ezekiel because the men themselves differed, and so on through the whole list of books and authors. Carrying the reasoning a step further, it means that every sentence in every book in the whole Bible is the thought of some man or woman, inspired by God, the ultimate source of all power and wisdom.

The only question is, How did God communicate the contents of the Book to man? Nobody maintains that he handed a parchment scroll down from heaven. The ten commandments were indeed said to have been written by the finger of God on tables of stone. If this language is not figurative, it is legendary and incredible, and no similar claim is made for any other part of the Bible. How, then,

were the Psalms, the Gospels, and the Epistles written? Did God write any one of them on any material substance so that the physical eye of the human author saw the writing and transcribed it? Did he speak the words aloud so that they came to the outward ear like a telephone message? Surely, no reverent and intelligent man will accept either of these views. No book, no chapter, no verse, no word in the Bible was ever so communicated. God is a spirit and speaks to man as a spirit and through the spirit. All spiritual truth comes to man through his brain and conscience, and one man receives more and another less, because of the differences in the hearts and minds and wills of men. Some men seek to know and love and obey the will of God, and naturally that will is more clearly and abundantly made known to them than it is to those who do not seek to know it, do not love it, and do not obey it. "Ask and ye shall receive; seek and ye shall find," says Jesus. "If any man will do God's will, he shall know of the doctrine whether it be of God." (John vii. 17.)

This is a view of inspiration which agrees with all the facts. It gives a very high degree of authority to many parts of the Bible and a much lower one to other parts, and permits a changed interpretation or the rejection of such parts of the book as from time to time are superseded by God's later revelations to his chosen prophets and to all his people.

The Bible nowhere intimates (not even in Rev. xxii. 18, 19) that the canon of scripture is closed, but in hundreds of passages we are taught that God's revelation of himself to man is universal and continuous. The true light is said to enlighten every man that cometh into the world. (John i. 18.) Jesus said that the Holy Spirit would lead his followers into all truth. The burden of every apostle's exhortation is, "Quench not the spirit, resist not the Holy Ghost."

Every message from heaven comes to us colored and shaped and limited by some man's personality, and must be discarded or altered or supplemented, according to the new knowledge and the new needs of men. *Vox populi, vox dei*. Humanity is the great ecumenical council. The race is greater than its greatest representatives. The religious consciousness of men, perennially quickened by the divine spirit, is forever testing every spiritual dogma and ideal, and is continually elevating the intellectual and moral standard of the race.

Those who perceive that this is true have no difficulty with any passage in the Bible. They may cordially recognise that what is now a scientific error was once a scientific advance, that what is now relatively low morality, even that what would now be an atrocious crime was once done with a sincere belief that it was in accord with God's will.

Such a view relieves the churches of the present day of any responsibility for scientific error and for the odium attaching to the passages enjoining a war of extermination, the slaughter of whole nations, men, women, and children (Deut. xx. 16, 17), the killing of prophets and reformers (Deut. xiii); slavery (Lev. xxv. 44-46); the polygamy of Jacob, David, Solomon and other patriarchs and prophets; the refusal of divorce for drunkenness, cruelty, or desertion (Mat. v. 32); and the passages on the nature and status of women which are so fiercely resented by some of the sex and are a pain and perplexity to thousands of the church's most loving and helpful members. (1 Cor. xi. 3, 9.)

The great spiritual teachings of the Bible rest upon absolute and eternal truth, but its history and science are always imperfect and often erroneous. Only the most ignorant still believe in witchcraft and demoniacal possession. Not "the stars in their courses" only, not merely astronomy, but geology and biology have

shown that the story of creation in Genesis is poetic and not scientific. The Church cannot afford to uphold primitive conceptions which are opposed by every school book on the subjects in question, or barbarous ethics which are condemned by every moralist and legislator.

It will be asked in dismay by conservative people what is left to the Church if it accepts these views. I answer: An infinitely truer, richer, and more spiritual religion. Faith, hope, and charity are left. The moral law is left. The Bible itself is left and all its spiritual teachings are freed from the dead body of tradition and quickened into new life.

The great task of the Church is to continue and expand the work of Jesus, to get rid of the traditions which "make the word of God of none effect," and to develop faith in direct and immediate communion with the Father. In other words, we must discard all error as soon as we discover it to be error, and accept all truth as soon as we become convinced that it is truth.

Spiritual revelation in the past legendary age was bound up with legend; spiritual revelation in the present scientific age must be based upon science. "The truth shall make you free," says Jesus. The love of truth is the great liberating and unifying force in all lines of inquiry and conduct.

Truth is real and objective and is eventually discovered by all honest and competent seekers after it. But those who wilfully refuse or neglect the truth have no basis of agreement whatever, but are at the mercy of their individual prejudices and caprices, and are lost in the endless mazes of error.

Religious teachers cannot safely oppose or ignore the exact sciences. Ignorant men, no matter how pure and honest they may be, cannot to-day direct the world's affairs. Nor can wise men, leaders in science, in commerce and in finance, economists and philanthropists work effectively through merely secular agencies. They must lay hold upon the mighty spiritual aspirations through which man joins his feebleness to the omnipotence of his divine Creator.

The existing Churches by laying aside their legends and superstitions and accepting reverently all truth as it is revealed, must become fit agencies for the best minds to utilise or must yield to new and more progressive organisations. The evasion and suppression of truth, if persisted in, becomes mere priestcraft and imposture, and leads to the decay and death of any Church that permits it.

Miracles of the class before spoken of, once a help, are now a hindrance. Those Churches which continue to teach that such legends, errors, or allegories are literal truth, taint all the rest of their message. People are saying, and they will say more and more, I cannot believe these stories, and I will have nothing to do with any Church that teaches their literal truths or calls the book that contains them infallible. It is the cowardly refusal of the Churches to admit patent facts and to advance with the advance of knowledge, that has brought about their present deplorable condition and the low moral state of the nation that depends so largely upon them for spiritual guidance and strength.

But it will be said that multitudes of simple and ignorant people implicitly believe the Bible legends. Perhaps, many of the ignorant do, but certainly many of the ignorant do not, and surely the opinions of the ignorant are not to prevent the declaration of truth by the better informed. Truth must not be surrendered to bigotry. Paul gave us a rule and an example for such cases when he declared that to obstructive traditionalists he did not "give place by subjection, no, not for an hour." (Gal. ii. 5.)

But it will be further objected that this is the infidel's view of miracles. What

then? Shall the prophets not denounce idolatry because the wits scoff at those who bow down to graven images? Wise men will accept the truth from any source. If Christians were more ready to learn from infidels when the infidels are right, there would soon be much less of infidelity in the world. Infidels would accept our truth if we would accept theirs, but when they see us mistaken and unreasonable in some very plain and simple matters they are less likely to trust our wisdom and sincerity in more important concerns.

It is said by some that the errors in the Bible are so interwoven with the spiritual truths of the Gospel that the existence of errors cannot be admitted without destroying faith in Christ's teaching and character. It is a shameful allegation. It is the saddest and deepest infidelity, for it is equivalent to saying that Christianity itself rests upon ignorance and error. There is a pseudo-Christianity that does so rest, but the Christianity of Christ is a struggle for spiritual and intellectual perfection and every advance in knowledge, in truth, and in righteousness tends to strengthen, establish, and extend the influence of Jesus Christ and of the "Kingdom of God" upon earth. "Be ye perfect" is the law of Christ. His greatest apostle so understood it, and exhorts in the words, "Add to your faith, virtue; and to virtue, knowledge."

We require our heathen converts to renounce their errors and false traditions and to accept new customs. Shall we be less heroic than they? That we Protestants may live up to our professions and our past we must accept new truth and duty at all costs and at all hazards. Great, undoubtedly, will be the labor involved in making so stupendous a change as the advance in scholarship and the new social conditions demand, yet it will not be greater than the work of the reformers of the sixteenth century. So strong and so splendid was the mediæval Church that it seemed impossible to change it, yet the change was made and the great Protestant bodies and the great nations which Protestantism has created are the glorious justification of the faith and courage of those whose keen spiritual vision saw things yet hidden from the wordly wise and selfishly prudent.

It is by perfect obedience to the conceived will of God, by seeking truth and righteousness with the whole heart and mind and soul and strength, that the Church has won all her great victories. Obedience to the voice of God in the soul gave power to the prophets of Israel. Obedience to the Holy Spirit gave their "tongues of fire" to the apostolic Church. Faith in the soul of man, and in the lawfulness and trustworthiness of private judgment as against the claims of authority and tradition enabled the Lutheran reformers to overthrow the papacy. Personal faith in God's guidance led the Pilgrim Fathers across the sea and established a free Church in a free State. Faith in the "inner light" and obedience to the direction of the Holy Spirit enabled the Friends to give their powerful testimony against religious persecution, against slavery, and against war. Faith in the doctrine of the witness of the Spirit, personal consciousness of pardon and salvation, gave joy and power to the early Methodists.

Quench not the Spirit, resist not the Holy Ghost, is the burden of all Scripture and all history. Obedience to truth and duty as revealed by God to every man's conscience is the eternal principle of spiritual life, surrender of personal conviction through fear of man or love of the world is the eternal principle of death.

It is the spirit of truth, the purpose to discover and apply the whole truth on every subject that has given science in these later years its amazing progress, a spirit that makes every scientific man a co-worker with the omnipotent God and

every great scientific association a true ecumenical council, declaring unto men the will of the Most High.

It was the spirit of truth in them that made Milton, Carlyle, Ruskin, and Emerson (all of whom were intended for the ministry of the Church, but all of whom on closer view rebelled against her errors, her narrowness, timidity, and sloth), to become, instead of priests of little parishes, prophets of great nations.

From Abraham, who left his country and his kindred; from Moses, who refused to be called the son of Pharaoh's daughter; from Paul, who counted not himself to have apprehended but who pressed onward; from every saint and hero ancient and modern, we learn that the greatness of all the great comes from using all the light and exerting all the power at their command.

My plea is that the official leaders of the Churches, those who have the necessary scholarship and the administrative responsibilities should unite to change the prevailing policy of silence, inactivity, and obstruction in regard to the results of modern scientific and biblical scholarship into one of sympathy and encouragement for absolute freedom of inquiry and exposition. Present preaching is evasive, present Sunday-school teaching is inadequate and almost farcical. Thorough research and full frank exposition of results would amazingly quicken the intellectual and spiritual life of the Church. Cannot the policy of inertia and suppression be changed? Cannot all the sciences be made tributary to religions? Cannot Christianity be based upon progressive truth instead of upon mouldering tradition?

In what respect, I ask, is it more moral in our day for the Churches to teach miracles instead of law than it would be for colleges to teach astrology instead of astronomy or alchemy instead of chemistry? There is the same obligation on every teacher to teach truth and not error, to increase knowledge and not to obstruct it; and in the case of the clergyman there is the voluntary additional obligation of a vow to follow the example of the most daring and self-sacrificing of all spiritual leaders who has expressly commanded all who want to be his disciples to be led by the Holy Spirit into new truth and to let their light shine, who has expressly condemned the man who buried his talent, and has told his followers not to fear the opposition or persecution of men but to fear God only.

It ought to be evident to the authorities in the Churches that while Christ is ever growing in power and is, indeed, drawing all men unto him, the Churches are more and more looked upon as incomplete and unsatisfactory agencies for carrying on his work. If the leading Protestant Churches are not to sink into a position like that of the Catholic Church, one in which reason is wholly subject to authority and is grossly outraged and scorned; if the Protestant Churches are not going henceforth to make their appeal only to the ignorant, the weak, and the credulous; if instead of being a body of investigators and expositors, a brotherhood of seers and prophets, preachers are not to degenerate into a mere priesthood and Church services into sacramentarianism and ritual, it is certainly high time for the leaders in the Churches to denounce known errors and to formulate a programme for intellectual and spiritual advance.

It does not now require the exceptional courage and foresight of a Hume or a Strauss to recognise the mythical character of the biblical miracles. We live in the age of Darwin and Huxley, of the *Encyclopædia Biblica* and of the science of criticism, and for the Churches to ignore the conclusions of the whole scientific world and of their own best scholars is at once fatuous and culpable.

To conclude, we hear much about efforts to purify politics, to control trusts, and prevent the concentration of wealth in the hands of the few. But corruption

and greed cannot be cured by legislation. They are diseases of the soul and must be cured by agencies that appeal directly to the soul. The true word of God, if faithfully preached, will reach the hearts of men now as it did when spoken by the mouth of John the Baptist, of Jesus, of Paul, of Knox, and of Wesley. But merely perfunctory professional appeals, appeals which are clogged by irrational dogmas and by superstitious rites are easily and contemptuously thrust aside by clear-headed, energetic men of affairs. If the Church of to-day is to control the business men of to-day it must meet them fairly upon the plane of their intelligence. It must be as accurate, as energetic, as straightforward as they. It must preach living truth to men who deal with living values and forces. It must avail itself of the life-saving energy of the divine spirit as that spirit is now working among men.

The Protestant fathers must be judged by their light, we shall be judged by ours. Emerging from mediæval ignorance and needing a weapon with which to defend themselves against the usurped authority of popes, who claimed infallibility, the theologians of the Reformation might once in good faith preach an "infallible Bible," and "the times of this ignorance God winked at," but surely now he commands his prophets and apostles to rise to the spiritual plane of Christ's teaching and to follow him in denouncing the myths and legends, the traditions and superstitions, the worldliness and sin that make the living word of God of none effect. When this is done there will be a basis for a revival of spiritual religion, but as long as our creeds and preaching rest upon what is known to be a false assumption, all exhortations by the Churches to religion are inconsistent and hypocritical, and all accessions of members to them add little to their strength.

Charles William Pearson

Evansville, Illinois.

January 18, 1902.

MISCELLANEOUS.

TAXATION OF CAPITAL DISCOURAGES THRIFT.

Henry George in his *Progress and Poverty* points out the importance of the mode of taxation and proves conclusively that whenever commodities, or certain kinds of trade, or luxuries, etc., are taxed, there will be a diminution of the object of taxation far beyond the returns of the tax.

An income tax is odious on account of the prying system which it involves, and the greatest statesmen deemed it best to abolish it as soon as practicable. But a property tax is worse because it taxes all possessions according to value, whether or not they bring returns,—libraries, paintings, pianos, sewing machines, factories. For consistency's sake titles and degrees ought to be included. A doctor's degree costs a physician years of labor and expense; it is worth more than the best piano if the mere expense of its acquisition is considered, and may even be considered to bring returns. It is an investment forming part of the practitioner's capital stock.

Some time ago there was a window tax introduced in some Dutch cities which resulted in the reduction of windows and induced people to build unhealthy houses, badly ventilated and poorly lighted by the sun.

Considering the fact that all taxes work as a bane, everything is taxed that is apt to become a public nuisance; thus we tax dogs, saloons, cigars, and tobacco in any form. Taxes do not cut down the goods taxed to the amount of the return of the tax, but about five times, or ten, or even more in proportion. If dogs be worth on an average five dollars each, and a tax of one dollar per dog be imposed, which in a certain township would mean a total tax of, say, five thousand dollars, we may be sure that at least five thousand more dogs would, but for the tax, be living in that district. Taxation is the most effective method of restriction. It has not, upon the public economy of our social organism, the beneficial effect which is produced by the pruning of grape-vine, but is like cutting off the roots. Shall we, in the face of this truth, continue our vicious system of taxing property, as if the possession of property were a nuisance that must be restricted and hindered?

A tax on wealth will discourage the production of wealth; it is a punishment of thrift and will drive capital out of the country. That the rich man should pay higher taxes than the poor man is but just, but to put the tax upon property, not upon income, and to boot make it so outrageously high as to become absolutely ruinous unless it be considerably mitigated by a general connivance, is a very unwise affair which ought to be abolished. The tax hits capital, not one or two capitalists, and it serves more to prevent the poor from acquiring capital than to reduce the wealth of the wealthy.

The principle of taxing property is supported by a sentiment which is deeply in-

grained in human nature, being based upon the hoary and time-honored notion that riches can be acquired only through extortion, that therefore the possession of wealth indicates wickedness and that its owner ought to be punished. Taxation of property practically discourages thrift and puts a premium on poverty. Would it not be better to encourage the accumulation of wealth and frame the laws in such a way as to induce the wage-earner to become a capitalist and thus develop into a responsible share-holder of our general prosperity?

But how to prescribe a tax that would hurt no interests whatever, that is the question? Who can solve the problem?

What of the single tax?

No doubt, the single tax possesses many alluring features, and in the brilliant exposition of Henry George's *Progress and Poverty* it would seem preferable to any other system of taxation, but it would fall hard on the farmer and expropriate an element of our social conditions, the landowner, important on account of its conservative tendencies, the beneficent influence of which should not be underrated. Taxes are always a burden, and though the single tax cannot tax the land out of existence, it abolishes, if consistently and rigorously carried out, the homestead, changing the farmer into a tenant. For all that, Henry George's arguments remain worthy of deeper study, and we might after all accept much of them as true. His system may prove salutary in a modified form.

The policy of our legislators ought to be to encourage, not to reduce the production of capital. The law presses most severely, not upon the big capitalist, but upon the small thrifty man who attempts to save and is punished for doing so by taxation. He has no means of escape and is at the mercy of the assessor. It is in the prevention of the growth of small capitalists where the law works more mischief than in the reduction of the wealth of the wealthy whose power of resistance has grown strong enough to survive its injurious effects.

Is perhaps the endeavor to find the right method of taxation a problem that is comparable to the squaring of the circle? Who can tell?

The present number contains an important contribution to the problem of taxation by a man who is competent to discuss it, Judge Arba N. Waterman, and we have complemented his article by the publication of extracts of a symposium on the subject which took place some time ago in the Sunset Club of Chicago.

P. C.

REPRESENTATION WITHOUT TAXATION.

Revolutions are the expression of a protest against existing conditions, and it is a fact that almost all revolutions have taken their origin from a dissatisfaction with unjust modes of taxation or overtaxation. The inhabitants of the thirteen colonies broke away from England because they refused to pay the tea-tax and insisted upon the principle, "No taxation without representation." In our days we are confronted with a problem which is the reverse: in the administration of our cities we have representation without taxation. In other words, the irresponsible voter who pays no taxes at all possesses a paramount influence upon the disbursement of municipal funds, the result of which is the sad spectacle of boodling and squandering public money that is attempted and frequently accomplished in our big cities.

What is the remedy?

P. C.

A SYMPOSIUM ON TAXATION.

Some time ago the Tax Problem was made the subject of a discussion in the Sunset Club of Chicago and the question was raised: "Is the New Revenue Law a Success?"

Judge Thos. A. Moran granted that the new revenue law was a great improvement upon the old system, but he claimed that the principle back of it was vicious. The honesty and ability of the assessors was not only doubted, but they were praised for their efforts; and yet the system of taxation which obtains here was severely criticised and unanimously condemned. We here reproduce extracts from three speeches.

THE ASSESSORS' BURDEN.

BY ROY O. WEST,¹

Chairman of the Board of Review.

The Board of Review heard about forty thousand people during its sittings, during July, August and September. It called in on its own motion about twenty-five thousand people, individuals, firms and corporations, about eight thousand of whose taxes it raised. I refer now to personal property. The Board of Review also heard complaints on real estate about sixteen hundred in number, in some of which complaints there were as many as one or two hundred pieces of property. The list presented by Mr. Potter Palmer's agents must have contained at least two hundred separate pieces of real estate in this county; others were almost as large. In this great rush, during the hot season, with a hostile public—and you cannot blame the public if they are hostile under the circumstances—with people uncertain, it was a tremendous task that confronted us. In that work we admit that we made mistakes. However, many mistakes which are claimed, are not mistakes; and men of great wealth and concerns of great wealth in this town will, this year, for the first time, much against their pleasure in some instances, pay something near a fair proportionate share of the burdens of taxation, and it will be found that in most of the cases the men who are filing their bills in court, and trying to restrain the collection of personal property taxes, have no just cause for complaint, and many of them are assessed too low. Yet some people wonder where the Board of Review got their information. And I will say right here, that while the Board of Review may have made some mistakes, and did, it did not make a single appraisal except on positive information. The Board of Review got that information with the understanding that its source would not be revealed and some of these gentlemen who have filed their bills are smarting more to find out where that information came from, rather than on account of the amount of the assessment levied against them.

[Very instructive and interesting are the special cases which Mr. West mentioned in the course of the discussion. He said:]

Dr. Von Holst was reduced on the motion of the Board of Review. He made a statement which was evidently a full, fair statement of his belongings, overly fair; he put in his property as compared with the property of his neighbors, and the property of the other people of this town, at a very exaggerated price, on the

¹ We omit the remarks which explain the new revenue law as a mere enforcement of the old law. For the debate they are most pertinent, but in a general consideration of the principles of taxation they have no special interest.

presumption that the other people were going to make equally full and fair returns. He came to the Board of Review and he complained that he thought other people were going to make full returns, and he thought that the machinery would be such that the Board of Review would get all the property that ought to be assessed.

As has been said by Judge Moran, we cannot get all the personal property that ought to be assessed; we do not pretend to. We expect to get more of it during the coming year, but Professor Von Holst, if he had been obliged to pay on all he put in, would have been one of the heaviest personal property taxpayers in the town of Hyde Park, a very rich town, and it was so manifestly unfair and inequitable that the board of its own motion reduced that assessment, and the board is willing now, publicly, on the platform, or anywhere else, to admit these facts and leave it to the people to say whether or not in the administration of their office they are to hew strictly to the line and make a technical, narrow construction of the law, which will work hardships, or whether they are to make an equitable and fair assessment, distributing the burdens as equitably and fairly as they can.

I remember the case of a Rabbi in a Jewish church who put in \$9,000 in mortgages; he was about eighty years old, and he had a wife of about equal age. These mortgages were producing, I believe, five per cent per annum, making him an income of about \$450 a year. He put it in. Later he came to me and said, "I have put in \$9,000, and the tax on that at 5 per cent will be just exactly one-fifth of my income. I am eighty years of age; I cannot pay that tax." I said, "What do you think you ought to pay?" He said, "I can pay on one thousand dollars." I said, "I will make a motion before the Board of Review to lower your assessment to one thousand dollars." We did, and a little later the same man came to me and said, "I don't see how I can afford to pay the tax on a thousand dollars. Here are my expenses. I have had a misfortune in the family, and I am called on for some additional expenditures. I don't see how I can pay anything." I said, "I will make a motion that you be exempted from taxation," and he is exempted from taxation. I would make that sort of a statement on the public platform.

I think of a widow who has a number of little children who have no property whatever, who was left an insurance of about three thousand dollars, and she listed every dollar of it. She lived in the town of West Chicago, and her taxes would have been about forty dollars on that. She came to the Board of Review, appeared before me and said that she could not afford to pay that amount of tax; she had a very large family of young children, I have forgotten the number. I said, "What do you think you can pay?" She said, "I could pay on \$500." I said, "I will make a motion to make your assessment that amount," and we did make it that amount.

Now, there are a few such cases. We handled over forty thousand of these cases; and I will say that every reduction that was made, where the amounts were large, was justified by the facts and the law, and in the office of the Board of Review now are the records which will show the cause for every one of them.

CONCENTRATE THE POWER OF TAXATION.

BY JUDGE ARBA N. WATERMAN.

Taxes are not levied as a matter of justice, but of necessity. In taxation, justice consists in an equal enforcement of the law, allowing neither property nor business within its scope to escape or avoid in whole or in part; the injustice is in sudden impositions, which have a tendency to depreciate the value of either business or property, and in the failure to fully collect the impost.

All taxation is a burden, and should be shaped so as to cause as little annoyance and friction as possible.

The load must be borne, but there is no reason why the government should require that it be carried at arm's length.

All experience shows that custom imposts, manufacturing and transportation dues, license fees and stamp requirements, are much more easily collected, with less expense and with far greater equality and fairness, than are direct taxes upon any kind of personal property.

The city of Chicago realises each year over three millions of dollars from saloon licenses, while upon all the furniture, fixtures, wines, liquors, and capital used in the business it does not collect a hundred thousand.

There is but one objection to this tax. It is imposed in such a way that the burden upon the saloon keeper is not increased by an unwise or dishonest disbursement of the public moneys, nor is his tax lessened by a prudent, upright and economical administration of municipal affairs.

The better method would be, the law providing that the total of direct taxes should not exceed one and one-quarter per cent upon the assessed value of property, the expectation being that the tax would range between three-quarters and one and one-quarter per cent, that saloons should be each assessed at the sum of fifty thousand dollars, the payment of the tax thereon being secured. The saloon keeper would thus have a strong interest in an honest and prudent administration, and we should to this extent call to the aid of economical government a force which is now quite indifferent.

The carrying into effect of any rational scheme for taxation involves an abolition of most of our taxing agencies.

At present taxes are enforced by the State Legislature; its power to tax is unlimited. We are also taxed by the Board of County Commissioners, by the Drainage Board, by the boards of the respective towns in which we live, by the respective Park Boards, by the Common Council. In addition to this there is a school tax over which the people have no control, also a public library tax beyond the control of the people, and taxes to pay interest upon public indebtedness.

Upon real estate there is also taxation to an indefinite amount in the guise of special assessment for supposed benefits, but which quite often have no relation to benefits, while sometimes the so-called improvement, for the costs of which an assessment is collected, proves to be a damage to much of the property assessed.

With our numerous bodies having power to levy taxes and our greater number of boards authorised to spend public money, each clamoring for more, it is impossible that there be a wise and economical use of the proceeds of taxation.

There is no one responsible for the total burden upon the tax payer. Each board strives to get all the money it can, to have used in its favor the uttermost limit of taxation.

All boards having charge of public matters see a necessity for the expenditure of a greater amount than is given to them.

They are neither corrupt nor silly in so doing; they are like the head of a family living upon an income of one thousand dollars per annum; he sees clearly how he could use two thousand with profit to himself and children; if he do not do this, it is because the circumstances seem to him not to permit.

From the point of view of a board, the public always has the means and if it were wise would give its substance to be expended for religious, educational, library, health, sanitary, park, constructive or police purposes. No board of expenditure is

satisfied with the means at its disposal. Each honestly feels, and there is no doubt, it could well expend a much larger sum. If there were devoted to the use of these boards, the entire net income of all real and personal property, they would yet see ample opportunity for the wise expenditure of a larger amount.

Each enthusiast in a public work, and each board of control of a public business, strives to place the amount which it may expend beyond the public control, to have a tax fixed and levied for all times, so that the people may have nothing to say about it.

The strife for liberty has turned more upon the attempt to maintain taxes long before established than any other one thing. The revolution in England, as that in France, was brought about by the determination of the people to uproot a system of taxation established in years before.

To the people, through their representatives, there should annually, or semi-annually, be an application for all moneys any public officer desires to expend and for all taxation he asks to have levied.

The endowment of any official or board with the proceeds of a perpetual tax is to place him or it beyond the control of the people.

The power of the many municipalities, now existing, to tax, should (so far as Cook County is concerned) be concentrated in one body. It would then be responsible for the total tax and the total expenditure, and it could properly apportion the public moneys to the different interests.

TAXATION OF REAL ESTATE.

BY JUDGE THOMAS A. MORAN.

We must have revenue. The government that we have ordained must receive support. The very institutions that are carried as a public burden must have some revenue to support them. That revenue should be obtained upon a system that would require from the person who pays the taxes to pay in just proportion to the benefits that he receives from the government, or from the institutions that the government supports. Now it seems to me that that is a fair proposition. It would not be fair to say that you are to tax a man according to his ability to pay. That is no fair measure of taxation, because if you tax a man according to his ability to pay, you will have some citizen who is blessed with a large fortune, having it taken from him in great measure, while he does not enjoy in the same measure the benefits of the government or the profits of the institutions that are supported by the government. I take it, then, that it would not be maintained that men are to be taxed according to their ability to pay, but that the fair rule will be that men shall be taxed according to the benefit that they receive from the government that the taxes are paid to support.

Now, having established that proposition, the next one we ought to go to is this: That a system of taxation ought to be predicated upon principles which enable it to reach the property on which the tax is to be spread, with little difficulty and with approximate fairness. That is to say, the only thing that there should be a mistake in, the only thing by which the property should escape its fair share of taxation, is because of a mere mistake in the judgment of the taxing officer. An honest mistake, I say. Not from his partiality; because if we go into partiality or dishonest administration we at once destroy any system of taxation. You must predicate it upon an honest administration of the taxing officer. But you never can have a taxing officer who is not fallible. Infallibility you cannot expect from any

class of men. Honesty we generally can expect, and I believe we very generally get it in the administration of public affairs. Now I say that the property that is to be subject to taxation ought to be a class of property that is most readily reached, that can be seen of all men, and upon which the only danger of inequalities will arise from the honest mistakes of the valuing officers. It seems that that proposition reduces the chances for wrong and partiality greatly. It ought to be, then, only the property that can be seen and found. It ought to be visible property. If it is invisible, if it can be hidden, if a man can put it in the tail pockets of his coat and walk away with it, if he can lie about it and conceal it from the valuing officer, you see it has dangerous defects. That leads to a proposition that you have probably already anticipated in your mind, that direct taxation with all its faults, if it is to be made successful at all, must be levied upon visible property, and visible property in the sense that it cannot be made invisible; property that is located and immovable; property that can be seen of all men—hence upon real estate.

We ought to have our attention directed, not to the mere administration of a faulty system, but to the selection of a system that will be perfect, or as near perfect as we can get it.

Hamilton, as early as his writings in the *Federalist*, laid down the proposition which denies the possibility of having a perfect system of direct taxation upon personal property. He says in different letters published in the *Federalist*, where he discusses this question, that a fair direct tax upon personal property is impossible for the reason that the subject of the tax is too nearly invisible. He does not mean that if personal property is exposed to the view of everybody it cannot be so, but he does mention that particular property of this kind of asset that it can be moved and hidden, can disappear and quite get away from the eye of the taxing officer. Its invisibility, the inability to get at it, the fact that the taxing officer must in the end depend upon information which he gets either from the oath of the owner of the property or from some other source, leads you at once, you see, into the domain of uncertainty, into the domain where everything is unsatisfactory, into the domain where the tribunal, or the man who is called upon to put the value on the property, after he has exercised his best judgment and reached the best results he can, doubts and hesitates about the result himself. Now, we see this very difficulty has met our Board. Did they have to seek for secret information about real estate? Why, no. A man cannot hide his lot. What did they get secret information about? Personal property; nothing else. Let us look at the condition of things, every one will understand what I say; I make no reflection on the Board. I have no doubt, and I publicly express it, I have confidence in the gentlemen of the Board, and I feel perfectly sure that their endeavor is an honest one; but what did they have to do, according to the statement here before you to-night of the eminent and excellent Chairman of that board? They had to take secret information against citizens, and promise that they would not disclose the source of it. Now, what do you say to a system of taxation that turns you into a spy against me, and lets you go to an officer who is exercising his judgment upon me, with secret information, in my absence, that the officer is bound to deny that he gets from you, or bound not to disclose it to me? Why, it seems to me that this very experience of ours, this very experience that this Board has had, strikes a fatal blow at the theory of taxation of personal property.

But, you say, what do you mean? Do you mean to let property go without being taxed? Do you mean to say that men who have millions in personal property shall not pay a tax upon it? Would you advocate letting the immense stock of

goods of our fellow-citizen, Marshall Field, on the corner of State and Washington streets, piled up in his great store, be held there and trafficked in by him, without his paying a dollar of tax upon the property involved?

If you put the proposition that way, you are thinking that the tax system would be unfair that would let that property escape taxation and put a tax upon the lot upon which these goods are stored. Well, gentlemen, I am radical enough to say that in my opinion it is just and right that the personal property of a merchant upon the lots, the stocks in the stores, in the storehouses in this city, should absolutely escape direct taxation, and that the tax should be put upon the real estate which the piling up of these stocks upon it makes valuable.

You say the real estate won't bear it. Why not? What is it that makes this valuable? I may be correct or incorrect in assuming that the lot on which Marshall Field's store stands is the most valuable piece of real estate in the city, or quite as valuable as any other piece. Assuming that I am correct, will you tell me why it is the most valuable? Because it is nearer the center of that place in the city where men most do congregate, and where the largest amounts of personal property are to be found stored. That it is that gives it value. If you could move this center, if you could set at defiance the laws that have contributed to make a commercial center in Chicago, and could by force remove that center somewhere else, you would remove the value of that real estate to the point at which you establish the new center. Now, if that is the center, as property retreats from that it decreases in value, and as property nears that point it increases in value.

What, then, should be our policy?

To leave commercial property entirely without taxation, to invite it to our city to be placed upon our real estate without laying upon the transactions of commerce any burden of tax whatever, to tax the real estate.

Does the personal property owner escape an indirect tax? No, he does not. He cannot escape an indirect tax. He pays a tax through the real estate on which he does his business. When you take this center of Marshall Field's lot as the place where the business is, other great retail merchants seek to be in that vicinity. A man who wants to share the business that centers around Marshall Field's, and to catch some of it, pays a rent for the store. If some other merchant wants the store he offers bigger rent for it. In other words, the fact that you have got a center in which there are commercial transactions in personal property leads a rental value to that property and the building upon it. The land owner who owns the real estate and that building gets from the competition of men who want to rent for the purpose of carrying on business upon it, an increased rent. The competition regulates the rent. This real estate is all visible. It can all be valued. My learned friend and his co-laborers on this board can go around on this property within the loop and they can make a valuation of it which will be substantially fair and impartial. They see it, they can ascertain its value. Not a foot of it can be hidden from them: they do not have to search any man by an oath, and they do not have to have any secret information. The open discussion before their board by Mr. Field, if he is the owner, and other owners, will give them the information, and a just result will be reached. I do not mean to say an infallible result, but a just result.

The condition of such a proposition makes its fair solution almost necessary. The real estate man, then, who is the owner, collects his tax from his tenant through rents. The tax is fair upon the tenant because it is regulated by competition with other lots. If the particular lot is rented at too high a rate, the adjoining

lot will be offered at a little less. The man who deals in personal property in this way, indirectly, through his landlord, pays his tax. It comes out of the landlord ultimately, but it comes through this value to which the tenant is a contributor, and he is a fair contributor, and there is no secret information about it; it comes as regularly as the rent comes; it is upon a fair valuation. Justice is done, and in my opinion this is the only method by which a system of direct taxation can be made to approximate a just and successful system.

Now you will say I am traveling along the line of a single taxer. Well, maybe I am. I am going at least part of the way. We ought not to be frightened, gentlemen. We ought to travel along any line that is shown by our judgment of the facts to be just. We never did hesitate to reach a logical conclusion that is forced by facts. You know better than I do what the difference is between what I am saying, and the single taxer. He says that it is the rental value of the land which should be taxed, the building should not be taxed at all. In my opinion the building is to be taxed. It is part of the real estate, and it is the thing from which the real estate is made valuable. A vacant lot never built upon brings no revenue, and produces nothing, and therefore it is the building with the improvements that is to be valued, and that it is which ought to be taxed.

SPECIAL ASSESSMENTS.

BY JUDGE ARBA N. WATERMAN.

Of all forms of taxation now in use, special assessments for alleged benefits are the most vicious.

Taxation, unless controlled by laws that operate equally upon persons and property sought thereby to be reached, speedily becomes robbery under forms of law.

Special assessments are imposed at the unregulated will of public officials and the uncertain caprice of juries.

Those who must pay the cost have no voice in the letting of the contract or the supervision of the work. They are not even favored with a statement of how their money has been expended.

They are compelled to pay and to be content with whatever the public authorities see fit to have done therefor.

Practically, the average citizen does not and cannot know whether, as compared with his neighbor, his property has been fairly, justly or honestly assessed, or that the practice in one case is followed in another.

The system is a joy and delight to the public official who is called upon to do public work, because neither constitution nor statute limit the exaction that can be made, and practically there is no supervisory board or power to which report must be made and by which work done and accounts rendered will be scrutinised.

Nothing but the most gross negligence or dishonesty will attract attention.

If the city desires to expend one hundred thousand dollars for a city hall, it is confronted with the fact that its power to tax is limited, that there are many and pressing demands upon its purse; that if fifty thousand dollars be fraudulently or improvidently used in building, it will have so much less to expend for some other pressing necessity; but if it squander fifty thousand dollars raised by special assessment for paving, or permit contractors to slight the work so that it is of no value, it has lost nothing. The property owners have lost their money and the city can make another assessment.

That the necessity for work done under such circumstances will be carefully considered; the fact of and the amount, if any, of the alleged benefit justly ascertained; the contract carefully let and rigidly supervised, so that the owner who pays shall at least have the so-called improvement honestly done at the least possible cost to him, is, in the nature of things, under such system, impossible.

The imposition of a special assessment for a supposed benefit compels the owner to engage in a speculation which may not only be unwise, but one which he often cannot afford.

He is told that the opening of a street or the creation of a park will specially increase the value of his property; that therefore he and others thus benefited, and not the general public, must pay for the improvement. His opinion and his remonstrance that the work will not only be of no benefit, but a damage to him, is of no consequence.

The fact that he cannot obtain the money with which to pay the assessment unless he mortgages his property is disregarded. The public decide that he must somehow get the money and enter upon a speculation which it declares will improve his property.

If he be correct in his forecast, and the work proves to be to him a damage instead of a benefit, he has no remedy.

It is not likely that the irregular, uncontrolled and illimitable taxation by means of special assessments can be done away with. Some, perhaps much, of the injustice, profligacy and waste so attendant upon the system would be eliminated if in all instances the municipality paid one-fourth of the cost of the work. City and town authorities would then not be free to order improvements that work might be found for useful voters and places for handy politicians.

Contractors would not be given so free a rein, and the making of improvements at the least cost consistent with good work would be thought to be a necessity. The public authorities would have a real interest in securing honest service.

Assessments for such things as the opening of streets, creation of parks, erection of fountains, arches, statuary, etc., the special benefit of which to particular property is a speculative question, should never be allowed; assessments for paving, sidewalks, sewers, water pipe, lamp posts, grading, curbing, etc., should be placed only upon the property abutting on the proposed work—the practice of spreading the assessment around so as to reach property not abutting on the improvement, but in its vicinity, is fruitful of injustice and iniquity.

No law regulates the distance to which the spreading shall go nor requires such action in each case. The opportunity for favoritism is thus complete. He who has influence and he who understands devious ways can be favored, without one chance in a hundred that the injured will ever know of it.

BOOK NOTICES.

Prof. Ernst Haeckel's *Riddle of the Universe* which created such a stir on its appearance in Germany, and at once ran through many editions, has been well translated by Joseph McCabe and published by Harper and Brothers, New York and London. Professor Haeckel's views on "the conflict of science and religion" have been frequently discussed in *The Open Court* and *The Monist*, and our readers are familiar with their main trend. They will find, however, in the present work, an admirable and systematic *résumé* of Professor Haeckel's thought, in its genesis, historical development, and final form. We have also to note in this connection a

paraphlet published by Heinrich Schmidt, of Jena, entitled: *A Struggle for "The Riddle of the Universe"* (Bonn: Emil Strauss). Mr. Schmidt's little book is essentially a synopsis of the many controversies which Professor Haeckel's book raised in Germany.

Among the sociological and economic works recently published by the Macmillan Company, may be mentioned: (1) *Experimental Sociology, Descriptive and Analytical*, by Frances A. Kellor, graduate student of the University of Chicago, which is "a study of the methods of investigation of delinquents and their treatment, together with such suggestions for the prevention of criminology as have resulted from it." (Price, \$2.00); and (2) *The Theory of Prosperity*, by Simon N. Patten, Ph. D., professor of political economy in the University of Philadelphia, being an analytical study of the various economic and cultural aspects of incomes. (Price, \$1.25.)

The University of Chicago Press has issued a work which will claim attention from many historical readers and students of politics. It is a new book on Russia, by Maxime Kovalevsky, formerly professor of Public Law in the University of Moscow, and now lecturer on Russian institutions in the University of Chicago. Its title is: *Russian Political Institutions, Their Growth and Development from the Beginning of Russian History to the Present Time*. Professor Kovalevsky's aim differs from that of Mackenzie Wallace's book, which has hitherto been the standard work on Russia. His book is the story of the political *evolution* and internal development of the Russian nation, and treats of the making of Russia, its complex ethnology and early political vicissitudes, the development of Muscovite institutions, the reforms of Peter the Great and Catherine II., the reforms of Alexander II., etc. (Crown 8vo, \$1.50 net; postpaid, \$1.60.)

NOTES.

Before going to press, Judge Waterman added the following comment to his taxation article: A man who owns one million dollars worth of Chicago city bonds at three per cent. derives from them an income of \$30,000 in round numbers, of which he is requested in Chicago to pay between \$12,000 and \$13,000 taxes, leaving him \$17,000 about to live on. If the same man goes to England, he would have to pay \$1,500, leaving him in round figures a net income of \$28,500.

Now the question arises, What do we expect a capitalist to do, stay in this country or go to England? What should we do if we were capitalists? And can it be our intention to drive capital out of the country?

The aim of the Indian National Social Congress is to improve the social conditions of India, and, as we learn from the *Indian Mirror*, that it has just held its fifteenth meeting, it seems fairly to have passed the period of probation. The leading members are prominent natives, who have come to recognise the importance of introducing reforms that are forced upon them by their contact with Western civilisation. And the Congress can look back upon its work with satisfaction, for many evils, if they have not altogether disappeared, have yet been reduced. The speakers, however, were fairly unanimous in recognising the necessity of a wider spread of female education, and of bringing about a further decline of polygamy. The great masses of Hindus still keep aloof, because they suspect the Congress as being too much under foreign influence, but the leaders are anxious to preserve the ancient Hindu civilisation as the foundation of India's future.



THE RESURRECTION.

BY FRA ANGELO.

Frontispiece to The Open Court.

THE OPEN COURT

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

Devoted to the Science of Religion, the Religion of Science, and
the Extension of the Religious Parliament Idea.

VOL. XVI. (NO. 4.)

APRIL, 1902.

NO. 551

Copyright by The Open Court Publishing Co., 1902.

EASTER, THE FESTIVAL OF LIFE VICTORIOUS.

BY THE EDITOR.

EASTER, the festival of Spring celebrates the triumph of life over death and the resurrection of nature from her wintry slumber, involving the hope of an immortality of the soul.¹

EVANESCENCE.

The vanity of life springs from the evanescence of things,—a truth which is preached by philosophers, insisted on by poets, and represented in art by painters.

Karl Gerok, a Protestant prelate of Germany and one of the most famous hymnologists of modern times, has written a famous poem on the transitoriness of things, which has been translated by Mr. E. F. L. Gauss, as follows:

1 PET. I. 24.

For all flesh is as grass
And all the glory of man as the flower of grass.

As in a dream while lost in meditation
I came upon this garden's desolation;
Who owns this field, this verdant soil I tread?
—"The dead."

Why tarriest thou, my foot, before this wicket?
Behold the blooming flowers in plat and thicket!

¹ *The Open Court* is devoted to the establishment of the Religion of Science, and of all religious problems that await a scientific solution, the nature of man's immortality is the most important. The solution of *The Open Court* has been presented time and again, and lately in the editorial of our February number, entitled "Whence and Whither." We trust that in the course of time progressive Christianity (so far as it admits science as the test of truth) will substantially accept our view which in spite of the radical ground upon which we stand is positive and affirmative.

Whence comes this fragrance rising in sweet waves?

—"From graves."

See here, oh mortal, where thy paths are ending,
Though snake-like through the world their course they're wending
It rustles at thy feet midst waste and rust:

—"In dust!"

Where are they all, men's ever changing chances,
The fickle fortunes which this earth advances?
These crosses preach the fact to every eye:

—"Gone by?"

Where are the hearts which in their days' brief measure
So faintly beat in grief, so high in pleasure?
Which once so ardently by love and hate were swayed?

—"Decayed!"

Where are the thoughtless who with health were brimming
And through this world like butterflies were skimming?
What lies here covered by these mossy stones?

—"But bones!"

Where are the strong ones who through life were scouring,
And heavenward their haughty schemes were towering?
With croaking voice the ravens cry it flurried:

—"They're buried!"

Where are the dear ones whom, when death did sever
Love swore their memory should last forever?
The cypress-trees the answer have begotten:

—"Forgotten!"

And saw no eye which way all those are thronging?
And spans the grave not the most fervent longing?
The gloomy firs, lo, shake their crowns forever:

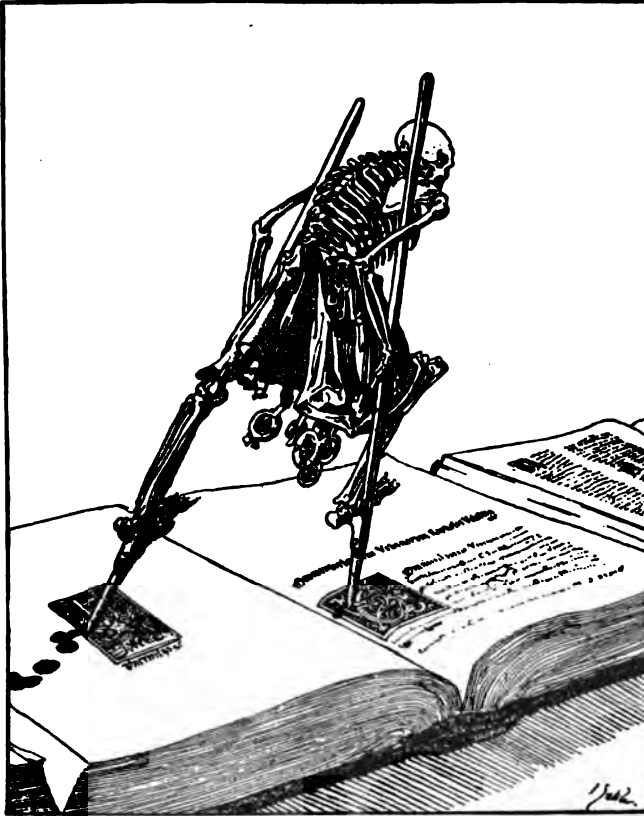
—"No, never!"

The evening winds in anguish I hear screaming,
My spirit lulls in melancholy dreaming,
The sky grows dim, its glow sends the last ray:

—"Away!"

An impressive illustration of evanescence is given here in Joseph Sattler's ingenious drawing called "*Wurmstich*," which shows us Death in the act of producing the worm-eaten holes in a book. While the truth of the evanescence of all things is thus drastically brought home to us in the instance of a dust-covered book, we feel at the same time the puniness of the action of death, and have an

assurance that in spite of all decay life will continue and rise again from the ashes of the past.



Mephistopheles, in Goethe's *Faust*, representing the spirit of negation and destruction and having praised the primordial nothing, says:¹

That which in contrast to the Naught is set,
This awkward Something, called the world, has yet
With all that I have undertaken
Not been by me disturbed or shaken.
From earthquake, tempest, wave, volcano's brand
Back into quiet settle sea and land.
And how with endless tribulation
The human race I have not worried !
How many have I buried,
Yet there's a youthful blood always in circulation.
It makes me furious to behold

¹ Goethe's *Faust*, Act I., Scene III.

How many thousand germs unfold
 From water, earth, and air,
 And they grow everywhere,
 In the dry and wet, in the warm and cold.

Transiency is the nature of time, but time is eternal. Evanescence is the character of life, but life is constantly renewed. And it is not life in general that reappears, but the form of life is preserved and reproduced. Form is the essential feature of life; it is that which constitutes personality and individual preference.

The triumph of life over death is expressed in Christianity as in other religions in the doctrine of immortality, and found its expression in the story of Christ's resurrection which is celebrated on Easter.

THE PASSOVER.

The death of Christ fell on the last day before the Jewish Passover; and so his resurrection was celebrated on the first day after the great Sabbath; but this coincidence with the Jewish Easter is not purely accidental.

Jesus visited Jerusalem on account of the feast, and the city was overcrowded with visitors, many of them fanatics, and Josephus informs us that the Galileans were the greatest zealots among the Jews.¹ It is on this account that Pilate, who resided in Cæsaræa, decided to go at that time to Jerusalem to watch the celebration of the Passover as a most dangerous event, where the slightest mistake of the Roman authorities might provoke the outbreak of a rebellion.

Thus, the arrival in Jerusalem of Jesus, who came with many other pilgrims to celebrate the Passover and was hailed as Messiah by the Nazarene sect, necessarily coincided with the Jewish Easter, and in the face of the dangerous attitude of the Jewish fanatics in the overcrowded Jewish capital we cannot doubt that the Roman governor was prepared for the prompt and energetic suppression of any national uprising. It is natural that all those who were believed to be messiahs as well as those who abetted their claims rendered themselves liable to end their lives on the cross.

Jesus was not recognised as a messiah by the whole Jewish people; he was a Nazir,² and the Nazir sect was by no means regarded as orthodox by either the conservative Pharisees or the liberal Sadducees. On the contrary, the priestly classes were jealous of the sectarian leaders and Jesus gave offence to both parties in

¹ Josephus, *De bello Jud.*, VII. 8, 1 and 10, 1.

² Also called *Nazarens*.

many ways but especially by denouncing the practice of barter at the temple gate.

We do not doubt that upon the whole the report of the Gospel account is correct, which ascribes the cause of the condemnation of Jesus to a collusion of the Roman governor with the Jewish priests.

SUNDAY.

But we do not celebrate Passover, we celebrate Easter, and Easter is a pagan festival.

Easter is a festival of the return of the sun; it is a spring festival, and we hail the reawakening of nature to new life.

Even to-day Easter is celebrated with eggs, the symbols of reproduction, and the animal sacred to the Easter festival is the hare or the rabbit, famous for its fertility and a favorite of the goddess Aphrodite.

It was due in part to the symbolism of ancient pagan rituals that the festival of the resurrection of Christ is celebrated on Easter.

Christ's resurrection is celebrated on Sunday, and Sunday was the festival of the sun.

In the Acts² a sect is mentioned, "the disciples," who seem to have been scattered over Asia Minor, and we learn of them that they came together on the first day of the week to break bread, and Paul preached to them and found them so sympathetic that he easily gained them for his doctrine. Perhaps they were the Zabians, the Baptisers, which was the sect to which John the Baptist belonged.

Sunday is frequently regarded as the Christian Sabbath. But closely considered, these two days are similar only in being religious days; they differ greatly in one essential point: the Sabbath is a day of rest, of utter inactivity, and Sunday is a day of edification.

It appears that Sunday was the day of religious communion among the Gnostics, the Therapeutae and kindred sects who believed in the new dispensation, and the day may have been chosen under Mithraic influence. We must remember that the Nazir sect,



APHRODITE WITH EASTER
RABBIT.

Relief from the Villa Albana.¹

¹ Müller-Wieseler, *D. a. K.*, pl. 24, n. 257. Röcher, I., p. 399.

² Acts xx. 7.

and also the Essenes, had adopted many habits and beliefs from Persia, and so it is not impossible that Jesus himself celebrated Sunday as the day of religious edification.

Jesus died on Friday night, and according to a prophecy which is ascribed to Christ himself, he should have stayed three days and three nights in Sheol. We read in Matthew xii. 40:¹

"For as Jonas was three days and three nights in the whale's belly; so shall the Son of man be three days and three nights in the heart of the earth."

The Jew Christians may have continued to keep the Sabbath day, but the Apostle Paul attached a special significance to Sunday, and so he declared that Christ had risen, not after three days and three nights, which would have brought the event down to Monday night, or perhaps to Tuesday in the early morning, but "on the third day,"² which is after one day and two nights, viz., on Sunday.

Considering the sanctity that was attributed to Sunday among the Gentiles, especially the disciples and similar sects, it was natural that Easter Day, the festival of Resurrection, should have been celebrated on the first Sunday after the Passover.

The burden of the Christian Gospel as preached by St. Paul is the message of the resurrection of Christ, in which the apostles implicitly believed.³ Whatever we may think of the accounts of it in the New Testament we must grant that the doctrine of immortality is the quintessence of the Christian religion, which was the cause of its final triumph. The oldest account in the Gospel according to Mark makes the simple statement that the grave was found empty, and this suggested at once to his followers the idea that Jesus must have risen from the dead. The immediate result were visions of the departed master. He was seen by Mary Magdalene,⁴ by St. Peter, by the eleven apostles, then by more than three hundred brethren, and finally by St. Paul.⁵

One of these visions (that of St. Paul) lies within the pale of historical investigation, and, in spite of the contradictions discovered in the several versions of the event, offers nothing that seems improbable or inexplicable.

The history of the Gospel stories of the Resurrection has been traced by the higher critics, and we may briefly state that later reports, superadded to the original account in Mark of the empty

¹ Compare Luke xi. 29.

² Cor. xv. 4.

³ It is not our intention to enter here into a discussion of the several problems connected with the resurrection of Jesus.

⁴ John xx. 14; Luke xxiv. 10; Mark xvi. 9.

⁵ Cor. xv. 5-8.

grave, show the spirit in which the early Christians regarded the idea of Christ's resurrection. Paul's Christ is a spiritual presence, while the Christ of a later writer, hankering after a corporeal immortality, is a bodily presence who makes doubters touch him and parades his corporeality by eating in the presence of witnesses. Finally he is reported to have departed from the earth by ascending to heaven.

Perhaps the most beautiful conception of the risen Christ (incomparably nobler than the crude materialistic notion of a corporeal



CHRIST AMONG THE DISCIPLES OF EMMAUS.

By Paul Veronese.

resurrection) is reflected in the tale of the disciples of Emmaus, where Christ, the departed master, speaks out of the mouth of a stranger whom they meet on the way and with whom they break bread together. They knew him not until he was gone. And how did they know him? His words were the words of Jesus, and the way in which he broke bread and spoke the blessing reminded them of their beloved master. Who will deny that in this sense Christ has proved a living presence ever since and is still so even unto the generations of these latter days?

THE MYSTERIES OF MITHRA.¹

BY PROFESSOR FRANZ CUMONT.

THE ORIGINS OF MITHRAISM.

[CONTINUED.]

IT was undoubtedly during the period of moral and religious fermentation provoked by the Macedonian conquest that Mithraism received approximately its definitive form. It was already thoroughly consolidated when it spread throughout the Roman empire. Its dogmas and its liturgic traditions must have been firmly established from the beginning of its diffusion. But unfortunately we are unable to determine precisely either the country or the period of time in which Mazdaism assumed the characteristics that distinguished it in Italy. Our ignorance of the religious movements that agitated the Orient in the Alexandrian epoch, the almost complete absence of direct testimony bearing on the history of the Iranian sects during the first three centuries before our era, are our main obstacles in obtaining certain knowledge of the developments of Parseeism. At most we can attempt to unravel the principal factors that combined to transform the religion of the Magi of Asia Minor, and endeavor to show how in different regions varying influences variously altered its original character.

In Armenia, Mazdaism had coalesced with the national beliefs of the country and also with a Semitic element imported from Syria. Mithra remained one of the principal divinities of the syncretic theology that issued from this triple influence. As in the Occident, some saw in Mithra the genius of fire, others identified him with the sun; and fantastic legends were woven about his name. He was said to have sprung from the incestuous intercourse of Ahura-Mazda with his own mother, and again to have

¹ Extracted by the author from his *Textes et Monuments figurés relatifs aux Mystères de Mithra* (Brussels: H. Lamertin). Translated by T. J. McCormack.

been the offspring of a common mortal. We shall refrain from dwelling upon these and other singular myths. Their character is radically different from the dogmas accepted by the Occidental votaries of the Persian god. That peculiar admixture of disparate doctrines which constituted the religion of the Armenians appears to have had no other relationship with Mithraism than that of a partial community of origin.

In the remaining portions of Asia Minor the changes which Mazdaism underwent were far from being so profound as in Armenia. The opposition between the indigenous cults and the religion whose Iranian origin its votaries delighted in recalling, never ceased to be felt. The pure doctrine of which the worshippers of fire were the guardians could not reconcile itself easily with the orgies celebrated in honor of the lover of Cybele. Nevertheless, during the long centuries that the emigrant Magi lived peacefully

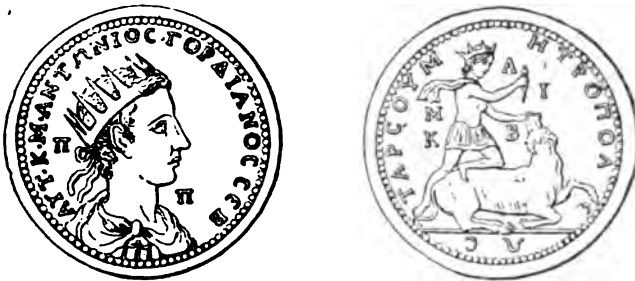


Fig. 1.

MITHRAIC MEDALLION OF BRONZE FROM TARSUS, CILICIA.

Obverse: Bust of Gordianus III., clad in a paludamentum and wearing a rayed crown. Reverse: Mithra, wearing a rayed crown and clad in a floating chlamys, a tunic covered by a breast-plate, and anaxyrides (trousers), seizes with his left hand the nostrils of the bull, which he has forced to its knees, while in his right he holds aloft a knife with which he is about to slay the animal.

among the autochthonous tribes, certain amalgamations of the conceptions of the two races could not help being effected. In Pontus, Mithra is represented on horseback like Men, the lunar god honored throughout the entire peninsula. In other places, he is pictured in broad sinuous trousers (*anaxyrides*), his attitude reminding us of the mutilation of Attis. In Lydia, Mithra-Anâhita became Sabazius-Anâitis. Other local divinities also lent themselves to identification with the powerful *yazata*. It would seem as if the priests of these uncultured countries had endeavored to make their popular gods the compeers of those whom the princes and nobility worshipped. But we have too little knowledge of the

religions of these countries to determine the precise features which they respectively derived from Parseeism or imparted to it. That there was a reciprocal influence we definitely know, but we are unable to ascertain its precise scope. Still, whatever the influence may have been, it was apparently not very profound, and it had no other effect than that of preparing for the intimate union which was soon to be effected in the West between the Mysteries of Mithra and those of the *Great Mother*.



Fig. 2.

IMPERIAL COINS OF TRAPEZUS (TREBIZOND), A CITY OF PONTUS.

Representing a divinity on horseback resembling both Men and Mithra, and showing that in Pontus the two were identified.

a and *b*. Bronze coins. Obverse: Bust of Alexander Severus, clad in a paludamentum; head crowned with laurel. Reverse: The composite Men-Mithra in Oriental custom, wearing a Phrygian cap, and mounted on a horse that advances toward the right. In front, a flaming altar. On either side, the characteristic Mithraic torches, respectively elevated and reversed. At the right, a tree with branches over-spreading the horseman. In front, a raven bending towards him. (218 A. D.)

c. Obverse: Alexander Severus. Reverse: Men-Mithra on horseback advancing towards the right. In the foreground, a flaming altar; in the rear, a tree upon which a raven is perched.

d. A similar coin, with the bust of Gordianus III.

When, as the outcome of the expedition of Alexander, the civilisation of Greece spread through all Hither Asia, it impressed itself upon Mazdaism as far east as Bactriana. Nevertheless, Iranism, if we may employ such a designation, never surrendered to Hellenism. Iran proper soon recovered its moral autonomy, as

well as its political independence; and generally speaking, the power of resistance offered by Persian traditions to an assimilation which was elsewhere easily effected is one of the most salient traits of the history of the relations of Greece with the Orient. But the Magi of Asia Minor, being much nearer to the great foci of Occidental culture, were more vividly illuminated by their radiation. Without suffering themselves to be absorbed by the religion of the conquering strangers, they combined their cults with it. In order to harmonise the barbaric beliefs with the Hellenic ideas, recourse was had to the ancient practice of identification. They strove to demonstrate that the Mazdean heaven was inhabited by the same denizens as Olympus: Ahura Mazda as supreme being was con-



FIG. 3.

BACTRIAN COINS.

On the coins of the Scythian kings Kanerkes and Hooerkes, who reigned over Kabul and the North-west of India from 87 to 129 A. D., the image of Mithra is found in company with those of other Persian, Greek, and Hindoo gods. These coins have little direct connection with the Mysteries as they appeared in the Occident, but they merit our attention as being the only representations of Mithra which are found outside the boundaries of the Roman world.

- a. Obverse: An image of King Kanerkes. Reverse: An image of Mithra.
- b. The obverse has a bust of King Hooerkes, and the reverse an image of Mithra as a goddess.
- c. Bust of Hooerkes with a lunar and a solar god (Mithra) on its reverse side.
- d. Bust of Hooerkes, with Mithra alone on its reverse.
- e, f, g. Similar coins.

founded with Zeus; Verethraghna, the victorious hero, with Heracles; Anâhita, to whom the bull was consecrated, became Artemis Tauropolis, and the identification went so far as to localise in her temples the fable of Orestes. Mithra, already regarded in Babylon as the peer of Shamash, was naturally associated with Helios;

but he was not subordinated to him, and his Persian name was never replaced in the liturgy by a translation, as has been the case with the other divinities worshipped in the Mysteries.

The synonymy ostensibly established between appellations having no relationship did not remain the exclusive diversion of the mythologists; it was attended with the grave consequence that



Fig. 4.

TYPICAL REPRESENTATION OF MITHRA.

(Famous Borghesi bas-relief in white marble, now in the Louvre, Paris, but originally taken from the Mithræum of the Capitol.)

Mithra is sacrificing a bull in a cave. The characteristic features of the Mithra monuments are all represented here: the youths bearing an upright and an inverted torch, the snake, the dog, the raven, Helios, the god of the sun, and Selene, the goddess of the moon. Owing to the Phrygian cap, the resemblance of the face to that of Alexander, and the imitation of the *motif* of the classical Greek group of Nike sacrificing a bull,—all characteristics of the Diadochian epoch, the original of all the works of this type has been attributed to an artist of Pergamon.

the vague personifications conceived by the Oriental imagination now assumed the precise forms with which the Greek artists had invested the Olympian gods. Possibly they had never before been

represented in the guise of the human form, or if images of them existed in imitation of the Assyrian idols they were doubtless both grotesque and crude. In imparting to the Mazdean heroes all the seductiveness of the Hellenic ideal, the conception of their character was necessarily modified ; and, pruned of their exotic features, they were rendered more readily acceptable to the Occidental peoples. One of the indispensable conditions for the success of this exotic religion in the Roman world was fulfilled when towards the second century before our era a sculptor of the school of Pergamon composed the pathetic group of Mithra Tauroctonos, to which universal custom thenceforward reserved the place of honor in the apse of the *spelæa*.

But not only did art employ its powers in softening the repulsive features which these rude Mysteries might possess for minds formed in the schools of Greece. Philosophy also strove to reconcile their doctrines with its teachings, or rather the Asiatic priests pretended to discover in their sacred traditions the theories of the philosophic sects. None of these sects so readily lent itself to alliance with the popular devotion as that of the Stoa, and its influence on the formation of Mithraism was profound. An ancient myth sung by the Magi is quoted by Dion Chrysostomos on account of its allegorical resemblance to the Stoic cosmology ; and many other Persian ideas were similarly modified by the pantheistic conceptions of the disciples of Zeno. Thinkers accustomed themselves more and more to discovering in the dogmas and liturgic usages of the Orientals the obscure reflections of some ancient wisdom, and these tendencies harmonised too much with the pretensions and the interest of the Mazdean clergy not to be encouraged by them with every means in their power.

But if philosophical speculation transformed the character of the beliefs of the Magi, investing them with a scope which they did not originally possess, its influence was nevertheless upon the whole conservative rather than revolutionary. The very fact that it invested legends which were oftentimes puerile with a symbolical significance, that it furnished rational explanations for usages which were apparently absurd, did much toward insuring their perpetuity. If the theological foundation of the religion was sensibly modified, its liturgic framework remained relatively fixed, and the changes wrought in the dogma were reconciled with the reverence due to the ritual. The superstitious formalism of which the minute prescriptions of the Vendidad were the expression is certainly prior to the period of the Sassanids. The sacrifices which

the Magi of Cappadocia offered in the time of Strabo are reminiscent of all the peculiarities of the Avestan liturgy. It was the same psalmodic prayers before the altar of fire; and the same bundle of sacred twigs (*baresman*); the same oblations of milk, oil, and honey; the same precautions lest the breath of the officiating priest should contaminate the divine flame. The inscription of Antiochus of Commagene in the rules that it prescribes gives evidence of a like scrupulous fidelity to the ancient Iranian customs. The king exults in having always honored the gods of his ancestors according to the tradition of the Persians and the Greeks; he ex-



MITHRA AND KING ANTIOCHUS
OF COMMAGENE.



AHURA MAZDA AND ARTAGENES.

(Bas-relief of the colossal temple built by Antiochus I. (69-34 B.C.) on the Nemrood Dagh, a spur of the Taurus Mountains.¹

presses the desire that the priests established in the new temple shall wear the sacerdotal vestments of the same Persians, and that they shall officiate conformably to the ancient sacred custom. The sixteenth day of each month which is to be specially celebrated, is not to be the birthday of the king alone, but also the day which from time immemorial was specially consecrated to Mithra. Many, many years after, another Commagenean, Lucian of Samosata, in a passage apparently inspired by practices he had witnessed in his

¹ See *The Open Court* for March, 1902, p. 173.

own country, could still deride the repeated purifications, the interminable chants, and the long Medean robes of the sectarians of Zoroaster. In addition, he taunted them with being ignorant even of Greek and with mumbling an incoherent and unintelligible jargon.

The conservative spirit of the Magi of Cappadocia, which bound them to the time-worn usages that had been handed down from generation to generation, abated not one jot of its power after the triumph of Christianity; and St. Basil has recorded the fact of its persistence as late as the end of the fourth century. Even in Italy it is certain that the Iranian Mysteries never ceased to retain a goodly proportion of the ritual forms that Mazdaism had observed in Asia Minor time out of mind. The principal innovation consisted in substituting for the Persian as the liturgic language, the Greek, and later perhaps the Latin. This reform presupposes the existence of sacred books, and it is probable that subsequently to the Alexandrian epoch the prayers and canticles that had been originally transmitted orally were committed to writing, lest their memory should fade forever. But this necessary accommodation to the new environments did not prevent Mithraism from preserving to the very end a ceremonial which was essentially Persian.

The Greek name of "Mysteries" which writers have applied to this religion should not mislead us. The adepts of Mithraism did not imitate the Hellenic cults in the organisation of their secret societies, the esoteric doctrine of which was made known only after a succession of graduated initiations. In Persia itself the Magi constituted an exclusive caste, which appears to have been subdivided into several subordinate classes. And those of them who took up their abode in the midst of foreign nations different in language and manners were still more jealous in concealing their hereditary faith from the profane. The knowledge of their arcana gave them a lofty consciousness of their moral superiority and insured their prestige over the ignorant populations that surrounded them. It is probable that the Mazdean priesthood in Asia Minor as in Persia was primitively the hereditary property of a tribe, in which it was handed down from father to son; that afterwards its incumbents consented, after appropriate ceremonies of initiation, to communicate its secret dogmas to strangers, and that these proselytes were then gradually admitted to all the different ceremonies of the cult. The Iranian diaspora is comparable in this respect, as in many others, with that of the Jews. Usage soon distinguished between the different classes of neophytes, ulti-

mately culminating in the establishment of a fixed hierarchy. But the complete revelation of the sacred beliefs and practices was always reserved for the privileged few; and this mystic knowledge appeared to increase in excellence in proportion as it became more occult.

All the original rites that characterised the Mithraic cult of the Romans unquestionably go back to Asiatic origins: the animal disguises used in certain ceremonies are a survival of a very widely-diffused prehistoric custom; the practice of consecrating mountain caves to the god is undoubtedly a heritage of the time when temples were not yet constructed; the cruel tests imposed on the initiated recall the bloody mutilations that the servitors of Mâ and of Cybele perpetrated. Similarly, the legends of which Mithra is the hero cannot have been invented save in a pastoral epoch. These antique traditions of a primitive and crude civilisation subsist in the Mysteries alongside of a subtle theology and a lofty system of ethics.

An analysis of the constituent elements of Mithraism, like a section of a geological formation, shows us the stratifications of this composite mass in their regular order of deposition. The basal layer of this religion, its lower and primordial stratum, is the faith of ancient Iran, from which it took its origin. Above this Mazdean substratum was deposited in Babylon a thick sediment of Semitic doctrines, and afterward the local beliefs of Asia Minor added to it their alluvial deposits. Finally, a luxuriant vegetation of Hellenic ideas burst forth from this fertile soil and partly concealed from view its true original nature.

This composite religion, in which so many heterogeneous elements were welded together, is the adequate expression of the complex civilisation that flourished in the Alexandrian epoch in Armenia, Cappadocia, and Pontus. If Mithridates Eupator had realised his ambitious dreams, this Hellenised Parseeism would doubtless have become the state-religion of a vast Asiatic empire. But the course of its destinies was changed by the defeat of this great adversary of Rome. The *débris* of the Pontic armies and fleets, the fugitives that had been driven out by the war and that had flocked in from all parts of the Orient, disseminated the Iranian Mysteries among that nation of pirates that rose to power under the protecting shelter of the mountains of Cilicia. Mithra became firmly established in this country, in which Tarsus continued to worship him until the downfall of the empire. Strong in the consciousness of his protection, these audacious mariners boldly pillaged the most venerated sanctuaries of Greece and Italy, and the Latin world rang for the first time with the name of the barbaric divinity that was soon to impose upon it his adoration. [TO BE CONTINUED.]

BABEL AND BIBLE.

A LECTURE DELIVERED IN BERLIN BEFORE THE GERMAN
EMPEROR.¹

BY FRIEDRICH DELITZSCH.

TO what end this toil and trouble in distant, inhospitable, and danger-ridden lands? Why all this expense in ransacking to their utmost depths the rubbish heaps of forgotten centuries, where



Fig. 1. UR OF THE CHALDEES, THE HOME OF ABRAHAM AND THE
FOREFATHERS OF ISRAEL.

(Ruins of el-Muqayyer, pronounced *Mukayyer*, English *Mugheir*.)

we know neither treasures of gold nor of silver exist? Why this zealous emulation on the part of the nations to secure the greatest possible number of mounds for excavation? And whence, too, that

¹ Translated by T. J. McCormack. The original has just been published by J. C. Hinrichs of Leipsic, one of the foremost German publishers of theological and Oriental works. See note under "Miscellaneous."

constantly increasing interest, that burning enthusiasm, born of generous sacrifice, now being bestowed on both sides of the Atlantic on the excavations of Babylonia and Assyria?

One answer echoes to all these questions,—one answer, which, if not absolutely adequate, is yet largely the reason and consummation of it all: *the Bible*. A magic halo, woven in earliest youth, encircles the names of Nineveh and Babylon, an irresistible fascination abides for us all in the stories of Belshazzar and the Wise Men of the East. The long-lasting dynasties here awakened to new life, however potent for history and civilisation they may have



Fig. 2. HITTITE IDEOGRAPHIC WRITING FROM CARCHEMISH.¹



Fig. 3. KING HAMMURABI. THE KING AMRAPHEL OF THE BIBLE.

been, would not have aroused a tithe of their present interest, did they not number among them the names of Amraphel, Sennacherib, and Nebuchadnezzar, with whom we have been familiar from childhood.

And with the graven memories of youth is associated the deeper longing of maturity,—the longing, so characteristic of our age,—to possess a philosophy of the world and life that will satisfy both the heart and the head. And this again leads us directly to the Bible, and notably to the Old Testament, with which historically our modern views are indissolubly connected.

¹ Confirming the discovery of the site of Carchemish, where Nebuchadnezzar defeated Necho in 605 B. C.

The minute exhaustive scrutiny to which untold numbers of Christian scholars in Germany, England, and America—the three Bible-lands, as we may justly call them—are submitting the Old Testament, that little library of books of the most varied hue, is nothing less than astounding.



Fig. 4. KING SARGON II. AND HIS MARSHAL.

Of these silent intellectual labors the world has as yet taken but little notice. Yet this much is certain, that when the sum-total and ultimate upshot of the new knowledge shall have burst the barriers of the scholar's study and entered the broad path of life,—have entered our churches, schools, and homes,—the life of human-



Fig. 5. KING SENNACHERIB IN GALA COSTUME.

ity will be more profoundly stirred and be made the recipient of more significant and enduring progress than it has by all the discoveries of modern physical and natural science put together. So far, at any rate, the conviction has steadily and universally established itself that the results of the Babylonian and Assyrian excavations are destined to inaugurate a new epoch, not only in our



Fig. 6. SEAL OF KING DARIUS.

intellectual life, but especially in the criticism and comprehension of the Old Testament, and that from now till all futurity the names of *Babel* and *Bible* will remain inseparably linked together.

How times have changed! There was David and there was Solomon, 1000 years before Christ; and Moses, 1400 years; and Abraham eight centuries prior. And of all these men we had the

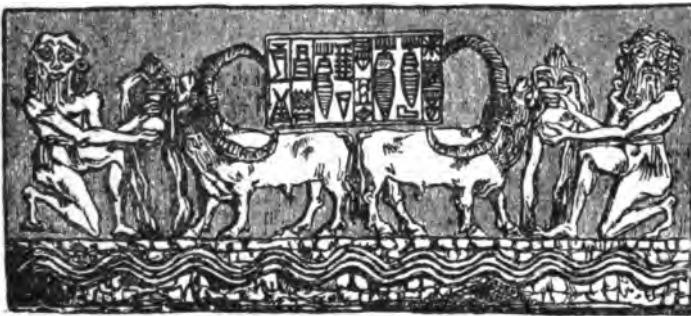


Fig. 7. SEAL OF SARGON I. (Third or fourth millennium B. C.)

minutest information! It was so unique, so supernatural, that one credulously accepted with it also stories concerning the origin of the world and mankind. The very greatest minds stood, and some of them still stand to-day, under the puissant thrall of the mystery encompassing the first book of Moses. But now that the pyramids have opened their depths and the Assyrian palaces their portals,

the people of Israel, with its literature, appears but the youngest member of a venerable and hoary group of nations.

The Old Testament formed a world by itself, till far in the last century. It spoke of times to whose latest limits the age of classi-



Elamite
Babylonian merchant

Jew of Lachish

Israelite
Arab horseman

Fig. 8. RACIAL TYPES.

cal antiquity barely reached, and of nations that have met either with none or with the most cursory allusion from the Greeks and the Romans. The Bible was the sole source of our knowledge of

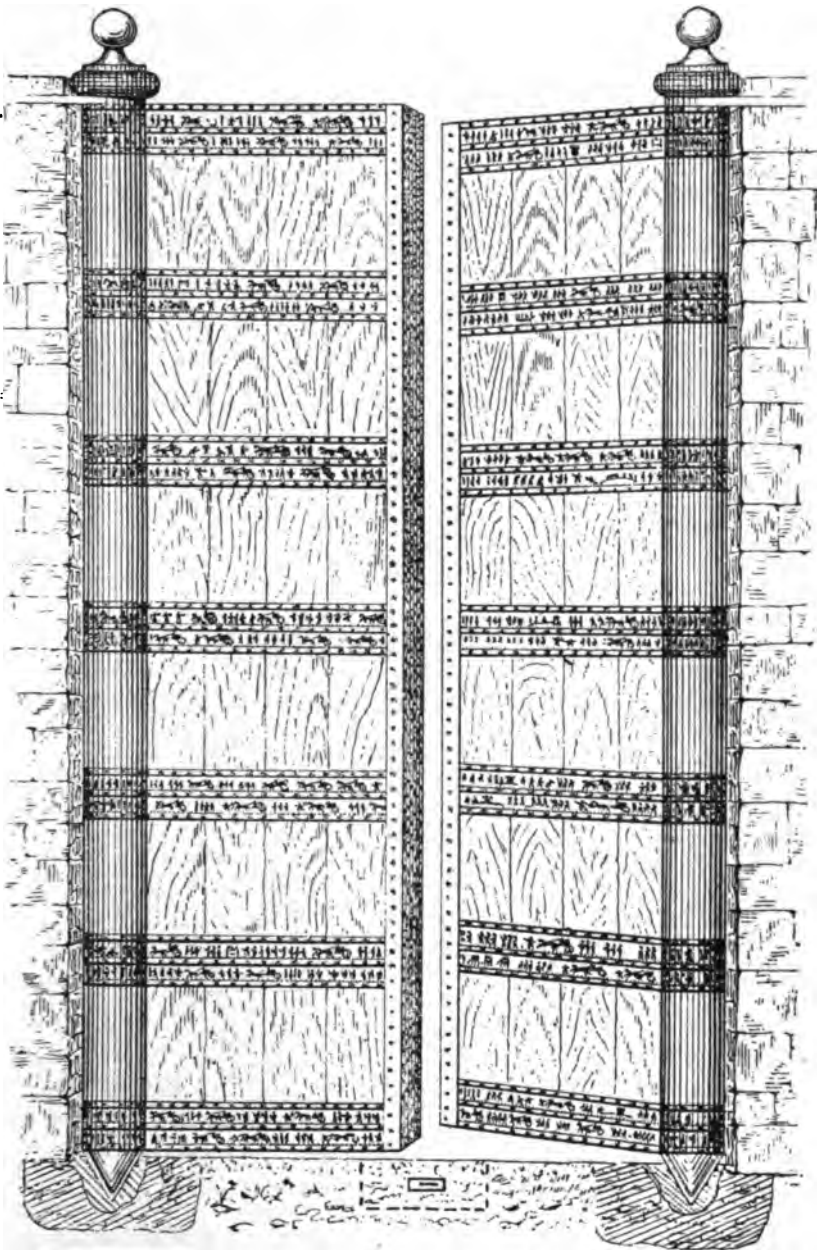


Fig. 9. BRONZE GATES OF THE PALACE OF SHALMANEZER II. (At Balawat.)

the history of Hither Asia prior to 550 B. C., and since its vision extended over all that immense quadrangle lying between the Mediterranean Sea and the Persian Gulf and stretching from Mt. Ararat

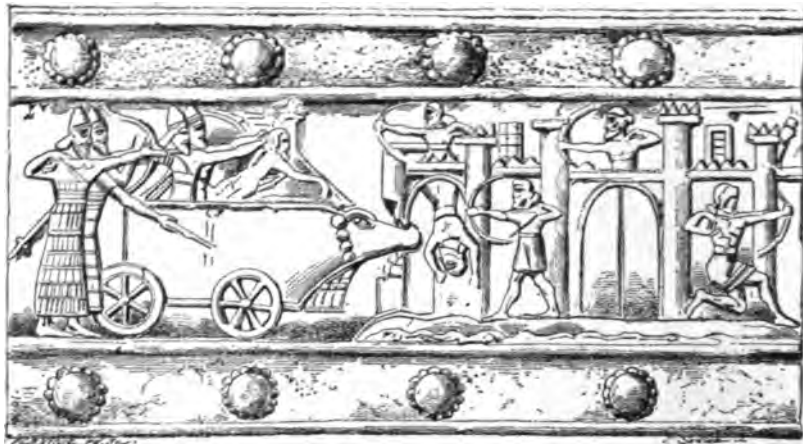


Fig. 10. ASSYRIANS BATTERING A FORTRESS.



Fig. 11. DETAIL-GROUP ON BRONZE GATE.

Above war-chariots and below captives led before the king.

to Ethiopia, it naturally teemed with enigmas that might otherwise have tarried till eternity for their solution. But now the walls that formed the impenetrable background to the scenes of the Old Tes-

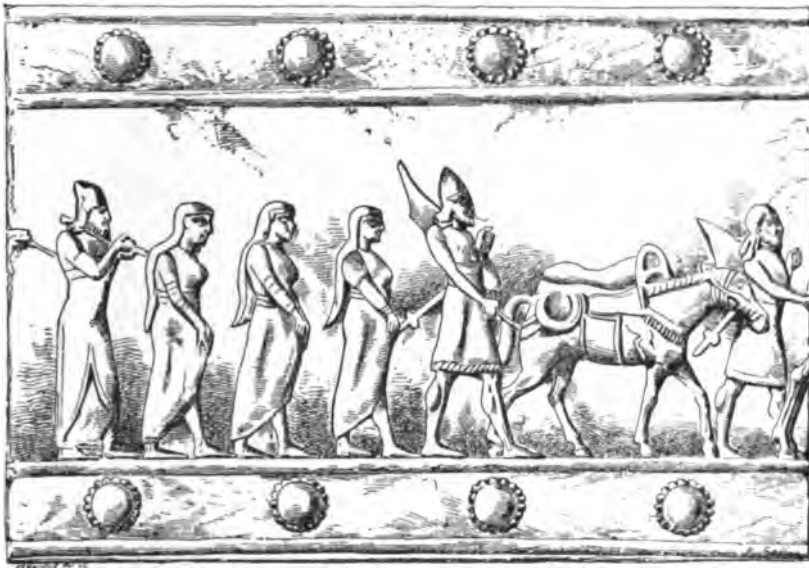


Fig. 12. PROCESSION OF FEMALE CAPTIVES. (Detail-group on bronze gate.)



Fig. 13. ASSYRIAN BOWMEN AND SPEARMEN ATTACKING A HOSTILE FORTRESS.

tament have suddenly fallen, and a keen invigorating air and a flood of light from the Orient pervades and irradiates the hoary



Fig. 13a. GRAZING ANTELOPES.
(Idyllic scene picturing the intense realism of Assyrian art.)

book,—animating and illuminating it the more as Hebrew antiquity is linked together from beginning to end with Babylonia and Assyria.



Fig. 14. ASSYRIAN SLINGERS.

The American excavations at Nippur brought to light the business records of a great wholesale house, Murashû & Sons, operat-

ing in that city in the reign of Artaxerxes (450 B. C.). We read in these records the names of many Jewish exiles that had remained in Babel, as Nathaniel, Haggai, and Benjamin, and we read also of a canal *Kabar* in connection with the city of Nippur, which is the original of the canal of *Kebbar* rendered famous by Ezekiel's vision and situated "in the land of the Chaldæans" (Ezekiel i. 3).



Fig. 15. HEAD OF WINGED BULL.

Showing details of Assyrian mode of dressing the beard, as worn by the king and the officers of the army.

This "grand canal," for such the name means, may possibly exist to this very day.

Since the Babylonian bricks usually bear a stamp containing along with other marks also the name of the city in which the building of which it formed a part was erected, it was made possible for Sir Henry Rawlinson as early as the year 1849 to rediscover the much-sought-for city of *Ur of the Chaldees*, the home of



Fig. 16. THE KING'S CHARIOT IN A PARADE.

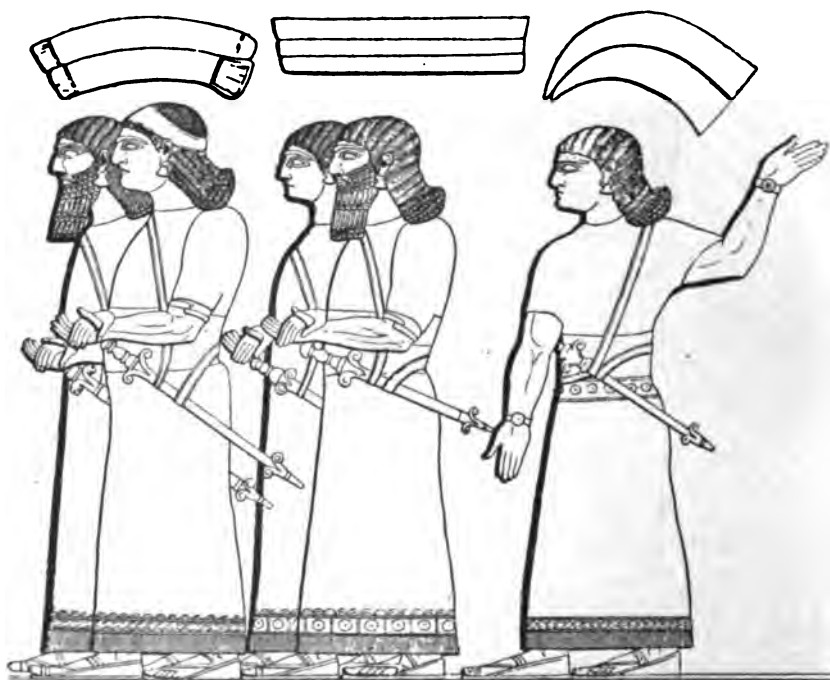


Fig. 17. OFFICERS OF ASURBANIPAL ENTERING COURT.

Abraham and the ancestors of the tribes of Israel (Genesis xi. 31 and xv. 7). The discovery was made in the gigantic mound of ruins of el-Muqajjar¹ on the right bank of the lower Euphrates (see Fig. 1), which is now the storm-center of warring Arab tribes. The certainty of the discovery has been more and more established.

The data of the cuneiform literature shed light also on geographical matters: formerly the site of the city of Carchemish,



Fig. 18. PAGES CARRYING ROYAL CHARIOT.

where Nebuchadnezzar in 605 B. C. won his great battle from Pharaoh-necho (Jeremiah xlvi. 2) was sought for at random on the banks of the Euphrates, but in March, 1876, the English assyriologist George Smith, starting from Aleppo and following the river downward from Biredshik, rode directly to the spot where from the tenor of the cuneiform inscriptions the city of the Hittite kings must have lain, and at once and unhesitatingly identified the vast

¹ Pronounced Muḥayyer, English Mugheir.

ruins of Dsherabis there situate, with their walls and palace-mounds, more extensive than Nineveh itself, with the ancient city of Carchemish,—a conclusion that was immediately afterward confirmed by the inscriptions in the unique ideographic Hittite script that were strewn over the entire site of the ruins (Fig. 2).



Fig. 19. PAGES CARRYING THE ROYAL THRONE.

And like many names of places, so also many of the personalities named in the Bible, have received new light and life. The book of the prophet Isaiah (xx. 1) mentions an Assyrian king by the name of Sargon, who sent his marshal against Ashdod; and when in 1843 the French consul Émile Botta began his excavations on the mound of ruins situated not far from Mosul, and thus, at the suggestion of a German scholar, inaugurated archæological research

on Mesopotamian soil, the first Assyrian palace unearthed was the palace of this same Sargon, the conqueror of Samaria. Nay, on one of the superb alabaster reliefs with which the walls of the palace chambers were adorned, the very person of this mighty warrior conversing with his marshal appears before our eyes (Fig. 3).



Fig. 20. KING SARDANAPALUS ON HORSEBACK.

The Book of Kings (2 Kings xviii. 14) narrates that King Sennacherib received tribute from King Hezekiah in the city of Lach-



Fig. 21. SARDANAPALUS HUNTING THE LION ON HORSEBACK.

ish in southern Palestine. Now, a relief from Sargon's palace in Nineveh shows the great Assyrian king enthroned before his tent in sight of a conquered city, and the accompanying inscription reads: "Sennacherib, the king of the universe, king of Ashur, seated himself upon his throne and inspected the booty of Lachish."



Fig. 22. HUNTING THE LION FROM A CHARIOT.



Fig. 23. SARDANAPALUS BEARDING THE LION.
(The king of Ashur measures his strength with the king of the desert.)

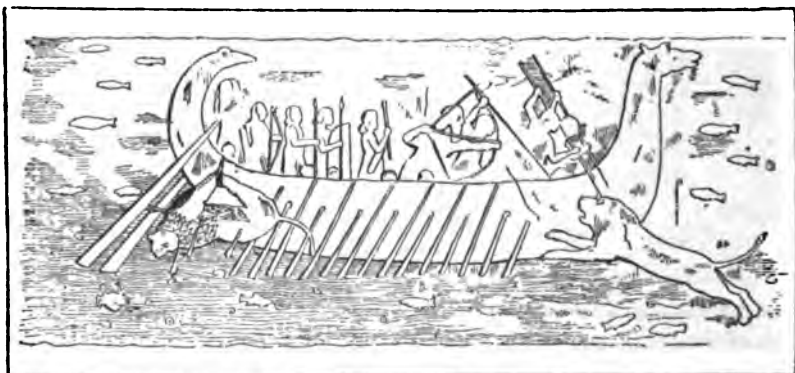


Fig. 24. HUNTING LIONS FROM A BOAT.

And again, Sennacherib's Babylonian rival Merodach-Baladan, who according to the Bible (2 Kings xx. 12) sent letters and a present

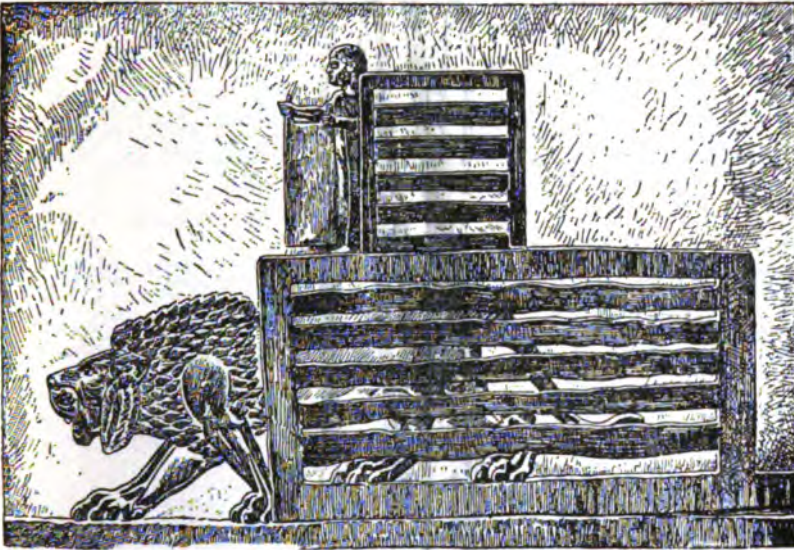


Fig. 25. CAGED LION SET FREE FOR THE CHASE.

to King Hezekiah is shown us in his own likeness by a magnificent diorite relief now in Berlin, where before the king is the lord-mayor of the city of Babylon, to whom the sovereign in his gra-



Fig. 26. SERVANTS CARRYING FRUIT, HARES, PARTRIDGES, SPITTED GRASSHOPPERS, AND ONIONS.

ciousness has seen fit to grant large tracts of land. Even the contemporary of Abraham, Amraphel, the great king Hammurabi, is

now represented by a likeness (Fig. 3). Thus, all the men that made the history of the world for 3000 long years, rise to life again,

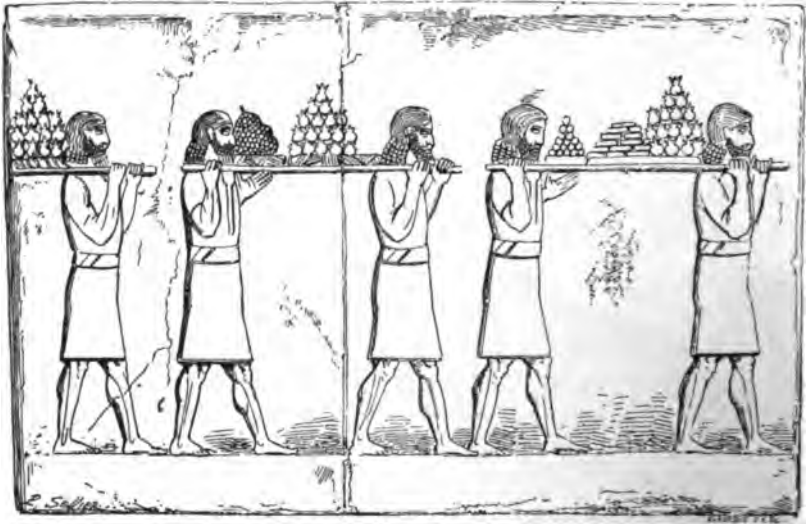


Fig. 27. SLAVES CARRYING FRUIT



Fig. 28. KING SARDANAPALUS AND HIS CONSORT.

and the most costly relics have been bequeathed to us by them. Here is the seal of King Darius, the son of Hystaspes (Fig. 6),

where the king is represented as hunting the lion under the sublime protection of Ahura Mazda, and at the side is the trilingual inscription: "I am Darius, the great king,"—a genuine treasure of the British Museum. Here is the state seal of one of the oldest known Babylonian rulers, Sargani-sar-ali, or Sargon I., who flourished in the third, or possibly the fourth, millennium before Christ (Fig. 7). This king, as the legend runs, knew not his own father, the latter having met his death prior to the birth of his son; and since the father's brother cared not for the widowed mother, great affliction attended the son's entrance into this world; we read:



Fig. 29. ATTENDANTS UPON KING SARDANAPALUS AND HIS CONSORT.

"In Azupiran, on the banks of the Euphrates, she bore me in concealment; she placed me in a box of reeds, sealed my door with pitch, and cast me upon the river, which conveyed me on its waves to Akki, the water-carrier. He took me up in the kindness of his heart, reared me as his own child, made me his gardener. Then Istar, the daughter of the King of Heaven, showed fondness for me and made me king over men."

And not only kings and generals, but also *entire nations*, have been brought to life again by these discoveries. If we compare the various types of nationality engraved on the monuments of As-

syrian art, and, taking for example two types that we know, here scrutinise the picture of a Jew of Lachish (Fig. 8), and here the



Fig. 30. CONSORT OF SARDANAPALUS.
(From a sketch by Colonel Billerbeck.)

representation of an Israelite of the time of Jehu, we are not likely to be wrong in our conclusion that also the other national types, for example the Elamite chieftain, the Arab horseman, and the Babylonian merchant, have been depicted and reproduced with the same fidelity and exactness. Particularly the Assyrians, who sixty years ago were supposed to have perished with all their history and civilisation in the great river of time, have been made known to us in the minutest details by excavations in Nineveh, and many passages in the prophetic books receive gorgeous illustration from our discoveries. Thus, Isaiah describes in the following eloquent language the Assyrian troops :

"Behold, they shall come with speed swiftly : None shall be weary nor stumble among them ; none shall slumber nor sleep ; neither shall the girdle of their loins

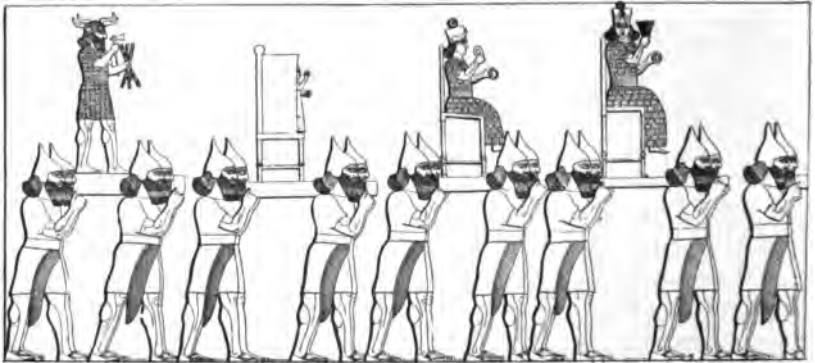


Fig. 31. PROCESSION OF IDOLS.

be loosed, nor the latchet of their shoes be broken : Whose arrows are sharp, and all their bows bent, their horses' hoofs shall be counted like flint, and their wheels like a whirlwind : Their roaring shall be like a lion, yea, they shall roar, and lay

hold of the prey, and shall carry it away safe, and none shall deliver it."—(Isaiah, v. 27-29.)

We can now see these same Assyrian soldiers arising from their camp in the early morn and dashing their battering-rams against the enemy's fortress (Fig. 10); and on other representations (Figs. 11 and 12) may be seen the unfortunate prisoners conducted the way from which there is no home-coming. We see also (Fig. 13) the Assyrian bowmen and spearmen casting their weapons toward the hostile fortress, and in another case Assyrian warriors storming an elevation defended by hostile archers. They pull themselves upward by the branches of the trees, or clamber to the summit with the help of staffs; whilst others drag in triumph the severed heads of their enemies into the valley.

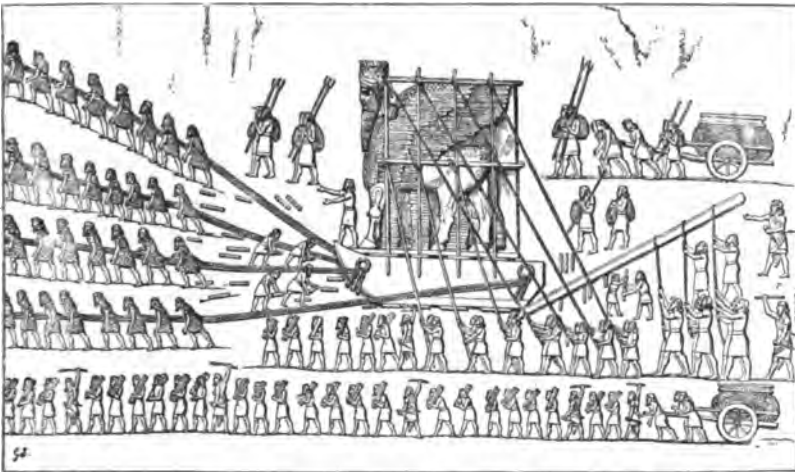


Fig. 32. TRANSPORTATION OF THE GIGANTIC STONE BULLS.

The military system of this first great warrior state of the world is shown forth to us in a vast number of similar representations on the bronze doors of Shalmanezar II. (Fig. 9) and on the alabaster reliefs of the palaces of Sargon and Sennacherib, with all details of armament and equipment and in all phases of development. (See, for example, Fig. 14.)

Again we have the portrait of an Assyrian officer of Sargon's general staff, the style of whose beard surpasses in artistic cut anything that has been attempted by modern officers. (See, for example, Fig. 15.) Here we see the officers of the royal household making their ceremonial entry (Fig. 17), or pages carrying the royal chariot (Fig. 18), or the royal throne (Fig. 19). Many beautiful

reliefs show us King Sardanapalus following the chase, especially in his favorite sport of hunting lions, of which a goodly number of magnificent specimens were constantly kept at hand in parks specially reserved for this purpose. (Figs. 20-25.)

When King Saul refused to suffer young David to go forth to do battle with the giant Goliath, David reminded him that he had been the shepherd of his father's flocks and that when a lion or a bear had come and taken a lamb from his flock, he had gone out after the beast and had smitten it and wrested from it its prey, and that if after that it had risen against him he had caught the lion by its beard and slain it. Precisely the same custom prevailed in Assyria; and the reliefs show King Sardanapalus doing battle



Fig. 33. PORTAL OF THE PALACE OF SARGON.

(Representing the nobility and simplicity of the Assyrian architecture.)

with the lion, not only on horseback (Fig. 21) and from his chariot (Fig. 22), but also in hand to hand combat (Fig. 23),—the King of Ashur measuring his strength with the king of the desert.

We catch glimpses of the preparations which were made for the royal meal (Figs. 26 and 27); we see the servants bringing hares, partridges, spitted grasshoppers, a plenitude of cakes and all manner of fruits, and carrying fresh branches for driving away the flies. We are even permitted to see on a bas-relief of the harem (Fig. 28) the king and queen quaffing costly wine in a leafy bower, the king reclining on an elevated divan, the queen seated opposite him on a chair, and clothed in rich garments. Eunuchs waft cooling breezes toward them from their fans, while soft music from dis-

tant sources steals gently upon their ears (Fig. 29). This is the only queen of whom we possess a picture. Her profile as it appeared years ago in a better state of preservation has been saved for posterity by a sketch made in 1867 by Lieutenant, afterwards Colonel, Billerbeck (Fig. 30). This consort of Sardanapalus was apparently a princess of Aryan blood with blond hair.

Many other things of interest in Assyrian antiquity have also been restored to our bodily vision. The prophet Isaiah (xlvi. 1) mentions the procession of the idols, and in Fig. 31 we actually

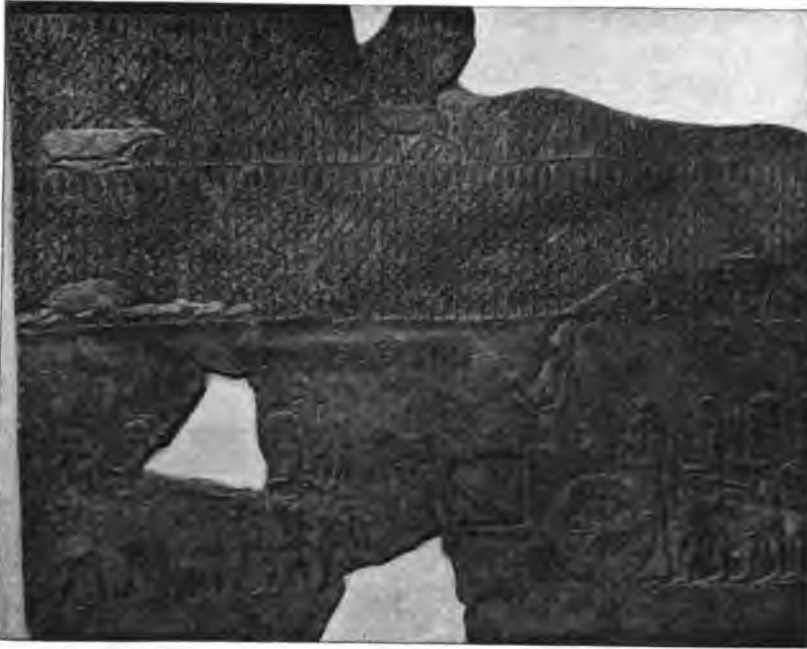


Fig 34. IDYLLIC SCENES FROM ASSYRIAN ART.

witness one,—with the goddesses in front, and behind, the god of the weather armed with hammer and bolts; Assyrian soldiers have been commanded to transport the idols.

We see in Fig. 32 how the statues of the gigantic stone bulls were transported, and catch in this way all manner of glimpses of the technical knowledge of the Assyrians. But our greatest and most constant delight is derived from the contemplation of their noble and simple architecture, as it is exhibited for example in the portal of Sargon's palace excavated by Botta (Fig. 33), or from

the magnificent representations of animals, replete with the most startling realism, which these "Dutchmen of antiquity" created. For example, the idyllic picture of the grazing antelopes (Fig. 134 ;

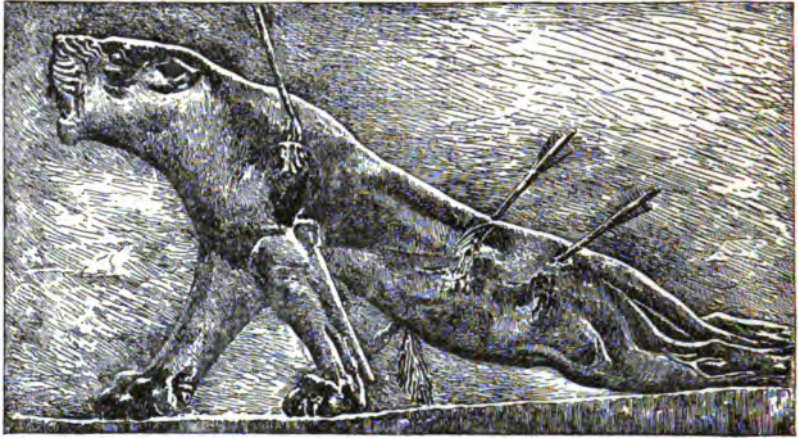


Fig. 35. THE DYING LIONESS OF NINEVEH.

also Fig. 34), or the dying lioness of Nineveh, so justly renowned in art (Fig. 35).

The excavations on Babylonian soil disclose in like manner



Fig. 36. HEAD OF A SUMERIAN PRELATE.

(A noble type from the dawn of human history.)

the art and culture of the mother country of Assyrian civilisation far back in the fourth millennium,—a period which the boldest flights of fancy would otherwise have scarcely dreamt of recovering.

We penetrate lastly here into the period of that primitive un-Indo-Germanic and likewise un-Semitic nation of Sumerians, who are the creators and originators of the great Babylonian civilisation, of those Sumerians for whom the number 60 and not 100 constituted the next higher unit after 10.

That Sumerian prelate whose magnificently preserved head (Fig. 36) the Berlin Museum shelters, may unquestionably be characterised as a noble representative of the human race in the twilight of history.

But gratifying and instructive as all these discoveries may be, they have yet, so to speak, the significance of details and externalities only and are easily surpassed in intrinsic scope and import by the facts that we shall adduce in the continuation of the present article which will appear in the May *Open Court*.

MISCELLANEOUS.

A NEW HISTORY OF MODERN EUROPE.

There are few signs more indicative of wholesome intellectual progress than the increased interest taken nowadays in the history of national development. The writing of history in the correct sense is a thing of very recent times, it may be said to be a product of the nineteenth century. What passed for history in the good old times was mainly the repetition of stories which might or might not be true. It is only in our days that scholars have been accorded facilities for critically examining state papers and testing in a proper manner the statements of contemporaries.

Herodotus and Tacitus passed for great historians in their time, and so they were in the sense that the man who sets out to tell a story must be able to make it readable, but no historian of to-day would be tolerated who would dare to take up into his pages the yarns which in the days of our fathers passed unchallenged.

It was a German, Niebuhr, who first taught Europe how to write history, and it is to another German, Alfred Stern, that we are indebted for the excellent history of modern Europe which is now appearing (from the press of Wilhelm Herz) in Berlin.¹

The value of critical historical research is particularly manifest in Alfred Stern's third volume, for it is the period when by the consent of the average reader Europe was outwardly uncommonly dead. The great Napoleonic era had closed, —war had apparently come to an end from sheer disgust of fighting, to say nothing of national poverty on all sides. The Holy Alliance had organised a secret trust for the purpose of suppressing every manifestation of public sentiment,—it was a period, throughout Europe no less than America, of internal improvement, of strictly minding one's own affairs.

It is a tame period to the reader who seeks in history only bloodshed and personal monstrosity,—but it is a most precious period to those of us who delight in tracing the growth of an institution or of a national sentiment through the many stages of its evolution. It is in those silent years after the Napoleonic wars that Germany laid the foundation of that Customs Union which has since developed into the Empire of 1871. It was in years of great national distress and poverty that the universities turned out professors and administrators who have enriched their country no less than the world in general by the copiousness of their knowledge.

¹ *Geschichte Europa's seit den Verträgen von 1815 bis zum Frankfurter Frieden von 1871. Erste Abtheilung. 1815-1830. Vol. III.*

It was in just those years of police dullness that liberty was born in the mind of the German public; while history was still, the people had time to think, and the revolution of 1848 followed naturally in the wake of a government which thought that benevolent despotism would reconcile a cultivated people for the loss of civil rights.

The history of Europe in the first half of the nineteenth century is one of the most suggestive studies we know of,—principally because questions of administration are so constantly discussed,—because the public mind of Europe is constantly debating the relative merits of republican and monarchical methods. Monarchy had triumphed in appearance,—but in reality its triumph had been purchased at the price of a substantial concession to the spirit of civil liberty.

Europe and America had little to say to each other in those days. In 1818 Spain sought to secure the aid of the Holy Alliance for the purpose of bringing pressure upon the Government of the United States, to prevent us from recognising the independence of the Spanish American republics, but in general Europe little dreamed that across the Atlantic was growing up a vast republican empire which was to serve not merely as a refuge to millions of oppressed subjects but to become in time a force with which every European power would have to reckon sooner or later, whether it wished to or not.

There is no romance like history, if you learn to read between the lines,—and therefore we render this tribute to Alfred Stern.

POULTNEY BIGELOW.

SOME RECENT FRENCH BOOKS ON PHILOSOPHY.

We have recently received from the large publishing house of Félix Alcan, of Paris, several books on philosophy which may contain materials of interest to our readers. The first is by M. Albert Leclère, professor of philosophy in the College of Blois, and is entitled: *Essai critique sur le droit d'affirmer*.¹ The book, which is of course not one intended for unlearned philosophical readers, is an attempt to establish a critical but dogmatic system of metaphysics on the basis of logic alone, by the use of the principle of identity. The author has modernised the doctrine of Parmenides and enumerated all the contradictions inherent in the idea of phenomena and in science considered as a knowledge of objective reality. He has drawn up in this manner a sketch of a system of metaphysics absolutely distinct from science,—a spiritualistic metaphysics which he contends yields directly a system of formal ethics and reconciles all the disagreements of philosophy, science, and religion.

The second work is by the well-known author, M. Félix Le Dantec, lecturer on embryology in the Sorbonne, Paris, and is entitled: *L'unité dans l'être vivant: Essai d'une biologie chimique*.² M. Le Dantec has made a considerable name for himself by his researches in chemical biology, which he has endeavored to raise to the rank of an exact science, eschewing all such theories as those of Weismann, which he claims are now discredited, and developing biological laws from the known facts of physics and chemistry. He remarks that if we were called upon to choose between two astronomies, one assuming the single but comprehensive principle of Newton and the other attributing to each planet the specific property of

¹ Pages, 263. Price, 5 francs.

² Pages, 412. Price, 7 francs 50.

performing the precise movements that it does perform, we should not hesitate to accept the first system of astronomy as the only one laying claim to the title of genuineness. Yet the world has accorded many favors to theories of the type of Weismannism, which, with its specific properties inherent in every single biological element, stands on the same plane with the above fictitious theory of astronomy. M. Le Dantec has certainly set himself a high scientific ideal in his labors, and if he can substantiate such contentions as that in which he declares that there actually exists a relation between chemical composition and specific form, his labors will have advanced the theory of biological explanation greatly.

Dr. Ermanno Giglio-Tos, of the University of Turin, in his *Les problèmes de la vie*,¹ a work written in French, has set himself a similar problem to that of M. Le Dantec, namely: the resolution of the problems of life from the point of view of the natural sciences. He claims that speculative biology has been tending fatally and exclusively toward teleology, and he is desirous of diverting it again into the paths of genuine positive science. He believes that the solution of the subtlest biological problems is in need of no hypothesis of special forces, but that the application of the general principles of the phenomena of inanimate matter are sufficient to explain the fundamental manifestations of life; he will have nothing to do with special biological hypotheses or with mysterious forces. The marvellous phenomena of life are, in his doctrine, the natural consequences only of chemical, physical, and mechanical phenomena, and their nature is far simpler than we imagine. Simple causes can produce phenomena of extraordinary complexity, and so it is with the phenomena of life. The developments of Dr. Giglio-Tos have taken a mathematical and physical form which will make a strange impression upon the majority of biologists. The present volume is but the first part of a general work of which the second will be devoted to ontogenesis and its problems.

The third volume from the press of M. Alcan, above referred to, is *Le problème de la vie*,² by M. Louis Bourdeau. The author has attempted to answer in this work questions concerning the nature of life, our whence and whither, the reasons for existence, etc., etc. He not long since published a work on the *Problem of Death*. His present effort is designed to be complementary to the discussions pursued in the former work. He believes that the import of these questions has been greatly slurred and obscured by metaphysics and religion, and that in the present age of critical reflection science alone should approach these problems. True religion, without any other revelation than the progress of positive knowledge, and any other miracle than the absence of miracle, is in duty bound to be scientific, just as true science is in duty bound to be genuinely religious.

Alcan has also issued a work by M. Renouvier, treating of the first principles of philosophy and entitled *The Dilemmas of Pure Metaphysics*. This book contains the gist of M. Renouvier's thought, which is the most important contribution that France has latterly made to pure metaphysics; but we shall forego entering into details here, as M. Arréat has exhaustively considered M. Renouvier's system in the present number of *The Monist*. (Paris: F. Alcan. Pp. 288. Price, 5 francs.)

Dr. M. V. Bernies is a Catholic scholar of learning and ability, and in his book, *Spiritualité et immortalité*,³ he has treated the problems of death and immortality with much fervor and elegance of literary form. He has also given his

¹ Turin: Chez l'Auteur-Palais Carignano. Pages, viii, 286. Price, 10 francs.

² Pages, xi, 372. Price, 7 francs 50.

³ Paris: Librairie B. Blond. 1901. Pages, vii, 489. Price, 5 francs.

labors a scientific coloring, and has consulted and critically discussed the psychological and metaphysical literature of our day bearing on his topic. He is especially concerned with the metaphysical proof of immortality from spirituality, and believes that in the belief in life eternal we have not an affair of sentiment, but one that admits of sound metaphysical demonstration. He has accordingly proceeded psychologically and philosophically to establish that proof. The manifestations of our intellectual and voluntary activity are spiritual; therefore, the ultimate source of these operations is likewise spiritual; these are the phenomena, and consequently they presuppose a substance; whence follows the reality of a spiritual substance; of an indestructible and necessarily immortal self. His argument is founded upon the psychological study of the nature of human thought and the ego. Teleology is invoked only as the complement of the metaphysical proof. μ .

THE DESTRUCTION OF ANCIENT ROME.

At the southern extremity of the famed Palatine hill in Rome may still be seen the remains of the magnificent palace of the Emperor Septimius Severus towering in reminiscence of its ancient grandeur some 160 feet above the level of the modern streets. By measurements made to-day and compared with the descriptions and drawings of those who saw the Palatine in a better state of preservation, it has been estimated by archæologists that the original palace was 490 feet long, 390 feet wide, and 160 feet high. To-day it has almost completely disappeared, and only a few pieces of crumbling wall are left here and there against the cliff to tell the tale. "Who broke up and removed, bit by bit, that mountain of masonry? Who overthrew the giant? Was it age, the elements, the hand of barbarians, or some other irresistible force the action of which has escaped observation?" Who were, in fact, the destroyers of Ancient Rome?

Such is the fascinating question that Dr. Rodolfo Lanciani has asked in his work *The Destruction of Ancient Rome*,¹ and it is a question that he has answered in so interesting a manner that few who take up his book will lay it down without thorough perusal.

Let us endeavor to grasp the meaning of what the destruction and disappearance of the monuments of ancient Rome meant. The Circus Maximus was so large that it is said to have been capable of accommodating 485,000 spectators, and when Trajan gave up to the people his own imperial balcony its space was increased by 5,000 seats. Even the lowest and chariest limit assigned by archæologists to the seating capacity of the Circus is 150,000 spectators, and taking this lowest limit as our standard and allowing to each spectator an average space of only 20 inches, there must have been in the Circus Maximus more than 250,000 running feet of stone and marble benches. Yet, "not a fragment has come down to us, and we are left in complete ignorance as to the way in which so great a mass of solid masonry has disappeared."

Near the Pantheon of Agrippa in ancient Rome, there was once a famous colonnade; it disappeared; its site was unknown until 1891, when a marble capital of so great mass was discovered that the excavators were obliged to abandon it where it lay, on account of the danger of undermining the neighboring houses. Four of these capitals were discovered belonging to a colonnade shown to be more than 300

¹ *The Destruction of Ancient Rome*. By Dr. Rodolfo Lanciani, Professor of Ancient Topography in the University of Rome. New York: The Macmillan Co. Pages, xv, 279. Price, \$1.50.

feet long; and each capital 6 feet high and 14 feet in circumference! So also the great marble and stone theaters of Balbus and Pompey, the great stadia and odea, with their enormous seating capacities, have all disappeared, leaving not a rack behind. Of the great villa of the Emperor Gordianus, two and one-half miles



SUBSTRUCTURES OF THE PALACE OF THE ROMAN EMPEROR SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS (146-211 A. D.).

(From Lanciani's *Destruction of Ancient Rome*.)

from Rome, with its colonnade of 200 columns, its basilicas, its imperial palace and gigantic baths, one bit of isolated ruin alone stands to mark the wilderness in which it is situated.

Dr. Lanciani grants that natural agencies have contributed their share to the

demolition of the ancient buildings, but of all the explanations proposed, all of which contain some elements of truth, he discards at the very outset the current view that the disappearance of the Roman monuments was due to the barbarians,—"as if the barbarians in their meteoric inroads," he says, "could have amused themselves by pulverising the 250,000 feet of stone or marble seats in the Circus, for example, or the massive structure of the villa of the Gordiani!" The barbarians carried off only such articles of value as could be easily removed, and "Rome long remained rich enough to satisfy their greed." During the sack of 410 A. D., Alaric and his horde of Goths remained in the city only three days, and restricted their attention exclusively to the most aristocratic quarter of the city,—the Aventine with its 130 palaces. The sack of Rome by Genseric and the Vandals in 455 A. D. was methodically and exquisitely conducted and on plans comparable almost to the recent European excursion into China, but it too was devoted largely to portable articles, and lasted only 14 days. Later, when the great wealth of portable articles had become exhausted, and the houses of the living were stripped of their valuables, the abodes of the dead, the Catacombs of the Christians, and the rich mausoleums of the emperors were attacked; *but it is known from historical evidence that the staunch buildings of the republic and the empire were not essentially damaged.*

In the sack of 455 A. D., "the temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus could still be successfully plundered of moveable objects, and in 536 A. D. the garrison of the mole of Hadrian was still able to check an assault of the Goths by throwing down upon their heads the masterpieces of Greek art which still adorned the mausoleum." At the end of the sixth century, Procopius relates that many statues of Phidias and Lysippus could still be seen in Rome. In 630 A. D., Pope Honorius I. could still remove the valuable gilt-bronze tiles from the roof of the temple of Venus and Rome, for the adornment of the roof of St. Peters, which proves that even at that late time the pagan temple in question was still intact. In 663 A. D., when Rome was visited for the last time by an emperor, and that a Christian emperor, Constans, many valuable bronze statues and the bronze tiles of the Pantheon were removed.

As Dr. Lanciani remarks, it is difficult for us "to form a conception of the magnificence of Rome even in its decline," or of the tremendous tenacity with which its monumental edifices resisted the storms and ravages that passed over it. Twenty-seven years after the Palatine had ceased to be the site of the imperial government, and the city had received its death-blow by the transference of the court to Byzantium,—long, long after its moral and political strength had departed,—the visiting Eastern emperor, Constantius II., could be struck dumb with amazement at its architectural grandeur. Quite right, therefore, is Dr. Lanciani in his contention that, *so far as the barbarians are concerned, their part in the destruction of Rome is hardly worth considering* compared with the guilt of others, and by these "others" Dr. Lanciani means the Romans themselves, of the Imperial, Byzantine, Mediæval, and Renaissance periods.

Rome has had a remarkable architectural history. It was rebuilt several times during the Republic and the Empire, both for hygienic, political, and esthetic reasons. Vast conflagrations swept over it, sometimes much to its improvement. It has been with some justice contended that the Emperor Nero did not cause the great conflagration to be started out of sheer wickedness, but from a desire to carry out certain plans of improvement which were opposed by the priests and the owners of private property. The level of the city was many times raised, and the *débris*

of the ancient houses thus destroyed were scattered and *left where they had been destroyed*. This was especially so when the enormous public baths of the empire were built, and when the older buildings were simply buried. And just as we use the materials of our old houses to build our new ones, not thinking of the æsthetic loss involved in the utilisation of old boards and brick, so also did the Romans,—only with this exception, that their materials were different.



THE COLUMN OF PHOCAS IN THE FORUM (608 A. D.). REMAINS OF THE TEMPLE OF SATURN IN THE BACKGROUND TO THE RIGHT.¹

The Roman practice of building walls with architectural marbles, blocks containing inscriptions, statues, and other fine materials, goes as far back as the reign

¹ From Lanciani's *Destruction of Ancient Rome*. The date of the erection of this monument marks the end of the ancient period and the beginning of the Middle Ages. The column, judging from its style, could not have been made at this period and hence must have been removed from a classic edifice or have been an old monument bearing another name.

of Septimius Severus (193-211 A. D.). One building in the time of Diocletian and Constantine has been discovered in which the walls below the surface were built of statues and miscellaneous fragments of marble, including life-sized or semi-colossal figures. Under Constantine, the dismantling of earlier buildings for the sake of their materials became a common practice, and the triumphal arch of Constantine himself affords a striking example of the way in which old structures were pillaged



1



2



3



4

BRONZE HEADS FOUND IN 1880 UNDER THE ENGLISH CHURCH, VIA DEL BABUINO.

1. Augustus; 2. Nero; 3, 4. Portrait head of the first century, name unknown.

(From Lanciani's *Destruction of Ancient Rome*.)

to erect new ones. The architects of Christian buildings especially had recourse to pagan sources for their materials. So methodical did this vicious practice become that although when the great imperial "Department of Marbles" (*La Marmarata*) suspended operation in the beginning of the fourth century, there was a

sufficient quantity of unused blocks of marble on the wharves of the Tiber to allow us moderns to draw upon it uninterruptedly since the twelfth century and still not exhaust its wealth,—nevertheless the Romans of later decades preferred to turn to the monuments, structures, and statues of the pagan period for materials for their buildings. *It was far less troublesome "to rob the splendid monuments of the Republic and early Empire of their ornaments already carved, and to transfer these to their own clumsy structures, than to work anew the materials stored at La Marmorata."*

In the latter part of the fourth century, according to Libanius, presents were made of a temple, "as one might give away a dog or a horse." When the craze for establishing places of Christian worship was at its height, not only civil but also pagan religious edifices were converted. "After 609 almost every available building, whether secular or sacred, was made into a church or chapel, until the places of worship seemed to outnumber the houses."

"The destruction of marble statuary may well be illustrated by the fate of the *pretiosissima deorum simulacra*, 'most precious images of the gods,' placed by Augustus in the compital shrines at the crossings of the main thoroughfares of the city, in the years 10-7 B.C. The number of these shrines—about two hundred in the time of Augustus—had been increased to two hundred and sixty-five in 73 A.D., and to three hundred and twenty-four at the beginning of the fourth century. They offered an almost complete chronological series of works of Greek plastic art to the appreciation of the citizens of Rome. What has become of all these 'most precious images'? If we consider that only one plinth and four pedestals of that incomparable series have come down to us, we cannot doubt that the three hundred and twenty-four 'most precious images' of Greek workmanship belonging to the compital shrines shared the same fate as those from the temples,—they were broken to pieces, and the pieces thrown into the lime-kiln, or built into the walls of new buildings, as if they were the cheapest rubble."

Foundation walls built up in part of statues and busts have been found by the score,—statues of Venus, busts of the Cæsars, bas-reliefs of the labors of Hercules, groups of the style of the Laocoon. "A replica of the Laocoon is known to be buried in the substructures of the church of S. Pudentiana, and a fine statue of colossal size under S. Marcello." One great Greek studio at Rome, which had been destroyed by fire or other violence of men, supplied immense stores for the masons of the neighborhood. The temple of Isis supplied marbles and stone to the whole neighborhood for centuries. As an instance of the destruction and dispersion of statuary, it need only be mentioned that the torso of the Farnese Hercules was found in the Baths of Caracalla, the head at the bottom of the well in the Trastevere and the legs at the Bovillæ,—ten miles from Rome. The greatest sport seems to have been derived from knocking off the noses, heads, and arms of statues. Most of the loose heads are rounded and smooth, having been apparently used by street idlers to play the popular game of *bocce*,—the early Mediæval Italian game of "duck on the rock." Some of the heads have a hook or ring in the crown, and were used as weights.

One of the most pitiable chapters of the destruction of ancient Rome is the devastation and desertion of the Campagna, which has turned one of the most magnificent and fertile plains of antiquity into an unhealthful and dangerous wilderness. But strange to say, this was not the work of the barbarians, as can be clearly proved. The Campagna consists of three strata, the uppermost being a vegetable soil, the middle being made up of building materials, the ruins of th-

ancient villas and farmhouses, and the lowest, lying directly over the marble or mosaic floor, is composed almost exclusively of *roof tiles* or *roofing materials*. The inference from this is that whenever the villas perished, or from whatever cause, the first part to fall in was the roof, the remains of which lie upon the pavement. The walls must have fallen decades, if not centuries, later, because there is a thin layer of vegetable soil between the remains of the roof and those of the walls. And now comes the most important fact of all: When the roofs fell, whatever the cause of their falling one thing is certain, that *the marble statues adorning the villas were still in their regular position, and in some cases still standing on their pedestals*. The exquisite carved fountains, the herms at the crossings of the garden avenues, "remained likewise uninjured, and so they would have remained to the present day had it not been for the lime-burners of the early Renaissance, and for the contractors for the maintenance of the highroads, who in this respect have caused incalculable damage; *more works of art have been destroyed in the last five centuries than in all the centuries of barbarian plundering*. . . . When the statues fell, or were thrown from their pedestals, the floor of the villa was already covered with over three feet of *débris*. The statues therefore were still standing after the first barbarian invasions. Once for all, then, we may absolve the barbarians from the blame of a useless destruction or mutilation of classic statuary."

The marble-cutters and the lime-burners were among the greatest sinners. They have preyed for centuries on the monuments of ancient Rome, the former conducting an interprovincial and international traffic in marbles, the latter consigning everything to the kilns,—temples, statues, tombs, causeways, viaducts, and what not. Rome was drawn upon for the construction of many of the greatest cathedrals of Europe, and its own churches literally bristle with the hacked and reshaped remains of antiquity.

Following the degenerate Papal rule of 872–1085 A. D., and the merciless pillage of the Normans and Saracens in 1084 A. D., came the frightful sacking of Rome in 1527 by Charles the Bourbon, comparable only to that of the Gauls in 390 B. C. "One of the familiar lullabies sung to-day over the cradles of restless children begins with the words: '*Fatti la ninna, e passa via Barbone!*' 'Go to sleep, Barbone is gone,' the name Barbone, 'the man with the long beard,' having usurped that of the hated conqueror. So persistent is the memory of those days of terror!"

But the story is too long a one to tell in detail. And it is not our purpose to loot Dr. Lanciani's book of all its treasures, as his beloved city has been looted. It only remains to be said that our modern times have also gravely sinned. Dr. Lanciani says:

"If we could only wrest the secret of their origin from the marbles, stones, and bricks with which our palaces, our houses, and our churches were built and decorated in the period of the Renaissance, if the marble-dust with which the ceilings and the walls were plastered, and their stucco ornamentation modelled, by the cinquecento artists, could be again moulded into the statues and bas-relief from which it was obtained, our knowledge of the ancient City and of its treasures of art would be wonderfully enhanced. We cannot follow the record of this practice without a feeling of melancholy as we reflect upon the irreparable loss to culture and progress which the modern world has experienced in the disappearance of so many masterpieces in which were embodied the highest ideals of antiquity. . . . When we think of the wealth of marbles displayed in the public and private

buildings of Rome, and at the same time consider that every cubic foot has been obtained from the monuments of the ancient City, we gain a new insight into the magnitude of the building operations of the ancient Romans. We must remember, too, that the greater part of the ancient marbles used by modern architects and marble-workers was found either shapeless or in a form unsuited to the use for which they were needed, so that at least from a third to a half of the gross cubic contents has been lost."

T. J. McCORMACK.

A HISTORY OF THE ORIENT AND GREECE.

Modern American methods of text-book-making leave little to be desired from the point of view of mechanical aids and adornment, and there would appear to be no excuse if genuine educational results corresponding to the expense and pains spent upon the external features of these books should not be obtained from their employment. Dr. George Willis Botsford's new *History of the Orient and Greece*¹ is a book of this type, and if the student does not carry away from its perusal a thorough appreciation of the significance of Greek history and thought, it is certainly not the fault of the "helps" which both the author and the publisher have furnished, but must inhere in some deeper-lying defect. Nor could failure in this regard be laid to the doors of the author, who has brought a wealth of learning, insight and philosophic grasp to his work, albeit slightly strained and hampered in the effort to attain the requisite High School standard of simplicity.

The book is adorned with half-tone pictures of representative specimens of Greek and Oriental architecture, pieces of statuary, mausoleums, inscriptions, etc., and with photographs of modern sites of ancient towns and historical localities, of Greek scenery, etc. The pages are equipped with marginal annotations, with references to the Greek authors, dates, pronunciations of names, etc. At the end of each chapter the ancient sources are given and modern authorities cited; there is a wealth of ancient and modern literature indicated here that cannot fail to be inspiring. At the close of the book the events of the history are arranged in chronological order, and the bibliography of a small library on Greek history is given. The maps are a notable feature of the work, and considering their size are a distinct contribution to the pedagogical literature on this subject. For example, one gives the sites of the remains of the Mycenaean age, the suggested area of the Mycenaean civilisation and the centers where this civilisation was highest; another gives a picture of Greece at the dawn of history, showing the area occupied by tribes, the area occupied by cities, the sphere of the political leagues, the great states, the Delian league, the Asiatic city leagues, etc.; and another shows the Greek world in its full extent prior to the conquests of Alexander. The political maps are all good, and contribute greatly to the enlargement of the student's historical vision.

"The ancient Greeks," says Dr. Botsford, and all agree with him, "were the most gifted race the world has known,—a people with whose achievements in government and law, in literature, art, and science, every intelligent person ought to be acquainted. Not only is the story of Greece in itself interesting and attractive,

¹ *A History of the Orient and Greece*. By George Willis Botsford, Ph. D., Instructor in the History of Greece and Rome in Harvard University. With Illustrations and Maps. New York: The Macmillan Co. 1901. Pages, lxxv, 383. Price, \$1.20.

but the thoughts and deeds of her great men are treasures preserved in history for the enrichment of our own lives." Dr. Botsford has prepared the present book as an aid to the study of this important subject, and has striven to make it so fascinating that the young student will be impelled to pursue his inquiries and reading much farther. To render the position of Greek material and spiritual achievement in the history of the world more intelligible, he has prefixed to his narrative a rapid survey of the histories of Egypt, Assyria, the Medes, the Persians, the Phœnicians, and the Hebrews. This introduction, though brief, is competent and serviceable.

μκκκ.

PROFESSOR GUNKEL'S LEGENDS OF GENESIS.

To-night I have finished reading Gunkel's *Genesis*.¹

What a thoroughly wise and entertaining book; and what fine, glorious years are these, when ignorance and mystery are driven back to their dungeons; and brave scholars, with courage, with no malice, with kindly eyes and warm hearts come to us, with songs of praise on their lips, and say to us: "My brother, this is the truth that shall make you free. Read it, love it, and pass on the glad tidings to all who come after us."

I looked through the index. A perfect joy. Reveals the whole book. A reader with a memory could pass an examination long after the perusal of the book by glancing through this illuminating index. Perhaps it should contain references to the symbols "P," "J," and "E" that mean so much to the novice.

It is often said that the German scholar cares more for thought than style and is a hard man to translate. I know nothing of Gunkel's German, but this English is clarity itself. Great credit is due to the author or the translator.

D. W. WILDER.

HIAWATHA, KANSAS.

ITALIAN CHARACTERS.

Our esteemed contributor, the Countess Evelyn Martinengo Cesaresco, a descendant of an aristocratic English family and by marriage an Italian countess, here offers to the English-speaking world a book entitled *Italian Characters*,² which may fairly be called a tribute to her adopted country. It contains the life history of eleven Italian heroes who played important parts or distinguished themselves somehow through their patriotism and loyalty to the new ideal of a united Italy in the epoch of its unification and political resurrection. The authoress did not select those men who were the historical leaders, Victor Emanuel, Garibaldi, Cavour, Crispi, but stars of second magnitude, victims of the old misgovernment, heroes of endurance, who, however, considering the intrinsic worth of virtue, are not less praiseworthy and admirable,—Castromediano, Ricasoli, Settembrini, Giuseppe Martinengo, Manin, the Poerios, Azeglio, Mameli, Ugo Bassi, Nino Bixio, and the Cairolis.

¹ *The Legends of Genesis*. By Dr. Hermann Gunkel, Professor of Old Testament Theology in the University of Berlin. Translated from the German by W. H. Carruth, Professor in the University of Kansas. Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Co. 1901. Pages, 164. Cloth, \$1.00 net (4s. 6d. net).

² The book has appeared in its third Italian edition. The English original is published by T. Fisher Unwin, London, second edition, 1901.

The authoress says in the preface: "My object has been to show the originals of my sketches, not classically attired on far-away pinnacles, but in their habit as they lived; to make them known as friends and familiars of the household. Some of them rendered help to their country which was rather essential than secondary; others only gave it the contribution of a high example. But it is well to remember that Italy was not made by two or three individuals of eminent talent; Italy came into being as a nation because in every province, in every city, there were Italians who preferred the wormwood of martyrdom to the bread of servitude."

She concludes: "My book, whatever are its shortcomings, was written *come amore spira*: a love not new, that will last while I live." P. C.

UPLIFT THE MASSES.

AN ANSWER TO THE QUESTION, "HOW WOULD YOU UPLIFT THE MASSES?"

I would uplift the masses to a life
Of greater happiness, by giving them
Better protection by the Law's strong hand,
Speedier justice when they suffer wrong,
Help in misfortune, sorrow, and distress;
More of the precious knowledge that is power;
More of the training that fits brain and hand
To master Life's hard tasks and conquer peace.

And crowning all, I would uplift the mass
Of the world's toilers, by the mighty power
Of Faith and Duty realised in Deeds
That make the lowliest toilers heroes true,
As those whose fame-wreathed foreheads touch the stars.

CHARLES CARROLL BONNEY.

A NEW CATECHISM.¹

Mr. Mangasarian is the speaker of the Independent Religious Society of Chicago, and whatever flaws we may find in the details of his work we must sympathise with his radicalism and courage. The spirit of the book is characterised in the motto, which reads as follows: "We baptise the twentieth century in the name of Peace, Liberty, and Progress! We christen her—the People's Century. We ask of the new century a Religion without superstition; Politics without war; Science and the arts without materialism; and Wealth without misery or wrong!" Mr. Mangasarian quotes from Locke the following sentiment: "How a rational man that should inquire and know for himself can content himself with a faith or belief taken upon trust, or with such a servile submission of his understanding as to admit all and nothing else but what fashion makes passable among men, is to me astonishing."

The publication of the book is justified in the preface by the statement that

¹ *A New Catechism*. By M. M. Mangasarian, Lecturer of the Independent Religious Society of Chicago. Published for the Independent Religious Society of Chicago by The Open Court Publishing Co. 1902. Pages, 188. Price, cloth, 75 cents. Paper, 50 cents.

"the old Catechisms which were imposed upon us in our youth—when our intelligence could not defend itself against them—no longer command our respect.

"They have become mildewed with neglect. The times in which they were conceived and composed are dead—quite dead!

"A New Catechism to express the thoughts of men and woman and children living in these new times is needed," and adds the author: "This is a modest effort in that direction."

To characterise the work, we point out a few passages at random, which may at the same time show in what respect the new *Catechism* needs amendment:

"Q. What is man?—A. A rational animal.—Q. How old is man?—A. Hundreds of thousands of years old.—Q. Who were his ancestors?—A. The mammalia."

We agree perfectly with the idea which Mr. Mangasarian means to convey, but it goes without saying that while man *is* a mammal, there are many mammalia which are not man's ancestors, and there are other creatures among the lower classes which are. The statement lacks precision.

"Q. What is Christian Science?

"A. The belief that a certain New England woman has recently received a special revelation from God."

While the *Catechism* is devoted more than is necessary to polemics, by stating why the Christian and Jewish faiths are unacceptable, it is by no means void of positive ideals, and with a reference to Giordano Bruno and De Tocqueville Mr. Mangasarian concludes his new *Catechism* as follows:

"Q. What, then, is the chief end of man?

"A. To seek the supreme wisdom by the reason, and practise the sovereign good by the will, and for the good of humanity."

It is not easy to write a catechism, for questions that should be simple need a good deal of maturation. That the present work answers to a great want in the circles for which it is written is best proved by the fact that within a few weeks after its appearance the book reached its second edition.

We hope that the *Catechism* will be more and more adapted to the needs of the Independent Religious Society, and that future editions will gradually remove the shortcomings of the first and second.

P. C.

THE SHAPE OF THE CROSS OF JESUS.

Crosses (viz., the martyr-instruments) were of all conceivable shapes,¹ but mostly simple poles or stakes. As a matter of fact all the Greek words for cross (σταυρός, σκόλοψ, σκινδάλωμα) mean pole or stake (viz., simple beams), and the New Testament uses also the word "wood," ξύλον, obviously translating the Hebrew term for cross (עץ) which means "tree" or "wood." There is no positive evidence in the New Testament as to the shape of Christ's cross and almost all the Christian authors from the second century down to the present time in forming their opinion are swayed by mystic or dogmatical considerations.

Tertullian regards belief in any other form of the cross (save that of two intersecting lines) as heretical and deems it essential that Christ should have been cru-

¹ Josephus's description (in *Ant.*, XIII., 14, 2; *Bell. Jud.*, IX., 2 ff., V., 11, 1) will be remembered: further the passages in Seneca, *Consolations*, 20; Plautus, *Mostell.*, I., 1, 34, and II., 1, 13; Herodotus on Polycrates, III., 115, and on Persian crucifixions, III., 159; cf. also VII., 194, and IX., 112; Horace, *Epist.*, I., 16, 48; Propertius, III., 21, 37.

cified in such an extraordinary way (*tam insigniter*).¹ The symbolism of the figure of intersecting lines is as important to him as the fact of Christ's sacrificial death.

Lipsius, the first learned author who collected all references to the cross, exclaimed :

"There are all kinds of crosses, but on which form he has died who by his death was our life, I do not mean to question, so as to avoid even the semblance of my doubting or disputing the grave men versed in sacred things. I believe in the last one [viz., the *crux immissa*], which with its four ends comprises the entire world, not without mystery, because the Saviour was suspended dying for the whole world."²

Damascenus³ declares in favor of the four-armed cross because "the four extremities are joined in their center and contain the height, the depth, the length, and the breadth, or the whole visible and invisible creation."

It would lead us too far to adduce other arguments, for they are worthless and do not deserve consideration.

In contradiction to the traditional belief, the Rev. Herman Fulda⁴ claims that there is no reason to doubt that Christ died on the simple cross; but he assumes that when Christ is said to have borne his cross it was the pole of the cross, not the transverse beam.

It is well known (and Mr. Fulda himself grants it) that Roman slaves when doomed to die on the cross had their arms tied to the transverse beam (*patibulum*) and this beam (or *patibulum*) is itself called the cross.

In spite of the insufficiency of the arguments offered by the Church-fathers and mystics in favor of the four-armed cross, and in spite of Fulda's scholarly defence of the simple pole as the probable cross of Calvary, we believe that Jesus died on a cross like that assumed by tradition, viz., a Latin cross, so-called, a pole traversed by a *patibulum*.

When Christ is reported as having borne his cross, we must assume that his arms were tied to the *patibulum* after the Roman manner in execution. Being exhausted from a sleepless night and lack of food, Christ broke down under the burden, and a man passing by, Simeon of Cyrene, was pressed into service to carry the beam (the *patibulum* or *crux*) to the place of execution.

The main pole of the cross, which must have been a stout beam of more than twelve feet in length, must have been too heavy to be carried to the place of execution by one man, unless he were an athlete in training, and it seems that Jesus who was broken down by fatigue and hunger would have been unable to lift it, let alone to bear it, even though it was only part of the way. We have no positive informa-

¹ Lipsius, *De Cruce*, Ch. X., p. 22.

² Tertullian, *Adv. Marc.*, 3, 19.

³ *De Orth.*, libr. IV., Ch. XII.

⁴ *Das Kreuz und die Kreuzigung*, § 36, pp. 117 ff. This book is a very scholarly investigation written by a Protestant clergyman. Fulda having presented his reasons in favor of a simple stake adds (pp. 223-224): "Very early the Church began to make the death of Jesus the main work of its life [so Paul in Tim. ii. 8; Rom. viii. 34] and called the Gospel the word of the cross. Thus the symbolisation of the faith through the cross was suggested, and it cannot be denied that the customary figure of the cross, more complex and still simple, lends itself better for the purpose than the mere pole. . . . Thus I would not exchange the cross of the Church for the historically true cross, but I do not agree with Lipsius's saying: 'What shall become of us Christians if we are obliged to think of the figure of the cross under another form than the holy sign of the cross and had we to make it otherwise with our hands [viz., in crossing ourselves]?' Indeed, there is no science that so easily combines with the grandest subjects a clinging to the unessential and false as does theology."

tion that the main pole was ever carried to the place of execution, but there are scattered indications that it was erected before the arrival of the victim who was hoisted up on the patibulum and thus attached to it.

Accordingly we believe that Jesus carried the patibulum, not the whole cross, and even that a beam of about five feet proved too heavy for him. If, however, in the crucifixion of Jesus the patibulum was used, it is obvious that his cross must have had the shape of the Latin cross, so called.

While we dissent from Mr. Fulda on the question of the shape of the cross, we are inclined to side with him as to the nailing of the hands, and believe that according to the oldest Church tradition which prevailed among the Christians of the second generation who were still in connection with personal disciples of Jesus, the idea prevailed that the hands alone, and not the feet, had been nailed to the cross; for in John, chap. xx. 25, Thomas the doubter says: "Except I shall see in his hands the print of the nails, and put my finger into the print of the nails, and thrust my hand into his side, I will not believe." No mention is made of the print of the nails in the feet, neither in verse 25 nor 27 where we read that Jesus makes Thomas thrust his hands into his wounds.¹ Luke (xxiv. 39), belonging to a later age, represents the later belief according to which both hands and feet were pierced.

Further it is more than likely that ropes were used for tying Jesus to the cross, for when prophesying to Peter the same death (in John xxi. 18) Jesus says: "When thou wast young, thou girdest thyself, and walkest whither thou wouldest: but when thou shalt be old, thou shalt stretch forth thy hands, and another shall gird thee, and carry thee whither thou wouldest not."

Plautus in his witty comedy *Miles Gloriosus* (II., 4) gives a humorous description of a slave frightened by the mere idea of the several details of his prospective crucifixion. He is told: "I believe you will have to walk out of the city-gate with outstretched arms when you carry the patibulum."² And when the slave shows his horror at the thought of carrying the heavy beam, he is comforted by the prospect that thereafter the patibulum will carry him. Forcellini (s. v., patibulum) cites as a fragment from Plautus the passage: "With the patibulum I shall be led through the town and then be attached to the cross."³ P. C.

THE CRUCIFIXION OF DOGS IN ANCIENT ROME.

Pliny has preserved a strange report that in Rome dogs were annually crucified; while on the same day geese were carried around in a triumphal procession through the streets of the city. The latter were kept on the Capitol and fed from public funds as sacred birds, being called the "brothers of the sun and the cousins of the moon." The story is referred to by Cicero⁴ and also by the grammarian Servius.⁵ This strange custom is generally explained by the story of the siege of the Capitol by the Gauls, according to which the barbarians climbed the rock in

¹ Fulda in reply to the objection of one of his critics that æsthetical reasons and respect for social etiquette prevented the Gospel writer from mentioning the feet, says: "That would have been the most lamentable prudery . . ." Moreover, consider the symbolic act of Jesus washing the feet of the disciples.

² *Credo tibi esse eundem extra portam dispassis manibus, patibulum quum habebis.*

³ *Patibulatus ferar per urbem, deinde affigat cruci.*

⁴ *Pro Rosc.* Gloss. 20.

⁵ *Af. Virg. Aen.* viii., 655.

the night, one of them just scaling the wall; and that they would have occupied the Capitol had not the sacred geese, by their cackling, awakened Manlius who rushed to the endangered spot and threw the enemy over the precipice. The dogs, having proved poor guardians, were henceforward doomed to the punishment of crucifixion, while a special festival was celebrated in honor of the geese.

It is more than probable that the story was invented to explain the custom, and that the custom is older than the story; for we are told that the sacred geese were fed on the Capitol because of their sacredness, and in spite of the rations being short while the Capitol was besieged. The Romans might have been tempted to kill the geese and eat them, but being naturally of a pious disposition they did not dare to kill the sacred birds, and their piety was rewarded by the vigilance of the geese. Even according to the legend the geese were regarded sacred before they saved Rome; and it is probable that dogs were crucified annually for other reasons.

We may safely assume that the crucifixion of dogs was simply the substitution of an animal sacrifice for a human sacrifice to the sun-god, such as was made among many primitive peoples in the age of savage institutions; and that this ritual act was combined with a procession of the geese as solar birds and emblems of immortality.

Geese represent the transmigration of the sun and the translation of the soul to other shores.

P. C.

A BUDDHIST CONVERT.

Allan McGregor was born in London in 1872, the son of a civil engineer. Having lost both his parents, his father in infancy, his mother when a boy of eleven years, he was educated at Bath, and the Colonial College at Hollesley Bay, Suffolk, England. He studied chemistry under Dr. Bernard Dyer, a prominent analyst of London, and also experimented to some extent with electricity. Being obliged to go to a southern climate on account of his health, he went to Ceylon and there became greatly interested in Buddhism. He met the prince-priest, the Rev. Jinavaravamsa, brother of the King of Siam, who had renounced the world to lead the life of a Buddhist monk. Allan McGregor lived for a time in a Buddhist temple in the Matara district, called Devagiri Vihara, under the tuition of Revata Thero, studying the Buddhist scriptures in the original Pāli. On the eighth of December, he entered the Sangha as a Buddhist Bhikkhu. His speech delivered on this occasion is a remarkable piece of oratory, in which he relates his life's history and gives the reasons which moved him to abandon the religion of his childhood for Buddhism. He tells of his interest in the Christian religion when a child, of the dogmas that impressed him deeply, the doctrine of Hell, the threat made to unbelievers, the necessity of believing in miracles which he afterwards learned in school to disbelieve. The more he studied, the more untenable became his religion. His first acquaintance with Buddhism was through the pages of Sir Edwin Arnold's poem "The Light of Asia." When necessitated to go south, he purposely chose a Buddhist country, and he now expresses his satisfaction at having entered the noble eight-fold path which leads to peace. As a Bhikkhu, he assumed the name of Ananda-Maitreya.

Mr. McGregor (*alias* Ananda-Maitreya) seems to be a fervid and energetic man, and we may expect to hear more about him in the near future.

No one can read the communications of Allan McGregor without feeling that

unless the leaders of the Christian Churches give an ear to such men as Professor Pearson, the inroads of the other religions will be as serious as the increase of infidelity in Christian countries. We cannot serve God and Mammon. Either we must preach belief by submission to traditional dogma and abolish schools and universities, or we recognise the duty of free inquiry. Either we accept science as a divine revelation and acknowledge that the God of science is the true and sole God, or we bow down before the idols of the letter. We cherish the confidence that at last the time will come when a genuine love of truth will restore to life the dead bones of our Churches.

P. C.

JOHN P. ALTGELD.

John P. Altgeld, Ex-Governor of Illinois, died suddenly in his fifty-fifth year on March 12, after a lecture which he had delivered in Joliet. He played an important part in American politics and showed throughout his life an undeniable zeal for the uplifting of the masses and the improvement of the conditions of the poor. That his intentions were honest and noble, we have never doubted, yet we believe that he was mistaken in the means he adopted to help the people during the Bryan-McKinley campaign when he espoused the cause of free silver. The respect which his political enemies accorded him after death is the best evidence that his character deserves recognition. After all that has been said in criticism of him, he made a good governor, and he was a man who had the courage of his convictions. We publish below a laudatory poem on John P. Altgeld by John F. Weedon.

P. C.

THE LEADER LOST.

Hewn from a rock, steadfast and true and bold ;
 Checked but undaunted, foremost in the strife
 'He stood, unswervéd by the tide of life
 That whirled and eddied round him. Heart of gold
 Untouched by petty spite. Unconscious he
 Of mean detractors bubbling up apace
 That breaking spat their spleen full at his face.
 And greater than his strength his sympathy.

Altgeld is dead, and down beneath the sod
 His lifeless clay lies deep. His memory lives
 Marbled in immortality and gives
 Courage and strength to those who live to fight
 For gentleness, for honesty, for right.
 His work is ended, and he rests with God.

JOHN F. WEEDON.

PROFESSOR DELITZSCH'S LECTURE ON BABEL AND BIBLE.

We have had the good fortune to acquire an early copy of the lecture on Assyriological research which Professor Friedrich Delitzsch delivered last January before the Emperor of Germany, at a regular meeting of the German Oriental Society, and which he was specially invited to deliver a second time before the Emperor of Germany in the royal castle at Berlin. The first installment of the

translation of his lecture appears in the present number of *The Open Court*, which has been delayed over a week to insure its speedy publication. Professor Delitzsch is one of the most eminent scholars of modern times, and one of the very foremost authorities on Assyriology. The present article therefore will give our readers an opportunity of acquainting themselves with the present state and the immense scope and import of Assyriological research, from the pen of one of its most accredited exponents. The publishers, J. C. Hinrichs of Leipsic, are to be congratulated upon the promptness with which they have put Professor Delitzsch's work¹ before the public. They also issue the proceedings of the German Oriental Society, which contain many other interesting and popular expositions of Oriental research. The illustrations which appeared in the original have in our translation been enlarged and greatly improved and their number considerably augmented, so as to afford as complete a view as possible of Assyrian art and civilisation.

THE MEMOIRS OF KAMO NO CHOMEI.²

Kamo No Chomei is a Buddhist recluse who lived and wrote in the beginning of the thirteenth century, and ranks in style as well as sentiment with Mediæval mystics and other pious authors. His booklet is entitled *Hō Jō Ki*, and means literally "The Memoirs of Three Meters," that is to say, it is the diary of a hermit who lived in a hut not more than three meters square. The title has been appropriately rendered by Daiji Ichikawa, his modern translator: "A Little Hut."

Kamo No Chomei describes in this booklet his life and philosophy. He contemplates the transitoriness of existence, which is a constant change like the current of water, full of froth and without rest. He further considers the dangers of human existence: fire, inundation, storm, famine, states of anarchy, earthquakes, epidemics, and other tribulations. True happiness can be found only in contentment. He explains why he left his home to seek peace; how he built his first hut, which, however, was abandoned because it was too large; and then he built his second hut, a portable room sufficient to accommodate him and an image of Amítābha Buddha. The Buddhist recluses of his stamp did not trouble their minds with the question: What shall we eat, or what shall we drink, or wherewithal shall we be clothed? Kamo No Chomei lived on the berries which he gathered in the woods; and the same old dress, though faded and worn, served him as a protection. He visited neighboring shrines, e. g., one place where he pays homage to the great musician Semimaro; and another where the great poet Sarumaru Dayu lies buried. The beauty of the landscape is his joy; it is not private property, like the soil and other marketable goods. The loneliness of the mountains is such that the animals which inhabit the woods are not afraid of him; they approach his hut, and the deer of the forest are tame in his presence.

The seasons remind him of spiritual conditions: Spring is an allegory of Paradise: summer, with the repeated call of the cuckoo (the mysterious bird of the spirit land), indicates that man will have to travel through the dark path of the valley of death; in the fall, the cricket sings of the vanity and transiency of life; while the snow of winter, when it covers mountains and valleys, is like sin,—it increases and increases, and finally melts away.

¹ The original German may be obtained, bound, for M. 2.50.

² This article is a review of a German translation of Kamo No Chomei's *Hō Jō Ki*, which appeared under the title *Eine kleine Hütte*, von Kamo No Chomei, übersetzt von Dr. Daiji Ichikawa. Berlin: Schwetschke & Sohn. 1902.

His delight is music; he does not claim to be an artist, but following the instruction of the famous musician Gentotoku, he delights in playing on his instrument and singing pious songs. There are few persons with whom he exchanges thoughts; among them is a young man, the son of a forester, who lives at the foot of the mountain where his hut stands. The young man is sixteen, the recluse sixty; but they harmonise in spirit, and the youth learns of the religious wisdom of the hermit. Thus, his time passes in quiet happiness, and in a foretaste of the greatest joy that will come to him in Nirvāna: it is the salvation of his soul in which all his interest centers. His conscience remains clear, and he says: "All the world's glory and splendor is not worth as much as one single soul. Has the soul no peace, neither palaces filled with gold nor temples decorated with gems are of any avail; but I can live full of happiness in my lonely dwelling, in this simple little hut."

The memoirs of Kamo No Chomei conclude with a contemplation of the eternal light of Nirvāna. At his advanced age he feels his life drawing to an end. He fears that even the love of his hut may become dangerous to his longing for the eternal treasure of Nirvāna, and so he is bent on purifying himself of the last clinging to anything transient and mortal. The diary closes with a self-criticism, questioning himself whether the joy that his very poverty and renunciation had given him might not become a source of danger. He says: "My soul has no answer, but on my lips involuntarily trembles the name *Buddha*, and then I sink into silence. Written in the second Genreki (1212), on the last day of March, in my hut in Toyama, by a monk Renin.

Beyond the mountains the moon fades away,
Oh! had I the light which forever will stay."

P. C.

THE PLAY OF LIFE.

Born but to view the passing Show,
Within this world, and then to go,
Grim, silent, into darkness deep,
That wraps us in a dreamless sleep.

In youth, to join the moving throng,
With quickened hopes; desires strong;
And then, with noon-heats blinding glare,
To feel a piteous heart despair.

To watch a pageant made of shams;
A warfare waged with battering rams;
That crush with cruel force the heart,
As sadly we play out our part.

At evening, gray of purple shade,
A voiceless moor, where unafraid,
With fading eyes we turn to death,
Whose gentle hand shuts off our breath.

And this is Life! And Death? Ah, well,
'Tis we ourselves make heaven or hell.

And who knows what is shut within,
The space beyond this House of Sin?

Then, let us, faithful to the trust,
Of Life, play well, as play we must,—
And when the Prompter gives the cue,
Just do the best that we can do.

LOLLIE BELLE WYLIE.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTES.

THE AMERICAN FEDERAL STATE. A Text-Book in Civics for High Schools and Academies. By *Roscoe Lewis Ashley, A. M.* New York: The Macmillan Co. 1902. Pages, xlv, 599.

Six hundred pages would appear to be considerable space to devote to a high school text-book of civics, and Mr. Ashley's new book might be adjudged a more appropriate manual for a college than for an academy. But if it is voluminous it is also complete, and what with the references to the extensive literature on the subject and the various suggestions for work and study which it contains, it will not be found unwieldy; and besides, the author has indicated what parts of the book can be judiciously omitted. As to its general scope, it "is intended not only to describe the organisation and work of the different American governments, but to make prominent the relation of its citizens to the governments and to each other. It has been thought that this could be done best by considering the subject from the standpoint of the *State*: that is, of the whole body of citizens considered as an organised unit rather than from the point of view of government or of the individual citizen. This made it necessary, first, to explain some of the more important principles of political science with practical applications; second, to show how the American Federal State became what it is; third, to describe the national, state (commonwealth), and local governments; and, fourth, to give some idea of the policies of the State in regard to great public questions and of the problems that confront it."

THE TEACHING OF MATHEMATICS IN THE HIGHER SCHOOLS OF PRUSSIA. By *J. W. A. Young*, Ph. D., Assistant Professor of the Pedagogy of Mathematics in the University of Chicago. New York, London, and Bombay: Longmans, Green & Co. 1900. Pp., 141.

Much salutary and needed information on the educational problem may be derived from Dr. Young's book. Dr. Young has spent "nearly an entire academic year in examining the outcome" of the Prussian study of educational problems, particularly with regard to the teaching of mathematics. He finds that "in the work in mathematics done in the nine years from the age of nine on, we Americans accomplish no more than the Prussians, while we give to this work about seven-fourths (1.72) times as large a fraction of the total time of instruction as do the Prussians." This great disparity, not only in the department of mathematics but in all departments, is attributable to the fact that Prussia does not secure this greater quantity of instruction by requiring her teachers to teach more hours, but by providing more and better teachers, by paying them well, and by securing them against the possibility of disaster and misfortune in sickness and old age.

The requirements for teachers' certificates are severe; the applicants must have completed a course in the Gymnasium and have studied three years in a German university, taking a special state examination in addition to the school and university examination. After this examination, the candidate must devote a year to the study of the art of teaching, and still another to a trial year in the actual practice of teaching. Thus, a minimum of five years of special preparation is required of every one who would become eligible to an appointment as teacher in a Prussian high school. The incomes of the teachers as compared with those of non-pensioned teachers in America range in Berlin from \$1,088 to \$1,880; and considering the differences in the purchasing power of money in the two countries, the incomes will be equivalent in America to a range from \$1,451 to \$2,507 per annum,—for work corresponding to that done in the grades below the high schools (five years), in the high schools (three years), and in the freshman year in college.

The causes of the superiority of the Prussian system would seem to lie (1) in the central legislation and supervision; (2) the preparation and status of the teachers; (3) the methods of instruction. In all cases in Prussia "the actual authority, legislative as well as administrative, is vested in experienced educators." The course is continuous and under the same direction, and not as with us in three distinct and ununified systems.

The way in which reform is to proceed in this respect is very apparent from Dr. Young's work. μ.

For various reasons, but principally because it was a failure, and because it was associated with the name of a traitor, Arnold's expedition to Quebec has never received adequate treatment in the history of America. It has been reserved for John Codman, 2nd, to devote a volume of over 300 pages to the subject and to place it in its right historical setting. The author has had the advantage of having followed on foot or in canoes the army's course through the Kennebec, Dead River, and Chaudière regions, and his treatment of the subject, especially in its local coloring, may be expected to be authentic. The book is adorned with contemporaneous portraits of Arnold, Capt. Daniel Morgan, and Gen. Richard Montgomery. There are photographs of the remains of Ft. Halifax, a view of Mt. Bigelow, of the Falls of Sault on the Chaudière, etc. (*Arnold's Expedition to Quebec*. New York: The Macmillan Co. Pages, ix, 340. Price, \$1.75.)

Miss Jeanne G. Pennington has compiled another little volume for Fords, Howard & Hulbert's "Nugget Series." The title of the present volume is "Good Cheer Nuggets," or "Bits of Ore from Rich Mines." The writers from whom the passages have been chosen are Maeterlinck, Joseph Le Conte, Victor Hugo, and Horatio W. Dresser,—a rather odd combination, but none the less valuable. (New York: Fords, Howard & Hulbert. Pages, v, 112. Price, cloth, 45 cents; crimson leather, gilt edges, \$1.00.)

The *Gakuto* (The Beacon Light of Science) is a Japanese monthly which is devoted to the propaganda for a scientific world-conception. The January number contains the opinions of seventy-three Japanese scholars of prominence in reply to the editor's question as to what they regard as the nineteenth century master work. For the convenience of foreign readers the names of contributors are transcribed. It proves the influence of Western thought upon the Japanese mind and indicates the progressive attitude of the Japanese perhaps better than appears in their military success in the recent China war.

Prof. Hermann Schubert of Hamburg has discovered that on April 28, at 10:40 A. M., mankind will have to celebrate the lapse of one milliard minutes since the birth of Christ, or, to speak more accurately, since the moment with which the Christian Era began, viz., the first of January, of the first year after Christ's birth, counting from the moment at which we are in the habit of beginning the day.

Henri de Ladevèze is the *nom de plume* of a French gentleman who lives in Nice, France. We have just learned that he is not a Catholic, but a Protestant. He defends the Jesuits, he says, entirely from love of truth and justice. The article was written some time before the law *des Associations* was passed in France. It is owing merely to a fortuitous concurrence of circumstances, upon which the author tells us he now congratulates himself, that the publication of his article was delayed until the beginning of this year.

In connection with the discussions of the taxation question in the last number of *The Open Court*, it may be interesting for our readers to learn that an experiment which its founders claim is no longer an experiment has been made at Fairhope, Baldwin County, Alabama, of establishing a "Single Tax Colony," which is the only one at present existing in the world. The colony has been in existence seven years, and it is claimed by its members to be prospering. The Single Tax is applied by joint ownership of the land, and leasing it to individuals at an annually appraised rental which shall equalise the varying advantages of location and natural qualities of different tracts. This rent is in lieu of all other charges,—even the state and county taxes, on not only the land and improvements, but personal property as well, being paid out of it and the balance expended—as local taxes elsewhere are—for public purposes.

Prof. T. W. Rhys Davids, in his article "Recent Discoveries Concerning the Buddha," published in *The Century Magazine* for April, referring to the inscriptions found on a vase in the Buddha sarcophagus of the Sâkya Tumulus, on Mr. Peppé's territory, mentions the interesting fact that the most ancient Indian script has been imported from the Sumero-Accadians. He says: "It has recently been proved that an alphabet, introduced from Babylon or founded on Babylonian script, was in general use in India, for inscriptions and short communications, at least as early as the seventh century B. C. The letters on the Peppé vase are closely related to, and some of them identical with, those on the Moabite stone, the discovery of which, on the borders of Palestine, made so great a sensation only a few years ago. This strange and interesting fact gives fresh support to the hypothesis, now rapidly gaining adherents, that all the forms of writing in the world may eventually come to be traced back to the inventive genius of that white race, older than the Aryans, whose blood flows in the veins of the modern Chinese."



HEINRICH JULIUS HOLTZMANN.

Professor of Theology in the University of Straassburg. Born May 17, 1832.

Frontispiece to The Open Court.

THE OPEN COURT

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

**Devoted to the Science of Religion, the Religion of Science, and
the Extension of the Religious Parliament Idea.**

VOL. XVI. (NO. 5.)

MAY, 1902.

NO. 552

Copyright by The Open Court Publishing Co., 1902.

HEINRICH JULIUS HOLTZMANN.

A REPRESENTATIVE OF THE NEW TESTAMENT HIGHER
CRITICISM.

BY THE EDITOR.

PROFESSOR Heinrich Julius Holtzmann, one of the Coryphæi of the Higher Critics of Germany, and probably without doubt the leading living scholar of New Testament Theology, will celebrate during the present month the seventieth anniversary of his birthday. We take pleasure in participating in this celebration by publishing his portrait as the frontispiece to the present *Open Court*, and in calling the attention of our readers to the stupendous work he has been doing during his long and active life.

Heinrich Julius Holtzmann was born May 17, 1832, at Karlsruhe, Baden. He is the son of the late Prelate Julius Holtzmann, one of the dignitaries of the Baden Protestant Church, a man of prominence and genuine piety.

The son, Heinrich Julius, grew up under the Christian influence of his father's home. He studied from 1850 to 1854 in Heidelberg and Berlin, and held an appointment from 1854 to 1857 as vicar at Badenweiler. In 1858, he established himself as a privatdocent at the University of Heidelberg.

In the spirit of his paternal atmosphere the young theologian wrote his first work, *Canon and Tradition*, which appeared in 1859 as a contribution to the history of dogma. Here he still stands upon the old ground of a dogmatic interpretation of theology; but the Baden Church struggle served to broaden his views, and after a mature deliberation of the issue he joined the liberal party, strug-

gling for the rights of the congregation against the usurpation of the Church government by the consistory.

In 1861, Holtzmann accepted a position as assistant professor, and in 1865 as head professor, in the theological faculty of Heidelberg. In 1869 he married the daughter of the well-known historian Georg Weber and saw his children grow up to his joy and satisfaction. Years of anxiety and visitation followed. In 1896 Professor Holtzmann's eldest son died in the bloom of manhood, and in 1897 the companion of his life, Mrs. Holtzmann, followed her son, leaving the widower three other children, a source of joy to the father and a solace to his advanced years.

Professor Holtzmann took an active part in the struggles of the Church politics of his country, the billows of which rose high in the sixties. He was a member of the Baden General Synod, 1867-1871, and also of the House of Representatives. Moreover, he was one of the most prominent founders and leaders of the *Protestantenverein*.

His first great work was entitled *The Synoptic Gospels; Their Origin and Historical Character*, published in 1863, in which he established and proved the so-called "Two Sources Theory." This work, which gave the young professor a standing in the world of theology as a scholar of great ability, was followed by another, written in conjunction with his father-in-law, *The History of the People of Israel and the Origin of Christianity* (1867).¹

Professor Holtzmann now ventured on the slippery ground of New Testament Criticism and proved himself possessed of unusual acumen in his investigation of the Epistles to the Ephesians and Colossians,² proving the unauthenticity of the former and pointing out that the latter was a redaction by the author of the former.

To representatives of the old school it appears as though the critical attitude in theology were taken by progressive theologians out of sheer cussedness or for the sake of saying something new, but that is a great mistake. The critical attitude is forced upon them, and the whole movement of the Higher Criticism has originated in spite of its inaugurators and leaders. So it was with Holtzmann. Though he does not tell us of the struggles which preceded the change of his convictions, we can very well imagine what took place in his soul when we compare his first book, firm in the traditional dogmatism but uncritical, with his later, more scholarly works, more guarded in statements, less sure in the

¹ The first volume was written by Weber, and the second one by Holtzmann.

² *Kritik der Epheser- und Kolosser-Briefe*, 1871.

maintenance of the letter, but after all firm in the essential feature of religion, veracity.

Professor Holtzmann, no longer capable of blindly accepting views that he had imbibed in his childhood, felt urged to justify his position, which he did in 1874 in *The Right and Duty of Biblical Criticism*, and *Formerly and Now in Church and Theology*.

In the same year Professor Holtzmann wrote his pamphlet *The Naturalisation of Christianity in Rome* (1874).

After the death of Bunsen, Holtzmann edited the fourth, sixth and ninth volume of Bunsen's Bible work, in 1864 to 1870; and after the death of Rothe, the third, fourth and fifth volumes of Rothe's *Theological Ethics* (1870-71).

When Strassburg was reorganised as a German university, the Imperial German government endeavored to select the best men for the new institution, and for the chair of New Testament Theology Holtzmann was regarded as the best choice. He was called there in 1874 in the capacity of head professor, where he continued his literary labors in the following publications: *The Struggle for the Christian Idea of Creation* (1878); *Progress and Reaction of the Theology of Our Century* (1878); *The Pastoral Letters* (1880), in which he definitely proved that they had been written in the second century; *Textbook (Lehrbuch) of the Historico-Critical Introduction Into the New Testament* (third edition, 1891); and the *Textbook of the New Testament Theology* (1897).

The time of struggle in Church politics was now past; the rights of science in theology were generally recognised and Professor Holtzmann could concentrate himself upon the problems of New Testament exegesis. Henceforth the significance of his life lies in his labors carried on in the seclusion of his study among books and in the presence of devoted students.

The textbooks of Holtzmann have contributed much to make his name famous beyond the boundary of Germany. They are distinguished not only by fairness in summing up the arguments of scholars on the several subjects under discussion, but also by their precision and brevity.

In 1899, Holtzmann published an *Inquiry Into Rothe's Speculative System*. The Professor's recreations were journeys to Italy, which country he visited ten times, and his familiarity with the Capital of Lombardy and with its grand cathedral induced him to write a little sketch, entitled *Milan; A Walk Through the Town and Its History*.

In 1901, he published a collection of his sermons.

In co-operation with Zöpfel he published the *Lexicon of Theology* (second edition, 1888), and with Lipsius, Schmiedel, and Von Soden, a *Manual (Hand-Commentar) of the New Testament*, of which the first volume contains the synoptic gospels and the Acts (third edition, 1901), and the second volume contains the St. John literature (second edition, 1893).

Professor Holtzmann's literary activity is not limited to books; he has also written many book reviews, articles, and essays for theological, popular, and literary magazines on Church politics and other questions relating to religion and theology. His activity seems incredible when we consider the quantity of his literary labors which appeared in the *Allgemeine Kirchen-Zeitung*, the *Allgemeine kirchliche Zeitschrift* (published from 1860 to 1872), in the *Protestantische Kirchen-Zeitung* (published from 1854 to 1896); in the *Deutsche Revue*, in the *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, in the *Jahrbücher für protestantische Theologie* (1875-1892); in the *Historische Zeitschrift*, *Theologische Literatur-Zeitung*, in the *Deutsche Literatur-Zeitung*, in the *Göttinger Gelehrten-Anzeigen*, and in the *Protestantische Monatshefte*.

Since 1892, Professor Holtzmann has undertaken the editorship of a theological magazine of his own, the *Theologische Jahresbericht*, and when in 1894 the work grew beyond his strength, he called to his assistance Professor Krüger, who remained associated with him till 1899 and now edits the magazine alone. Professor Holtzmann has made it a point to review the entire literature of New Testament criticism and exegesis, as well as the life and history of the Apostolic Age.

* * *

I cannot help indulging here in a few comments upon the Higher Criticism of the Scriptures and its significance in the development of religion.

Most of the work of Biblical criticism has been done by theologians, and it is a remarkable fact that there are few among them, if any, who could in any sense be called infidels or unbelievers, or even liberals. The first great impetus to a scientific treatment of the Bible was given by Spinoza, but after the ball had been set a-rolling the detail work was done by men who, if they were not themselves orthodox, came, with rare exceptions, from the ranks of pious people, cherishing the creed and tradition of their Church. Infidels have only utilised for their own purposes the results of the Higher Criticism, which they have usually obtained from second or even third-hand sources. It is the believer who did the work.

And it is but natural that it should be so. A man who thinks that the Bible is rubbish will not waste his time on a study of its contents. He may give brilliant and witty discourses on the mistakes of Moses, but he will be satisfied with finding material for funny remarks and pointing out incongruities, survivals, crudities, traces of barbarism, superstitions, etc., and will not devote his life to the patient drudgery of deciphering the proper meaning of the Scriptures or solving the problems of their origin.

That the Higher Criticism, so called, is the work of men coming from the ranks of orthodoxy, is important for several reasons. It is not only an evidence of its reliability, but also of its intrinsic worth. It is true that these men frequently reached conclusions which they had not anticipated, nay, which at the start they had dreaded, but their religion has not become the worse for it. They remained as upright and truth-loving as before. Only their views have been widened; they have penetrated deeper into the mysteries of the religious development of mankind. They have grown beyond the narrowness of the traditional belief in the letter and have caught glimpses of the universality of God's dispensation in the world. In other words, Higher Criticism is not a foe to religion, but a step in advance, allowing us to take a higher aspect of the Scriptures which form the code of our sacred literature.

From the narrow point of view taken by those who believe the Bible from cover to cover to be a literal revelation of God, Ingersoll is justified in his ridicule and denunciations; but when we allow the light of scientific research to fall upon the abstruser and obscurer problems of these venerable documents, we will better understand the significance of the Scriptures, and thus our own religious views will be widened and purified in the truth.

The main question at issue is this: Shall we, or shall we not, employ the methods of science for an investigation of religious truth? Shall we forbid the voice of science to be heard in our religious life, and shall we insist on blind faith whether or not our creed be true; or shall we bow to truth and allow our beliefs to be modified by a correcter, more complete, more exact and better knowledge of the facts upon which we have taken our stand?

The old-fashioned orthodoxy is doomed, but it has not been either fruitless or useless. It represents a phase in the development of the religious evolution of man, which is as intrinsically necessary as teething is in the life of a child; and when the second teeth begin to form, it will be seen that they develop from the first ones and utilise the old material. If the first teeth were healthy,

there is a good chance that the second teeth will develop normally; but if the first teeth are rotten, the second teeth are apt to decay in their very germs.

* * *

On May 17, his seventieth birthday, Professor Holtzmann will look back upon a long and quiet but intensely useful life, and he must feel the satisfaction of having plodded and drudged through the intricate problems of the significance of our religious records with honesty and good judgment. We are glad to add that his health is good,—for his age extraordinarily so,—and that he still continues to attend to the current duties of his position. The influence which he has exercised upon the growing generation of theologians has been great, and it will continue to be a moulding power in all the ages to come.

Professor Holtzmann is, perhaps, more than any other theologian, a representative of the scientific spirit as applied to the study of the New Testament. A scientific investigation of the Old Testament has aroused the interest of large numbers who have become acquainted with the new discoveries made with the spade in Egypt and Assyria; but important though these Old Testament studies may be, the light which a scientific treatment will throw on the New Testament will in the long run prove of greater significance.

The work which Professor Holtzmann has carried to a certain completion is by no means finished; it will be continued, and the results of the movement which by one name is commonly called "Higher Criticism," cannot as yet be fully foreseen in all its details.

In tendering our best congratulations to the Coryphæus of New Testament Theology, we express the hope that he will continue in good health and enjoy the bright evening of his long life. No one will begrudge him the well-deserved recognition of the great work he has done.

BABEL AND BIBLE.

A LECTURE DELIVERED IN BERLIN BEFORE THE GERMAN
EMPEROR.¹

BY FRIEDRICH DELITZSCH.

[CONCLUDED.]

I DID not refer, in my closing remarks on page 233 of the April *Open Court*, to the highly important fact that the Babylonian and Assyrian methods of reckoning time, which were based on accurate astronomical observations of solar eclipses, etc., enabled us to determine the chronology of the events narrated in the Book of Kings,—a circumstance that was doubly gratifying owing to the discovery of Robertson Smith and Wellhausen that the chronology of the Old Testament had been forcibly made to conform to a system of sacred numbers, which counted 480 years from the end of the Exile back to the founding of the temple of Solomon, and again 480 years backward from that date to the Exodus of the children of Israel from Egypt (1 Kings vi. 1).

We can also adduce in this place but a single, and that an inconspicuous, illustration of the far-reaching influence which the cuneiform investigations have exercised on *our understanding of the text of the Old Testament*,—a result due to the remarkably close affinity between the Babylonian and Hebrew languages and to the enormous compass of the Babylonian literature. We read in Numbers vi. 24-27:

“The Lord bless thee, and keep thee: The Lord make his face shine upon thee, and be gracious unto thee: The Lord lift up his countenance upon thee, and give thee peace.”

Countless times has this blessing been given and received! But it was never understood in its full depth and import until

¹Translated by T. J. McCormack. Original published by J. C. Hinrichs, of Leipsic.

Babylonian usage informed us that "to lift up one's countenance or eyes upon or to another," was a form of speech for "bestowing

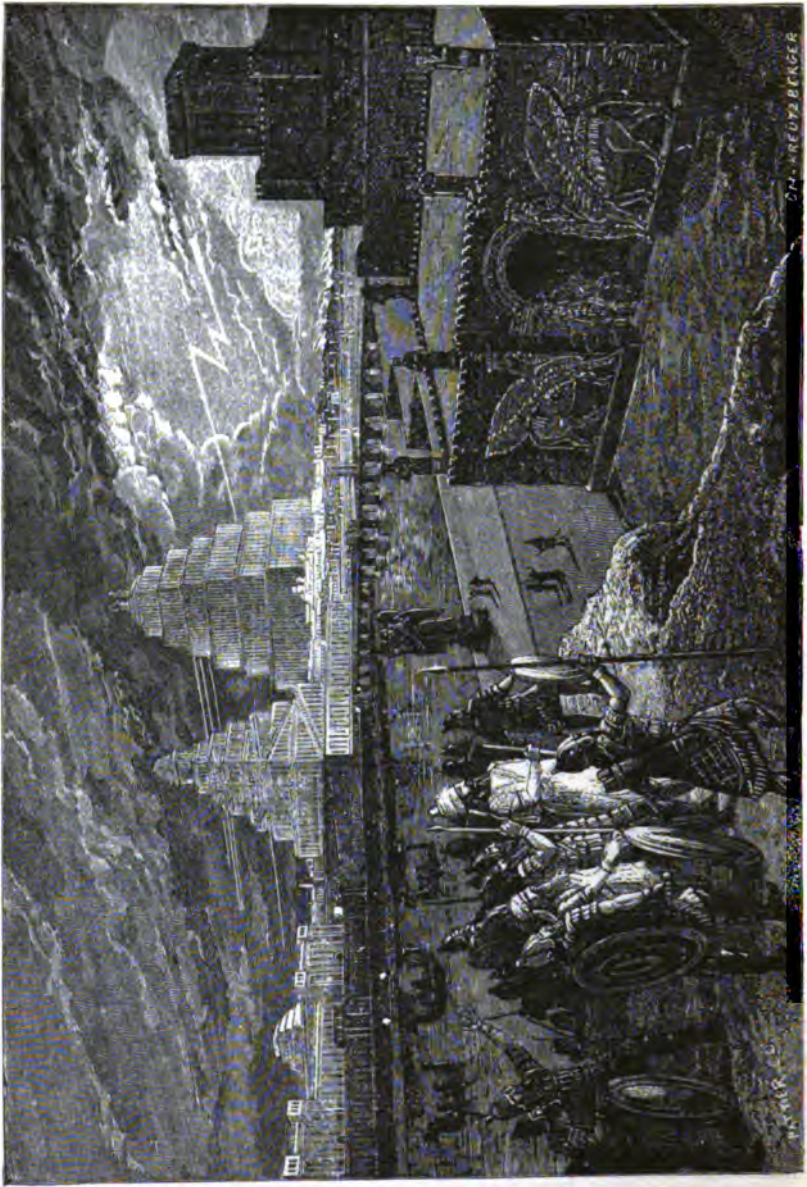


Fig. 37a. THE TEMPLES AND PALACES ON THE QUAYS OF BABYLON. (After G. le Bon.)

one's love upon another, for gazing lovingly and feelingly upon another, as a bridegroom upon a bride, or a father upon a son."

This ancient and glorious benediction, therefore, invokes on man with increasing emphasis God's blessing and protection, God's benignant and gracious consideration, and lastly God's own love,—finally to break forth into that truly beautiful greeting of the Orient, "Peace be with thee!"

But the greatest and most unexpected assistance that Babel ever rendered the philological interpretation of the Bible must yield the palm for wide-reaching significance to the fact that here on the banks of the Euphrates and Tigris as early as 2250 B. C. we find *a highly organised constitutional state*. Here in these Babylonian lowlands, having an area not greater than that of Italy, yet

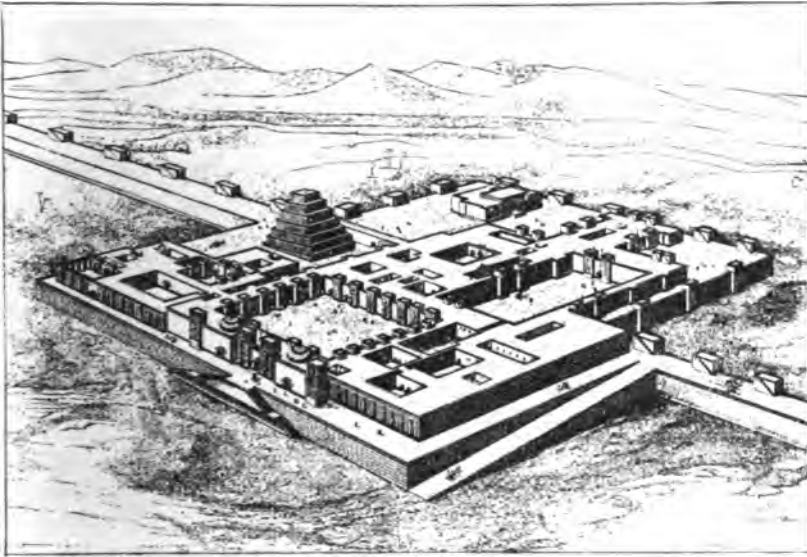


Fig. 37b. PALACE OF KING SARGON AT KHORSABAD.
(Restored by Victor Place.)

extraordinarily rich by nature and transformed by human industry into a veritable hotbed of productiveness, there existed in the third millennium before Christ *a civilisation comparable in many respects with our own*.

It was Hammurabi, the Amraphel of the Bible, that ultimately succeeded in expelling the Elamites, the hereditary enemy of Babylon, from the country, and in welding North and South together into a single union with Babylon as political and religious center. His first solicitude was to establish a uniform system of law over the entire country, and he accordingly promulgated a juridic code

that determined in the minutest manner the rights and privileges of his citizens. The relations of master, slave, and hireling, of merchant and apprentice, of landlord and tenant, are here precisely fixed. There is a law, for example, that a clerk who has delivered money to his superior for goods that he has sold shall obtain a receipt for the transaction. Reductions in rent are provided for in case of damage by storms and wild beasts. The fishing rights of boroughs along the canals are precisely defined. And so on. Babylon is the seat of the Supreme Court, to which all knotty and disputed points of law are submitted. Every able-bodied man is subject to military duty. But Hammurabi softened by many decisions

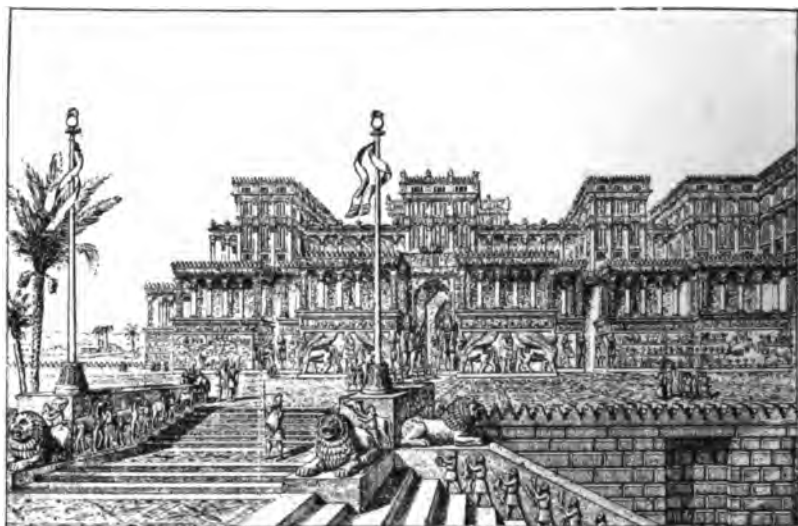


Fig. 37c. PALACE OF SENNACHERIB AT NINEVEH (RESTORED).
(After Ferguson.)

the severity of the recruiting laws; for example, in the interests of stock-raising he exempted herdsmen from military service, and he also conferred special privileges on ancient priestly families.

We read of money having been coined in Babylon, and the distinctively cursive character of their script points to a very extensive use of writing. Many letters of this ancient period have been preserved. We read, for example, the letter of a wife to her absent husband, asking his advice on some trivial matter; the epistle of a son to his father, announcing that a certain person has unspeakably offended him, and that his impulse is to give the miscreant a severe drubbing, but that he prefers first to have the

advice of his father on the matter ; and another, still stranger one, in which a son implores his father to send him at once the money that he has so long promised him, fortifying his request with the contumelious insinuation that he will in that event feel justified in resuming his prayers for his father's salvation. Everything, in fact, points to a thoroughly organised postal system throughout the empire, and this conclusion is corroborated by the distinctest evidence that there existed causeways and canals in Babylonia which extended far beyond its boundaries and which were kept in perfect condition.



Fig. 37d. CHARIOT AND ATTENDANTS OF SENNACHERIB WITH CASTLE ON A MOUNTAIN. (After Layard.)

Commerce and industry, stock-raising and agriculture, flourished here in an eminent degree, while science, geometry, mathematics, and notably astronomy, attained a height of development that has repeatedly evoked the admiration of modern scientists. Certainly not Paris, and at most Rome, can bear comparison with Babylon in the extent of influence which it exercised upon the world for 2000 years.

Bitter testimony do the prophets of the Old Testament bear to the surpassing splendor and unconquerable might of the Babylon of Nebuchadnezzar (see Figs. 37). "Babylon," cries Jeremiah,



Fig. 37. THE PALACES OF NIMROD RESTORED. From a Sketch by James Ferguson. (Layard.)

“hath been a golden cup in Yahveh's hand, that made all the earth drunken” (Jer. li. 7); and the Revelation of St. John still quivers with the detested memory of Babel the Great, the gay voluptuous city, the wealth-teeming metropolis of commerce and art, the mother of harlots and of all abominations of the earth. Yet so far back as the beginning of the third millennium before Christ Babylon had been this great focus of culture, science, and literature, the “brain” of Hither Asia, the power that dominated the world.

In the winter of 1887, a band of Egyptian fellahs who were excavating in the ruins of the palaces of Amenophis IV. at El-Amarna, between Thebes and Memphis, discovered about 300 clay tablets of many forms and sizes. These tablets were found to contain the correspondence of Babylonian, Assyrian, and Mesopotamian kings with the Pharaohs Amenophis III. and IV., and, most important of all, the letters of the Egyptian governors of the great Canaanite cities of Tyre, Sidon, Akko, Askalon, etc., to the Egyptian court; and the museum at Berlin is so fortunate as to possess the only letters that came from Jerusalem,—letters written before the entrance of the Israelites into the promised land. Like a powerful searchlight, these clay tablets of El-Amarna shed a flood of dazzling effulgence upon the profound obscurity which shrouded the political and cultural conditions of the period from 1500 to 1400 B. C.; and the mere fact that the magnates of Canaan, nay, even of Cyprus, made use of the Babylonian language and script, and like the Babylonians wrote on clay tablets, the mere fact that the Babylonian language was the official language of diplomatic intercourse from the Euphrates to the Nile, is in itself indisputable proof of the omnipotent influence which Babylonian civilisation and literature exercised on the world from the year 2200 until 1400 B. C.

When the twelve tribes of Israel invaded the land of Canaan, they entered a country *which belonged absolutely to the domain of Babylonian civilisation*. It is an unimportant but characteristic feature of the prevailing state of things that a *Babylonish* garment excited the avarice of Achan when the first Canaanite city, Jericho, was stormed and plundered (Joshua vii. 21). And not only the industry, but also the commerce and law, the customs and the science of Babylon were the standards of the land. Knowing this, we comprehend at once why the systems of measures, weights, and coins used in the Old Testament, and the external form of their laws (“if a man do this or that, he shall be punished after this manner or that”) are Babylonian throughout. So also the sacerdotal customs and the methods of offering sacrifices were profoundly influenced

by Babylonian models; and it is a remarkable fact that Israelitic traditions are altogether at variance in their accounts of the origin of the Sabbath,—as will be rendered apparent by a comparison of Exodus xx. 11 and Deuteronomy v. 15. But now the matter is clearer.

The Babylonians also had their Sabbath day (*sabbatu*), and a calendar of feasts and sacrifices has been unearthed according to which the 7th, 14th, 21st, and 28th days of every month were set apart as days on which no work should be done, on which the king should not change his robes, nor enter his chariot, nor offer sacrifices, nor render legal decisions, nor eat of boiled or roasted meats, on which not even a physician should lay hands on the sick. Now this setting apart of the seventh day for the propitiation of the gods is really understood from the Babylonian point of view, and there can therefore be scarcely the shadow of a doubt that in the last resort we are indebted to this ancient nation on the banks of the Euphrates and the Tigris for the plenitude of blessings that flows from our day of Sabbath or Sunday rest.

And more still. There is a priceless treasure in the Berlin Museum, a tablet of clay, containing the Babylonian legend of how it came to pass that the first man forfeited the boon of immortality. The place where this tablet was found, namely El-Amarna in Egypt, and the numerous dots scattered over it in red Egyptian ink, showing the pains that some Egyptian scholar had taken to master the intricacies of the foreign text, are ocular evidence of the zeal with which the productions of Babylonian literature were cultivated over the vast extent of territory which stretched from Canaan to the land of the Pharaohs. Shall we be astonished, therefore, to learn that entire cycles of Biblical stories have been suddenly brought to light from the darkness of the Babylonian treasure-heaps, in much purer and more primitive form than they exist in the Bible itself?

The Babylonians divided their history into two great periods: that before the Flood and that after the Flood. Babylonia was in the truest sense of the word the land of deluges. Like all alluvial lowlands bordering on great streams that flow into the sea, it was exposed to floods of the direst and most unique character. It is the home of the cyclone or tornado, with its accompaniment of earthquake and cloudburst. Only twenty-five years ago, in the year 1876, a tornado of this character gathered in the Bay of Bengal, and amid the crashing of thunder and with a violence so terrific as to dismast ships distant nearly 200 miles, approached the delta of the Ganges, met the ebbing tide, and engulfing it in its own titanic

tidal-wave hurled oceans of water over an area of 141 square leagues to a depth of 45 feet, drowning 215,000 human beings and only losing its strength when it broke against the highlands that lay beyond. Now the credit belongs to the celebrated Viennese geologist, Eduard Suess, for having discovered the exact and detailed description of just such a tornado in the Babylonian story of the Flood inscribed on this tablet from the library of Sardanapalus at Nineveh and committed to writing 2000 years before Christ. (Fig. 38.) The *sea* plays the principal part in this flood, and therefore



Fig. 38. TABLET CONTAINING BABYLONIAN STORY OF THE FLOOD.

the ark of the Babylonian Noah, Xisuthros, is cast upon a spur of the Armenio-Medean mountains; but in other respects it is the same old story of the Flood, so familiar to us all.

Xisuthros receives from the god of the watery deep the command to build a ship of certain dimensions, to coat it thoroughly with pitch, and to put on board of it his entire family together with the seeds of all living things. The ship is entered, its doors are closed, it is cast adrift upon the devastating waves, and is finally stranded upon a mountain bearing the name of Nazir. Then follows the famous passage: "On the seventh day I took forth a dove

and released it; the dove flew hither and thither, but finding no resting-place returned." We then read that a swallow was sent forth; it also found no resting-place and returned. Until finally a raven was sent forth, which noticing that the waters had subsided did not return. Xisuthros then abandons his ship and offers sacrifices on the summit of the mountain. The sweet odor was scented by the gods, etc., etc.

This entire story, precisely as it is here written, afterwards travelled to Canaan, but owing to the totally different conformation of the land in this latter country it was forgotten that the sea had played the principal rôle, and we accordingly find in the Bible two distinct versions of the Flood, which are not only absolutely impossible from the point of view of natural science, but are also at diametrical variance with each other, the one giving as the duration of the Flood a period of 365 days and the other a period of $40 + (3 \times 7)$, or 61 days. We owe the discovery that two fundamentally different versions of the story of the Flood were welded together into one in the Bible, to the orthodox Catholic body surgeon of Louis XV., Jean Astruc, who, in the year 1753 first submitted, as Goethe expresses it, the books of Moses "to the probe and knife," and thus became the founder of Pentateuch criticism, or that branch of inquiry which seeks to increase and clarify our knowledge of the many diversified sources of which the five books of Moses are composed.

These are facts which from the point of view of science are as immutable as rock, however violently people on both sides of the Atlantic may close their eyes to them. When we remember that minds of the stamp of Luther and Melancthon once contemptuously rejected the Copernican system of astronomy, we may be certain that the results of the scientific criticism of the Pentateuch will have to tarry long for recognition. Yet it is just as certain that some day they will be openly admitted.

The ten Babylonian kings who reigned before the Flood have also been accepted in the Bible as the ten antediluvian patriarchs, and the agreement is perfect in all details.

In addition to the Babylonian Gilgamesh epoch, the eleventh tablet of which contains the story of the Flood, we possess another beautiful Babylonian poem, the epic of the Creation.

In the primordial beginning of things, according to this epic, down in the gloomy chaos, surged and raged the primeval waters, the name of which was Tiāmat. When the gods declared their intention of forming an orderly cosmos out of the chaos, Tiāmat arose

(usually represented as a dragon, but also as a seven-headed serpent), and made ready for combat to the death. Monsters of all descriptions she spawned from her mighty depths, especially gigantic venom-blown serpents; and in their company she set forth bellowing and snorting for her conflict with the gods. The Celestials quaked with terror when they saw their direful foe. The god Marduk alone, the god of light, of dawn, and of the vernal sun, came forward to do battle with her, his sole stipulation being that sovereign rank among the gods should be accorded him.

Then follows a splendid scene. First the god Marduk fastened a gigantic net to the East and the South, to the North and the West, lest any part of *Tiāmat* should escape. He then mounted in shining armor and radiant with majesty his celestial chariot, which was drawn by four spirited steeds, the admired cynosure of the eyes of all the surrounding gods. Straightway he made for the dragon and her dread embattled train, sending forth his challenge for the contest. Then *Tiāmat* shrieked loudly and fiercely, till her deepmost foundations trembled and shook. She opened her maw to its uttermost extent, but before she could shut her lips Marduk made enter into her belly the evil hurricane. He seized his lance and pierced her heart. He cast her carcass down and placed himself upon it, whilst her helpers were taken captive and placed in close confinement. Thereupon Marduk cut *Tiāmat* in twain, as cleanly as one would sever a fish, and of the one half he made the roof of heaven and of the other he made the earth; and the heaven he inlaid with the moon, and the sun, and the stars, and the earth he covered with plants and animals, until finally the first man and the first woman, made of mingled clay and celestial blood, came forth from the hand of their creator.

Since Marduk was the city-god of Babel, it is quite intelligible that this story found widespread diffusion in Canaan. Nay, the poets and prophets of the Old Testament went so far as to attribute directly to Yahveh the heroic deeds of Marduk, and to extol him as the champion that broke the head of the dragons in the water (Psalms lxxiv. 13 et seq.; lxxxix. 10), and under whom the helpers of the dragon stooped (Job ix. 13).

Passages like the following from Isaiah li. 9:

“Awake, awake, put on strength, O arm of Yahveh; awake, as in the ancient days, in the generations of old. Art thou not it that hath cut Rahab, and wounded the dragon?”

or passages like that from Job xxvi. 12:



Fig. 39. THE "BLACK OBELISK."¹
(Lenormant, V., p. 329.)

¹ Erected by Shalmaneser II. (860-825 B.C.) to record the victories of his 31 military expeditions.



Fig 40. MARDUK WITH THE CONQUERED
DRAGON OF THE PRIMEVAL WATERS
AT HIS FEET.

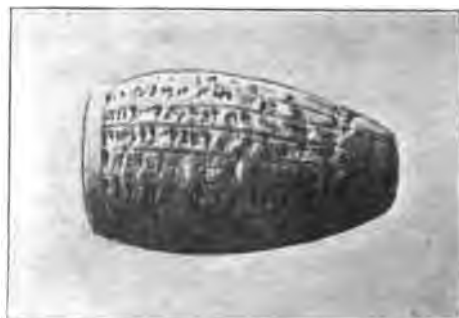


Fig. 43. CONICAL PIECE OF CLAY FROM A
BABYLONIAN COFFIN.

"He divideth the sea with his power, and by his understanding he smiteth the dragon,"

read like explanatory comments on the little image which our expedition found representing the god Marduk, of the powerful arm, the far-seeing eye, and the far-hearing ear, the symbol of intelligence clad in majestic glory, with the conquered dragon of the primeval waters at his feet (Fig. 40).

The priestly author that wrote the first chapter of Genesis took infinite pains to eliminate all mythological features from his story of the creation of the world. But since his story begins with the



Fig. 41. BATTLE BETWEEN MARDUK AND TIAMAT, THE POWERS OF LIGHT AND THE POWERS OF DARKNESS.

(Ancient Assyrian bas-relief now in the British Museum.)

gloomy, watery chaos which bears precisely the same name as *Tiā-mat*, namely *Tehom*, and since this chaos was first divided by the light, and heaven and the earth appeared afterwards, and heaven was set with the sun, the moon, and the stars, and the earth was covered with flowers and with animals, and finally the first man and woman went forth from the hand of God, it will be seen that there is a very close relationship between the Biblical and the Babylonian story of the creation of the world; and it will be obvious at the same time how absolutely futile all attempts are and will

forever remain, to harmonise our Biblical story of the creation with the results of natural science.

It is an interesting fact that echoes of this same conflict between Marduk and Tīamat may still be heard in the Revelation of St. John the Divine, in the battle between the archangel Michael and the beast of the deep, "that old serpent called the Devil and Satan." This entire group of stories, which is also represented in the tale of St. George and the dragon, brought by the crusaders from the East, is distinctively Babylonian in character; inasmuch as many, many hundred years before the Apocalypse and the first chapter of Genesis were written, we find this conflict between the powers of light and the powers of darkness renewed at the break of every day and the beginning of every spring, depicted in gorgeous relief on the walls of the Assyrian palaces (Fig. 41).

But the discovery of this relationship is of still greater importance. The commandment not to do unto one's neighbor what one would not like to have done unto oneself is indelibly engraven on every human heart. "Thou shalt not shed the blood of thy neighbor," "thou shalt not draw near thy neighbor's wife," "thou shalt not take unto thyself the garment of thy neighbor,"—all these fundamental postulates of the human instinct of self-preservation are read in the Babylonian records in precisely the same order as they are given in the fifth, sixth, and seventh Commandments of the Old Testament.

But man is also a social being, and for this reason the commandments of humanity, charity, mercy, and love, also form an inalienable patrimony of the human race. Therefore when a Babylonian Magus was called to a man who was ill and began to inquire what sin had stretched him on the sick-bed, he did not rest satisfied with the recital of the greater sins of commission like murder and robbery, but he asked: "Hath this man refused to clothe one that was naked; or hath he refused light to one that was imprisoned?" The Babylonian lays great stress, too, on the higher forms of human morality; speaking the truth and keeping one's word were sacred duties with them, while to say "yes" with the lips and "no" with the heart was a punishable transgression. It is not surprising that infringements of these commandments were regarded by the Babylonians precisely as they were by the Hebrews, as *sins*, for the Babylonians also in all their doings considered themselves as dependent on the gods. But it is certainly more remarkable that they also conceived all human afflictions, particularly sickness and death, as a *punishment* for sins. In Babel as in Bible, the no-

tion of sin dominates everything. Under these circumstances it is intelligible that Babylonian thinkers also pondered deeply upon the problem of how it was possible that a creature that had been created in the image of God and was God's own handiwork could have fallen a victim to sin and to death; and the Bible has a profound and beautiful story of the temptation of woman by the serpent.

The serpent again? That has an unmistakably Babylonian ring. It was doubtless the same serpent, the primordial foe of the gods, that sought to revenge itself on the gods of light by seeking to estrange from them their noblest creature? Or was it the serpent of which it is once said that it "destroyed the dwelling-place of life"? The question as to the origin of the Biblical story of the Fall of Man is of the utmost importance from the point of view of the history of religion as well as from that of the theology of the New Testament, which, as is well known, contrasts with the first Adam by whom sin and death were brought into the world, a second Adam.

May I lift the veil, may I point to an old Babylonian cylinder-seal (Fig. 42), on which may be seen in the center a tree bearing pendent fruits, to the right a man, distinguishable by his horns, which are the symbol of strength, to the left a woman, both with their hands outstretched toward the fruit, and behind the woman the serpent? Is it not the very acme of likelihood that there is some connection between this old Babylonian picture and the Biblical tale of the Fall of Man?

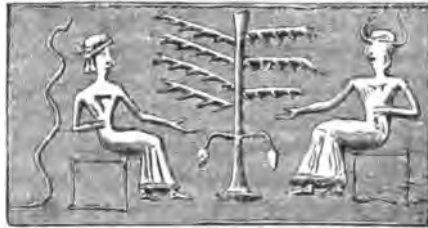


Fig. 42. SACRED TREE AND SERPENT.
A Babylonian conception of the Fall of Man
(After Smith.)

Man dies, and while his body is buried in the grave his departed soul descends into "the land of no returning," into Sheol, into Hades, into the gloomy, dust-impregnated locality, where the shades flutter around like birds and lead a joyless and sodden existence. Dust covers the doors and the bolts, and everything in which the heart of man took delight is mouldy and dust-laden.

With such a disconsolate outlook it is intelligible that both Hebrews and Babylonians looked upon length of days here below as the sovereign boon; and on every single one of the great flag-

stones with which the holy street of Marduk in Babylon was paved, and which was discovered by the German expedition to that city, there was engraved a prayer of Nebuchadnezzar which closed with the words: "O, Lord Marduk, grant to us great length of days!"

But strange to say, the Babylonian conception of the Underworld is one degree pleasanter than that of the Old Testament. On the twelfth tablet of the Gilgamesh epic, the Babylonian Underworld is described in the minutest details. We read there of a space situated beneath the Underworld which was apparently reserved for souls of unusual piety and "in which they reposed on beds of ease and quaffed clear water."

Many Babylonian coffins have been found in Warka, Nippur, and Babel, but the Berlin Museum recently acquired a small conical piece of clay (Fig. 43) which has evidently been taken from a coffin of this kind, and the inscription of which plaintively requests that whosoever may find the coffin shall leave it undisturbed and uninjured in its original resting-place; and the text concludes with words of blessing for him who performs so kind a deed: "May his name be blessed in the Upperworld, and in the Underworld may his departed spirit drink of clear water."

In Sheol, therefore, there exists a place for particularly pious souls, where they repose on beds of ease and quaff clear water. The remainder of Sheol, therefore, appears to be especially adapted to the needs of the impious and to be not only dusty but to be also without water, or at most furnishing "roily water,"—in any event a place of thirst.

In the book of Job (xxiv. 18), which appears to be extremely well conversant with Babylonian modes of thought, we find comparisons drawn between the arid, waterless desert which is reserved for those that have sinned, and the garden with fresh, clear water which is reserved for the pious. And in the New Testament, which has most curiously amalgamated this sentiment with the last verse of the book of Isaiah, we read of a flaming hell in which the rich man languishes from want of water, and of a garden (for that is the meaning of Paradise) full of fresh, clear water for Lazarus.

And the pictures which painters and poets, theologians and priests, and last of all Mahomet the prophet, have drawn of this Hell and this Paradise, are well known.

Behold yonder poor Moslem, sick and feeble, who on account of his weakness has been abandoned by the caravan in the desert. A jug filled with water is by his side. With his own hands he digs his shallow grave in the desert sands, resignedly awaiting his death.

His eyes are aglow with expectation, for in a few moments angels will issue from the open portals of Paradise and greet him with the words: "Selam 'alaika, thou hast been a god-fearing man; enter therefore for all eternity the garden that Allah has prepared for his own."

The garden stretches before him like the vast expanse of heaven and earth. Luxuriant groves casting plentiful shadows and laden with sweet fruits are intersected in all directions with bab-



Fig. 44. ASSYRIAN ANGELS.

Type representing manly strength and intelligence. (Bas-relief of Kuyunjik. Lenormant, IV., pp. 432-433.)

bling brooks and dotted with bubbling springs; while aerial bowers rise from the banks of the streams. Paradisian glory suffuses the countenances of the beatified ones, who are filled with happiness and serenity. They wear green brocaded garments made of the finest silk; their arms are adorned with gold and silver spangles; they lie on couches with lofty bolsters and soft pillows, and at their feet are thick carpets. So they rest, seated opposite one another at richly-furnished tables which offer them everything their hearts

desire. Brimming goblets go the rounds, and youths endowed with immortality and resembling scattered pearls carry silver beakers and crystal vessels filled with Maïn, the most delicious and clearest water from the spring Tasnim, from which the archangels drink, redolent with camphor and ginger. And this water is mixed with the rarest old wine, of which one can drink as much as one pleases, for it does not inebriate and causes no headaches.

And then there are the maidens of Paradise! Maidens with skin as soft and delicate as the ostrich egg, with voluptuous bosoms, and with eyes like glittering pearls concealed in shells of oys-



Fig. 45. ANGELS WITH EAGLE HEADS.

The Holy Tree in the Centre. (British Museum.)

ters,—gazelle-like eyes full of chaste but enrapturing glances. Two and seventy of these Paradisian maidens may every god-fearing man choose unto himself, in addition to the wives that he possessed on earth, provided he cares to have them (and the good man will always cherish desire for the good). All hatred and envy has departed from the breasts of the devout ones; no gossip, no slander, is heard in Paradise. “Selam, Selam” everywhere; and all utterances conclude with the ringing words: *el-hamdu, lillāhi rabbi-l-‘ālamīn*, the praise is the Lord’s, the master of all creatures.

This is the culminating point in the development of that simple

and unpretentious Babylonian conception of the crystal clear water which god-fearing men were destined to drink in Sheol. And these conceptions of the torments of Hell and of the blissful pleasures of Paradise to-day sway the hearts of untold millions.

It is well known, also, that the conceptions of the messengers of the gods, or of the *angels*, with which the Egyptians were utterly unacquainted, are characteristically Babylonian, and also that the conception of cherubim and seraphim and of the guardian angels



Fig. 46. WINGED CHERUB, WITH BODY OF BULL AND HUMAN HEAD.
(After Layard.)

that watch over the ways of men had its origin in Babylon. The Babylonian rulers stood in need of hosts of messengers to bear their behests into all quarters of their dominions; and so also their gods were obliged to have at their beck and call legions of messengers or angels,—messengers with the intelligence of men, and therefore having the form of men, but at the same time equipped with wings, in order to be able to carry through the winds of heaven

the commands of the gods to the inhabitants of earth; in addition, these angels were invested with the keenness of vision and the rapidity of flight of the eagle; and to those whose chief office it was to guard the entrance to their divine masters was imparted the unconquerable strength of the bull, or the awe-inspiring majesty of the lion. (Figs. 44 and 45.)

The Babylonian and Assyrian angels, like those in Ezekiel's vision, are very often of hybrid shape. Take, for example, the cherubim of which a type is given in Fig. 46, with their wings, their bull's bodies, and their honest, serious human countenances. Then



Fig. 47. ANGELS WITH HUMAN HEADS.

(Noble types closely resembling the Christian conception of angels.)

again we find types like that discovered in the palace of Asshurnazirpal (Fig. 47), which bears the closest possible resemblance to our conceptions of angels. These noble and radiant figures, which art has rendered so attractive and familiar in our eyes, will always retain a kindly place in our hearts.

But the *demons* and the *devils*, whether they take for us now the form of the enemies of man or that of the primordial foes of God, to these we were destined to bid farewell for all eternity, for the ancient Persian dualism was not after our hearts. "I form the light and create darkness: I make peace and create evil: *it is I, Yahveh, that do all these things.*" So justly declares the greatest

prophet of the Old Testament, Isaiah (xlv. 7). Demons like that represented in Fig. 48,—though such pictures are not without interest for the history of duelling,—or caricatures like that represented in Fig. 49, may be committed forever and aye to the obscurity of the Babylonian hills from which they have risen. (See also Fig. 50.)



Fig. 48. DUEL OF LION-HEADED AND EAGLE-FOOTED DEMONS.

(British Museum. After Lenormant.)

In his excavations at Khorsabad, Victor Place discovered the supply depot of the palace of Sargon. One of the store-rooms contained pottery of all sorts and sizes, and another utensils and implements made of iron. Here were found arranged in beautiful order abundant supplies of chains, nails, plugs, mattocks, and hoes, and the iron had been so admirably wrought and was so well preserved

that it rang like a bell when struck ; and some of these implements which were then twenty-five centuries old could be forthwith put into actual use by the Arabian workmen.

This drastic intrusion of Assyrian antiquity into our own days naturally fills us with amazement, and yet it is nothing more than what has happened in the intellectual domain. When we distinguish the twelve signs of the zodiac and call them Aries, Taurus, Gemini, etc. (see Fig. 51), when we divide the circle into 360 parts, the hour into 60 minutes, and the minute into 60 seconds,

and so on,—in all this, Summerrian and Babylonian civilisation still lives with us to-day.

And possibly I have also been successful in my endeavor to show that many Babylonian features still cling, through the medium of the Bible, to our religious thinking.

The elimination from our religious thought of the purely human conceptions derived from these admittedly talented peoples, and the liberation of our thought generally from the shackles of deep-rooted prejudices, will in no wise impair true religion and the true religious spirit, as these have been taught us by the prophets and poets of the Old Testament, but most sublimely of all by Jesus ; on the contrary, both will come forth from this process of purification far truer and far more intensified than ever before.



Fig. 49. BABYLONIAN DEVIL.
Demon of the Southwest Wind.
(Louvre. After Smith.)

I may be allowed finally a word with regard to the feature that invests the Bible with its main significance from the point of view of general history,—its *monotheism*. Here too Babel early opened a new and undreamt-of prospect.

It is remarkable, but no one can definitely say what our Teutonic word *God* originally signified. Philologists vacillate between "inspiring timidity" and "deliberation." But the word which the Semitic Canaanite races, to whom the Babylonians are most nearly related and from whom the Israelites afterward sprang, coined for

God, is not only lucid as to its meaning, but conceives the notion of divinity under so profound and exalted a form that this word alone suffices to shatter the legend that "the Semites were, time out of mind, amazingly deficient in religious instinct;" while it also refutes the popular modern conception that the religion of Yahveh, and therefore also our Christian belief in God, is ultimately sprung from a species of fetishism and animism such as is common among the South Sea cannibals or the inhabitants of Tierra del Fuego.

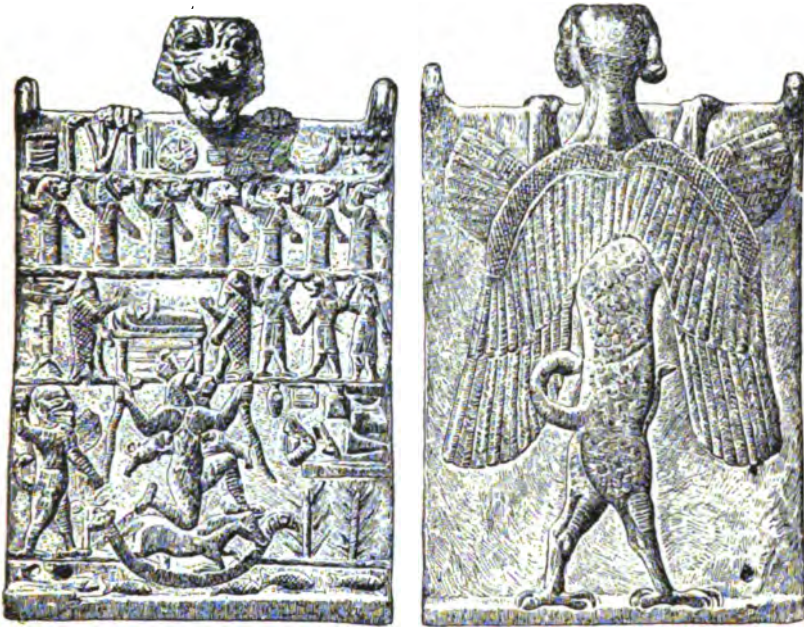


Fig. 50. A DEMON SUPPORTING A TABLET.¹
(Assyrian bronze tablet. After Lenormant.)

There is a remarkably beautiful passage in the Koran, VI., 75 et seq., which so fascinated Goethe that he expressed the desire to see it dramatised. Mahomet has mentally put himself in the place of Abraham, and is endeavoring to realise the manner in which Abraham had reached the monotheistic idea. He says: "And when the gloom of night had fallen, Abraham stepped forth into the darkness; and behold, there was a star shining above him. Then he cried out in his gladness: 'This is my Lord!' But when

¹The two upper horizontal strips in the left-hand side of the figure represent the heavens (the celestial bodies and the celestial genii). The third strip exhibits a funeral scene on earth. The fourth strip represents the Underworld bathed in the floods of the ocean.

the star grew dim, he said: 'I love not those that grow dim.' And when the moon rose radiantly in the firmament, he cried out in exceeding gladness: 'This is my Lord!' But when it set, he said: 'Alas, I shall surely be one of the people that must needs 'err.' But when the sun rose dazlingly in the morning, he said: 'This is my Lord, this is the greatest of all!' But when the sun set, then he said: 'O, my people, verily I am rid of your idolatry of many gods, and I lift up my countenance to him alone that created the heavens and the earth.' "



Fig. 51. SAGITARIUS AND SCORPIO.

Signs of the Zodiac, as represented by the Babylonians. (Lenormant, V., p. 180.)

That ancient Semitic word for God, so well known to us from the sentence, *Eli, Eli lama asabtani*, is *El*, and its meaning is *the goal*; the goal toward which are directed the eyes of all men that look Heavenward only, "which every man sees, which every man beholds from afar" (Job xxxvi. 25); the goal to which man stretches forth his hands, for which the human heart longs as its release from the uncertainties and imperfections of this earthly life,—this goal the ancient Semitic nomads called *El*, or god. And inasmuch as there can in the nature of things be only one goal, we find among the old Canaanite races which settled in Babylonia as early as 2500

years before Christ, and to whom Hammurabi himself belonged, such beautiful proper names as "God hath given," "God be with thee," "With the help of my God I go my way," etc.

But more! Through the kindness of the director of the Egyptian and Assyrian department of the British Museum I am able to show you here pictures of three little clay tablets (Fig. 52). What,



Fig. 52. CLAY TABLETS CONTAINING THE WORDS "YAHVEH IS GOD."
(Time of Hammurabi or Amraphel. British Museum.)

will be asked, is to be seen on these tablets, fragile broken pieces of clay, with scarcely legible characters scratched on their surface? True enough, but they are valuable from the fact that their date may be exactly fixed as that of the time of Hammurabi, one of them having been made during the reign of his father, Simmubalit; but still more so from the circumstance that they contain three names which are of the very greatest significance from the point of view of the history of religion. They are the words: *Yahveh is God*. Yahveh, the abiding one, the permanent one (for such is, as we have reason to believe, the significance of the name), who unlike man is not to-morrow a thing of the past, but one that endures forever, that lives and labors for all eternity above the broad, resplendent, law-bound canopy of the stars,—it was this Yahveh that constituted the primordial patrimony of those Canaanite tribes from which centuries afterward the twelve tribes of Israel sprang.

			
La-	ah-	ve-	ilu

			
La-	hu-	um-	ilu

The religion of the Canaanite tribes that emigrated to Babylonia rapidly succumbed, indeed, before the polytheism that had been practised for centuries by the ancient inhabitants of that country. But this polytheism by no means strikes an unsympa-

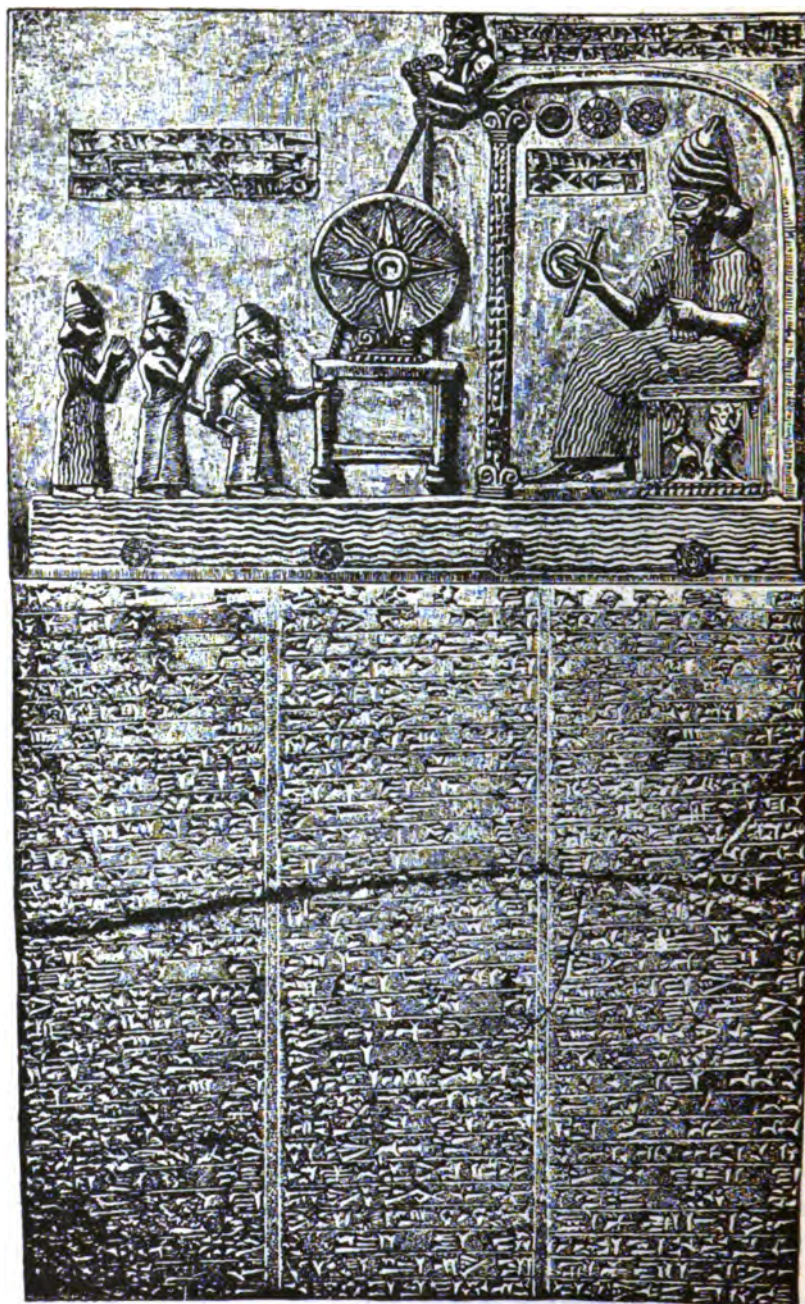


Fig. 53. THE SUN-GOD OF SIPPUR ENTHRONED IN HIS HOLY OF HOLIES.
 (Lenormant, V., p. 301.)

thetic chord in us, at least so far as its conception of its gods is concerned, all of whom were living, omnipotent, and omnipresent beings that hearkened unto the prayers of men, and who, however much incensed they might become at the sins of men, were always immediately ready again with offers of mercy and reconciliation. And likewise the representations which these deities found in Babylonian art, as for instance that of the sun-god of Sippar enthroned in his Holy of Holies (Fig. 53)¹ are far removed from everything that savors of the ugly, the ignoble, or the grotesque. The Prophet Ezekiel (chap. i) in his visions of his Lord saw God enter on a living chariot formed of four winged creatures with the



Fig. 54. BABYLONIAN CYLINDER-SEAL WITH REPRESENTATION
RESEMBLING THE VISION OF EZEKIEL.

face of a man, a lion, an ox, and an eagle, and on the heads of these cherubim he saw (x. 1) a crystal surface supporting a sapphire throne on which God was seated in the likeness of a man, bathed in the most resplendent radiance. Noting carefully these details, can we fail to observe the striking resemblance which his vision presents to the representation of a god which has been found on a very ancient Babylonian cylinder-seal (Fig. 54)? Standing on an odd sort of vessel, the prow and stern of which terminate in seated human figures, may be seen two cherubim with their backs

¹ See also Fig. 31 in the *April Open Court*.

to each other and with their faces, which are human in form, turned to the front. Their attitude leads us to infer that there are two corresponding figures at the rear. On their backs reposes a surface, and on this surface stands a throne on which the god sits, bearded and clothed in long robes, with a tiara on his head, and in his right hand what are apparently a scepter and a ring: and behind the throne, standing ready to answer his beck and call, is a servitor of the god, who may be likened to the man "clothed with linen" (Ezekiel ix. 3, and x. 2) that executed the behests of Yahveh.

Notwithstanding all this, however, and despite, the fact that many liberal and enlightened minds openly advocated the doctrine that Nergal and Nebo, moon-god and sun-god, the god of thunder Ramman, and all the rest of the Babylonian Pantheon were one in Marduk, the god of light, still polytheism, gross polytheism, remained for *3000 years* the Babylonian state religion,—a sad and significant warning against the indolence of men and races in matters of religion, and against the colossal power which may be acquired by a strongly-organised priesthood based upon it.

Even the religion of Yahveh, under the magic standard of which Moses united into a single nation the twelve nomadic tribes of Israel, remained infected for centuries with all manner of human infirmities,—with all the unsophisticated anthropomorphic conceptions that are characteristic of the childhood of the human race, with Israelitic particularism, with heathen sacrificial customs, and with the cult of legal externalities. Even its intrinsic worth was impotent to restrain the nation from worshipping the Baal and the Astarte of the indigenous Canaanite race, until those titanic minds, the prophets, discovered in Yahveh the god of the universe, and pleaded for a quickening of the inner spirit of religion with exhortations like that of Joel "to rend their hearts and not their garments," and until the divinely endowed singers of the Psalms expressed the concepts of the prophetic leaders in verses which awaken to this day a living echo in the hearts of all nations and times,—until, in fine, the prophets and the psalmists paved the way for the adhortation of Jesus to pray to God in spirit and truth and to strive by dint of individual moral endeavor in all spheres of life after higher and higher perfection,—after that perfection which is our Father's in Heaven.

BIBLICAL LOVE-DITTIES.

BY PAUL HAUPT.

GOETHE says in the notes to his *Westöstlicher Divan*¹ that the Song of Solomon is 'the most tender and inimitable expression of graceful yet passionate love that has come down to us.'² Unfortunately the poems cannot be fully enjoyed—since they are fragmentary, telescoped, or driven into one another, and mixed up; but it is delightful to divine the conditions under which the poets lived. The mild air of the most charming district of Canaan breathes through the poem, cosy rustic conditions, vineyards, gardens, beds of spices, some urban limitations,³ and a royal court in the background.⁴ But the principal theme is an ardent longing of youthful hearts, seeking, finding, repulsing,⁵ attracting, under various most simple conditions. We thought repeatedly of selecting and arranging something out of this charming confusion, but this enigmatic and inextricable condition invests those few leaves with a peculiar charm. Many a time well-meaning methodical minds have been tempted to find or establish an intelligible connection, but a subsequent student must do the work all over again.'

This view is, perhaps, too pessimistic. It is true that it is impossible to retrace the original plan of the author of the Song of Solomon, for the simple reason that there is no author of the Book. But the traditional arrangement, or rather disarrangement, may be

¹ *Goethes Werke herausgegeben im Auftrage der Grossherzogin Sophie von Sachsen*, vol. vii. (Weimar, 1888) p. 8. Cf. P. Holzhausen, *Goethe und seine Uebersetzung des Hoheliedes in Deutsche Revue*, March, 1896, pp. 370-372.

² This will perhaps strike some as an exaggeration.

³ This is not correct; *watchmen* in III. 3 and v. 7 represents a subsequent addition.

⁴ There are only allusions to the hangings in Solomon's palace (I. 5) and to Solomon's barem vi. 8, viii. 11). In the other passages in which Solomon is mentioned, this name represents a scribal expansion, while *King* (I. 4 and 12, iii. 9 and 11) refers to the King of the Wedding-feast, i. e., the bridegroom. Jews in Russia and Palestine still call the bridegroom King.

⁵ In v. 6 the lover does not reject the maiden; only I. 8 might, perhaps, be said to imply a rejection.

very much improved, and the received text freed from a great many subsequent additions and superfluous repetitions. In this rearrangement the Song of Solomon certainly becomes much more intelligible than it is in its traditional 'charming confusion.' The restoration of the individual songs is far more important than the restoration of the sequence of the love-ditties in the original collection. The arrangement of the songs may have varied at an early date; it may even have been injudicious and inappropriate from the beginning.

The so-called Song of Solomon is not the work of one poet but a late post-Exilic collection of popular nuptial songs and love-ditties which may all have been sung at Hebrew weddings, although they were not originally composed for this purpose. They were probably compiled in the neighborhood of Damascus after the beginning of the Seleucidan era (312 B.C.). In Palestine the autumn is the usual time for weddings; after the harvest, says Dalman in the introduction to his *Palestinian Divan*,¹ the young men have leisure and also money to pay for the brides, but in the country east of the Jordan, especially in the neighborhood of Damascus, the majority of the weddings take place during March which is the most beautiful month of the year. According to Wetzstein,² for many years Prussian Consul at Damascus, the weddings are celebrated there on the threshing-floor of the village, which is at that time of the year a flowery meadow. This Springtide of Love is described in the beautiful poem which we find in the second chapter of the Song of Solomon:

- ii. 8 Hark! dearest mine,
 behold, he is coming,
 Over mountains leaping,
 over hillocks skipping.
- 9 Behold, he is standing
 behind our wall there!
 From windows I peer down,
 through lattices peeping.
- 10 Arise, my darling!
 ah, come my fair one!
- 11 For look you, past is the winter,
 and rains no longer are falling,
- 12 The ground is covered with flowers,
 and birds fill the air with warbling.

¹ Gustav H. Dalman, *Palästinischer Diwan* (Leipzig, 1901) p. xii.

² Cf. S. R. Driver's *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament*, sixth edition (New York, 1897) p. 452.

We hear the cooing of turtles,
to our home is come back the swallow.¹

¹³ The fruit of figtrees is ripening,
and fragrance exhales from the grapevines.
Arise, my darling!
ah, come, my fair one!

¹⁴ My dove in the rock-cleft,
in the cliff's recesses,
Open, my sister!
come, my perfection!²
Thy face show me,
thy voice grant me!
For sweet thy voice,
and fair thy face.
Arise, my darling!
ah, come, my fair one!³

The bride was given away by her brothers, and in the last chapter of the Song of Songs we have a little epigrammatic poem twitting the brothers of the bride for their unnecessary and premature solicitude concerning the chastity and the marriage of their sister.

The bride says:

vi. 3 My dear one's am I, and he is mine, too;
vii. 10 and, ah, for my love he is longing.
ii. 1 A meadow-saffron of Sharon,
or a lily of the valleys am I.

There are no white lilies in Palestine; the word *susan* denotes, not a white lily but a dark purple sword-lily.⁴ The bride means to say that, while she may be a little tanned like the pale-lilac flowers of the meadow-saffron, or even like the dark purple sword-lilies, she is just as beautiful as these flowers, and our Saviour said (Matt. vi. 29) that even Solomon in all his glory was not arrayed like one of these. The bride therefore continues that, while she may be a little swarthy like the black tents of the Bedouins, she is nevertheless just as beautiful as the magnificent hangings in Solomon's palace. The Bedouin girls consider themselves black and call the city girls white. The white and the brown girls play a

¹ Cf. Jeremiah viii. 7.

² Cf. chapter v, verse 2.

³ The rhythm of the translations has been much improved by the kind assistance of the distinguished coeditor of the *Polychrome Bible*, Horace Howard Furness.

⁴ *Gladiolus atrovirelaccus*. The Greeks called this dark purple sword-lily *hyacinth*. Apollo caused this flower to spring from the blood of Hyacinthus. Ovid (*Metamorph.* x. 210) says that the hyacinth looks like a lily, but is not white but purple; and Theocritus (x. 28) says to the graceful but sunburnt Syrian maiden Bombyce. The violets and hyacinths are swart, yet these flowers are chosen the first in garlands. The ancients believed that the exclamation *AI* 'woe,' was marked on the petals of the hyacinth.

very prominent part in modern Palestinian poetry. The second stanza of this love-ditty continues :

i. 5 Swarthy am I, but comely,
ye maidens who live in Jerusalem,
Dark like the tents of Kedar,
but like arras in Solomon's palace.

6 Heed not my swarthy complexion,
the sun it is that has burned me :
Wroth were the sons of my mother,
of the vineyards they made me the keeper.

Here a glossator has appended an additional clause,

but I have not kept my own vineyard,

and the meaning of 'vineyards,' *i. e.*, virginity, was explained in an illustrative quotation from a song which the maidens, it may be supposed, used to sing in the vineyards, and which may be compared to the *Schnadahüpfeln* in the Bavarian, Tyrolese, and Styrian Alps :

ii. 15 Catch us the foxes,
the little foxes,¹
Destroying vineyards,²
our vineyards in blossom.

The bride then continues that her brothers used to say when she was still an immature little girl :

viii. 8 We have a tiny little sister,
and breasts, not as yet, has she.
But what shall we do with our sister,
when the time comes for her wooing ?

9 If she be like a wall (stopping lovers),
we will place on it copings of silver.

We will crown her with a silver bridal crown and give her a handsome outfit, if she marries with our consent, but

If a door (open wide to all lovers),
we will bar it with boards made of cedars.

x. Albeit a wall am I thus far,
my breasts are now growing like towers,
And to them I am verily seeming
ready to surrender the fortress.

Then the maiden addresses her lover :

viii. 1 Ah, that thou wert my brother,
nursed at the breast of my mother !

¹ That is, the young man.

² Foxes are very fond of grapes; cf. the Esopian fable of the Fox and the Sour Grapes.

Then, wheresoever I meet thee,
I might kiss, and none would condemn me!

To my mother's house I would lead thee,
to the chamber of her who there bore me,
And make thee drink wine that is spiced
and the must of the pomegranate fruitage.

i. e., I will bestow my love on thee.¹

The lover is just as enthusiastic in the praise of his sweetheart. He says, there is a large vineyard at Baal-hammon,² alluding to a large harem, such as Solomon had according to 1 Kings xi. 3, where it is stated that he had 700 queens and 300 concubines. That vineyard was so large that the owner could not keep it in order without assistance, just as a large harem requires a number of eunuchs. The keepers of this large vineyard probably consume one-fifth of the annual income, and it is not impossible that the inmates of a large harem may bestow one-fifth of their favors on the keepers. The lover prefers to have his bride exclusively for himself and to allow no percentage whatever to an 'assistant.' He says:

viii. 11 A vineyard there is at Baal-hammon,—
a vineyard entrusted to keepers;
Any man could have had for its fruitage
a thousand shekels of silver.

12 In my sole charge is my vineyard,
nought else on earth do I care for:³
I'll resign to thee, Solomon, the thousand,
and two hundred therefrom to the keepers!

In a subsequent love-ditty the lover describes the superiority of his sweetheart over all queens and concubines as follows:

vi. 8 Solomon's queens numbered sixty,
his concubines eighty in number;
9 But one is my dove, and one only,
and one alone my perfection.

From her birth she was pure and was spotless,
unsullied she was from an infant;
The maidens who see her admire her,
both queens and concubines praise her.

¹ This explanatory gloss appears in the received text at the end of the twelfth verse of the preceding chapter.

² Baal-hammon of the received text is an intentional alteration for Baal-khammon, the name of a Phœnician solar deity. The vineyard was probably on a hill that was especially fruitful and sunny (see Isaiah v. 1 in the *Polychrome Bible*, p. 5) and therefore sacred to Baal-khammon (cf. the notes on Leviticus (in the *Polychrome Bible*, p. 102, l. 5).

³ Cf. Psalm lxxiii. 25.

He assures her that with him she will be safe anywhere, on the brinks of precipices, on the tops of the highest mountains, in the haunts of lions and leopards. He will guard her and protect her. He says:

From Lebanon¹ with me thou mayst journey,
from Lebanon with me, my bride,
Look down from the height of Amana,²
from the heights of Shenir³ and Hermon,⁴

From the resting places of lions,
from mountains haunted by leopards.

We find also a little railery at the expense of the newly-married couple, relating the teasing answer which the bridegroom is said to have given to his sweetheart when she asked for a tryst. The maiden said:

i. 7 Oh, tell me, thou, my beloved,
where at high noon thou wilt tarry?
Why, dearest, astray should I wander
amid the flocks of thy comrades?

This phrase is equivocal. The original meaning is wandering about in quest of the tryst, but it suggests also the idea of wandering from the path of duty. The Orientals are very fond of ambiguities, especially the Jews of Damascus; a common saying at Damascus was *alhanu min Yehûdi*, 'more fond of veiled allusions than a Jew.' In the same way the phrase, 'Feed thy kids,' in the answer of the lover has a special meaning. A kid was the customary present given to a female friend (Arab. *ṣadiqe*) who was visited by a man from time to time. When Judah saw his daughter-in-law, Tamar, who had covered her face and wrapped herself, he said to her, I will send thee a kid;⁵ and when Samson visited his Philistine 'friend' at Timnath he brought her a kid.⁶ Such a gift was probably expected at every visit of the husband. The 'bride' remained at her father's house, and the 'husband' visited her there. According to Ammianus Marcellinus⁷ (xiv. 4) marriage among the Saracens was a temporary contract for which the wife received a price. In Persia these temporary alliances are still recognised

¹ This includes the Antilibanus, east of the Lebanon range.

² That is the *Yabal as-Zabadany*, northwest of Damascus, below which is the source of the river Amana or Abana (2 Kings v. 12), i. e. the *Nahr Baradd* which flows through Damascus.

³ The northern part of Antilibanus between Baalbec and Homs (*Emesa*).³

⁴ The highest peak of the Antilibanus, southwest of Damascus.

⁵ Genesis xxxviii. 17; cf. Proverbs vii. 10.

⁶ Judges xv. 1; cf. xvi. 1 and the notes on Judges, in the *Polychrome Bible*, p. 83, l. 40.

⁷ Born at Antioch, Syria, about 330 A. D.

as legal.¹ In the Book of Tobit (ii. 12) we read that after Tobit had been stricken with blindness, his wife, Anna, went to a factory where women were employed as weavers, and when the owners gave her one day a kid in addition to her wages, she fell out with her husband who would not believe her story and insisted on the kid being returned to the owners of the factory, as he felt ashamed of his wife. We know also that a young he-goat was the offering of the Greek hetæra to the Goddess of Love, Aphrodite.

The lover's reply to his sweetheart—

- i. 8 If, indeed, thou know not the pathway,
of the flocks, do thou follow the footprints;
There, then, thy kids thou mayst pasture
near to the tents of the shepherds!

means therefore, If you do not love me sufficiently to be instinctively guided to the place where I shall rest at noon, you may bestow your favors on the other shepherds and receive, as the price of consent, a number of kids which you may pasture near to the tents of the shepherds. She will have so many kids that she will be able to start a flock of her own. Similarly a poor actor might be told that he would receive so many apples and eggs that he would be able to open a grocery store after the performance.

The most beautiful poem of these Biblical love-ditties is contained in verses 6 and 7 of the last chapter, which must be preceded by the beginning of the third chapter:

- iii. 1 At night, as I lay on my pillow,
for him whom I love was I longing.
2 2 I will rise and fare forth through the city
both through streets that are wide and are narrow.
3 I met men who fared forth through the city:
Have ye seen my beloved? I asked them.
4 But scarce had I gone a step further
when before me, lo! stood my loved one!
I clasped him and would not release him,
and then, lo, I said to my loved one;
viii. 6 Hang me close to thy heart like a signet,³
on thy hand, like a ring, do thou wear me!

¹ See W. Robertson Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia* (Cambridge, 1885), pp. 65, 67, 76.

² Supply, I said to myself.

³ Seals were worn either as pendants from a cord around the neck (in Gen. xxxviii. 18 Judah gives Tamar his seal, his signet-cord, and his staff, as a pledge) or as seal-rings on the right hand (cf. Jerem. xxii. 24; Haggai ii. 23). The maiden desires to be just as close to her lover's heart as his seal hanging down from his seal-cord, and just as dear to him as his seal-pendant or his seal-ring on his right hand. 'Keep me as thy seal' has nearly the same meaning as the phrase 'Keep me as the apple of thine eye' (Psalm xvii. 8, Prov. vii. 2, Deut. xxxii. 10).

For Love as Death is strong,
and Passion as Sheol unyielding.
Its flames are flames of fire,
its flashes are flashes of lightning.

7 Nothing is able to quench it,
Neither can any streams drown it.
If one should resign for it all his possessions,
Could any man therefore condemn him?

If the Song of Solomon is nothing but a collection of profane love-ditties in praise of sensual love (just as Psalm xlv. is a nuptial song presented by the Jewish high-priest, the Maccabee Jonathan, at the wedding of the Syrian King Alexander Balas and the Egyptian princess Cleopatra, the daughter of King Ptolemy VI. Philometor, which was celebrated at Ptolemais in 150 B.C. as related in 1 Macc. x. 59), some might raise the question whether the Song of Songs is not out of place in the Bible. It is nowhere cited in the New Testament. The great Hebraist, J. D. Michaelis, of the University of Göttingen, omitted the Song of Songs from his critical translation of the Bible.¹ In the same way the canonicity of the Book of Ecclesiastes was still contested in the second century of our era. We must remember that the canon of Scripture is a human institution concerning which opinions differ. The Roman Catholic Church includes several book in the Canon which are generally looked upon as apocryphal, although some of them are undoubtedly superior from a religious and ethical point of view to certain of the canonical books; *cf. e. g.*, the apocryphal Books of the Maccabees and the canonical Book of Esther, or the apocryphal Book of Ecclesiasticus and the canonical Book of Ecclesiastes. The Book of Ecclesiastes was practically condemned by our Saviour. The principal maxim of Ecclesiastes, which is repeated five times in the Book (ii. 24, iii. 12, 22, v. 17, viii. 15), is: *Eat, drink, and be merry*, but in Luke xii. 15-31 (a passage which contains several allusions to Ecclesiastes, including the reference to the lilies of the field and Solomon in all his glory) we read the beautiful parable of our Lord in which He says: The ground of a certain rich man brought forth plentifully; and he thought, I will pull down my barns and build greater. I will say to my soul, Soul thou hast much goods laid up for many years, take thine ease, eat, drink, and be merry. But God said to him, Thou fool, this night thy soul will be required of thee. Seek ye first the kingdom of

¹*Cf.* Johann David Michaelis *Deutsche Uebersetzung des Alten Testaments, mit Anmerkungen für Ungelernte*, part xii (Göttingen, 1785), p. xxiv.

God and His righteousness! Be not anxious for the morrow. Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof.¹ There can be no stronger condemnation of the teachings of Ecclesiastes than these words of our Saviour, and this ought to settle the question, at least for the Christian Church, whether Ecclesiastes has any claims to canonical authority.²

The late Professor Franz Delitzsch, of Leipzig, one of the foremost Biblical scholars of the nineteenth century and one of the most devout Christians I ever met in my life, stated in the introduction to his commentary on the Song of Solomon, that this Book was the most difficult book in the Old Testament, but the meaning becomes perfectly plain, in fact too plain, as soon as we know that it is not an allegorical dramatic poem but a collection of popular love-ditties which must be interpreted on the basis of the erotic imagery in the Talmud and modern Palestinian and other Moham-medan poetry.

¹ Compare Matthew vi. 33.

² Cf. my paper on the Book of Ecclesiastes in *Oriental Studies*, a selection of the papers read before the Oriental Club of Philadelphia, 1888-1894 (Boston: Ginn & Co., 1894), p. 245.

THE DISSEMINATION OF MITHRAISM IN THE ROMAN EMPIRE.¹

BY PROFESSOR FRANZ CUMONT.

IT MAY be said, in a general way, that Mithra remained forever excluded from the Hellenic world. The ancient authors of Greece speak of him only as a foreign god worshipped by the kings of Persia. Even during the Alexandrian epoch he had not descended from the plateau of Asia Minor to the shores of Ionia. In all the countries washed by the Ægean Sea, one belated inscription in the Piræus only recalls his existence, and we seek in vain for his name among the numerous exotic divinities worshipped at Delos in the second century before our era. Under the empire, it is true, Mithræums are found in divers ports of the coast of Phœnicia and Egypt, near Aradus, Sidon, and Alexandria; but these isolated monuments only throw into stronger relief the absence of every vestige of the Mithraic Mysteries in the interior of the country. The recent discovery of a temple of Mithra at Memphis would appear to be an exception that confirms the rule, for the Mazdean deity was probably not introduced into that ancient city until the time of the Romans. He has not been mentioned hitherto in any inscription of Egypt or Assyria, and there is nothing as yet to show that altars were erected to him even in the capital of the Seleucidæ. In these semi-Oriental empires the powerful organisation of the indigenous clergy and the ardent devotion of the people for their national idols appear to have arrested the progress of the invader and to have paralysed his influence.

One characteristic detail shows that the Iranian *yasata* never made many converts in the Hellenic or Hellenised countries. Greek onomatology, which furnishes a considerable series of theophorous or god-bearing names indicating the popularity which

¹ Extracted by the author from his *Textes et Monuments figurés relatifs aux Mystères du Mithra* (Brussels: H. Lamertin). Translated by T. J. McCormack.

the Phrygian and Egyptian divinities enjoyed, has no *Mithrion*, *Mithrocles*, *Mithrodore*, or *Mithrophile* to show as the counterparts of its Menophiles, its Metrodotes, its Isidores, and its Serapions. All the derivatives of Mithras are of barbaric formation. Although the Thracian Bendis, the Asian Cybele, the Serapis of the Alexandrians, and even the Syrian Baals, were successively received with favor in the cities of Greece, that country never extended the hand of hospitality to the tutelar deity of its ancient enemies.

His distance from the great centers of ancient civilisation explains the belated arrival of Mithra in the Occident. Official worship was rendered at Rome to the *Magna Mater* of Pessinus as early as 204 B. C.; Isis and Serapis made their appearance there in the first century before our era, and long before this they had counted their worshippers in Italy by multitudes. The Carthaginian Astarte had a temple in the capital from the end of the Punic Wars; the Bellona of Cappadocia since the time of Sulla; the *Dea Syria* of Hierapolis from the beginning of the empire, when the Persian Mysteries were still totally unknown there. And yet these deities were those of a nation or a city only, while the domain of Mithra stretched from the Indus to the Pontus Euxinus.

But this domain, even in the epoch of Augustus, was still situated almost entirely beyond the frontiers of the empire, and the central plateau of Asia Minor, which had long resisted the Hellenic civilisation, remained even more hostile to the culture of Rome. This region of steppes, forests, and pastures, fringed with precipitous declivities, had no attractions for foreigners, and the indigenous dynasties which, despite the state of vassalage to which they had been reduced, still held their ground under the early Cæsars, encouraged the isolation that had been their distinction for ages. Cilicia, it is true, had been organised as a Roman province in the year 102 B. C., but a few points only on the coast had been occupied at that period, and the conquest of the country was not completed until two centuries later. Cappadocia was not incorporated until the reign of Tiberius, the western part of Pontus until the reign of Nero, and Commagene and Lesser Armenia not definitively until the reign of Vespasian. Not until then were regular and immediate relations established between these remote countries and the Occident. The exigencies of administration and the organisation of defence, the mutations of governors and officers, the relieving of procurators and revenue officers, the levies of troops of infantry and cavalry, and finally the permanent establishment of three legions along the frontier of the Euphrates, provoked

a perpetual interchange of men, products, and ideas between these mountainous districts hitherto closed to the world, and the European provinces. Then came the great expeditions of Trajan, of Lucius Verus, of Septimius Severus, the subjection of Mesopotamia, and the foundation of numerous colonies in Osrhoene and far Nineveh, which formed the links of a great chain binding Iran with the Mediterranean. These successive annexations of the Cæsars were the first cause of the diffusion of the Mithraic religion in the Latin world. It began to spread there under the Flavians and developed under the Antonines and the Severi, just as did another cult practised alongside of it in Commagene, namely that of Jupiter Dolichenus,¹ which made at the same time the tour of the Roman empire.

According to Plutarch, Mithra was introduced much earlier into Italy. The Romans, by this account, are said to have been initiated into his Mysteries by the Cilician pirates conquered by Pompey. Plutarch's testimony has nothing improbable in it. We know that the first Jewish community established *trans Tiberim* (across the Tiber) was composed of captives that the same Pompey had brought with him from the capture of Jerusalem (63 B. C.). Owing to this special event, it is possible that toward the end of the republic the Persian god had actually found a few faithful devotees in the mixed populace of the capital. But mingled with the multitude of brother worshippers that practised foreign rites, his little group of votaries did not attract attention. The *yazata* was the object of the same distrust as the Asiatics that worshipped him. The influence of this small band of sectaries on the great mass of the Roman population was virtually as infinitesimal as is to-day the influence of Buddhistic societies on modern Europe.

It was not until the end of the first century that the name of Mithra began to be generally bruited abroad in Rome. When Statius wrote the first canto of the *Thebaid* about eighty years after Christ, he had already seen typical representations of the tauroctonous hero, and it appears from the testimony of Plutarch that in his time (46-125 A. D.) the Mazdean sect already enjoyed a certain notoriety in the Occident. This conclusion is confirmed by epigraphic documents. The most ancient inscription to Mithra which we possess is a bilingual inscription of a freedman of the Flavians. Not long after, a marble group is consecrated to him by a slave of T. Claudius Livianus who was pretorian prefect under Trajan (102 A. D.). The invincible god must also have penetrated

¹ Named from the city of Doliche, now Doluk, in Commagene.

about the same time into central Italy: at Nersæ, in the country of the Æqui, a text of the year 172 A. D. has been discovered which speaks of a Mithræum that had "crumbled to pieces by reason of its antiquity." The appearance of the invader in the northern part of the empire is almost simultaneous. It is undoubted that the fifteenth legion brought the Mysteries to Carnuntum on the Danube about the beginning of the reign of Vespasian, and we also know that about 148 A. D. they were celebrated by the troops in Germany. Under the Antonines, especially from the beginning of the reign of Commodus, the proofs of their presence abound in all countries. At the end of the second century, the Mysteries were celebrated at Ostium in at least four temples.

We cannot think of enumerating all the cities in which our Asiatic cult was established, nor of stating in each case the reasons why it was introduced. Despite their frequency, the epigraphic texts and sculptured monuments throw but very imperfect light on the local history of Mithraism. It is impossible for us to follow the detailed steps in its advancement, to distinguish the concurrent influences exercised by the different churches, to draw up a picture of the work of conversion, pursuing its course from city to city and province to province. All that we can do is to indicate in large outlines in what countries the new faith was propagated and who were in general the champions that advocated it there.

The principal agent of its diffusion was undoubtedly the army. The Mithraic religion is predominantly a religion of soldiers, and it was not without good reason that the name of *milites* was given to a certain grade of initiates. The influence of the army may appear less capable of affording an explanation when one reflects that under the emperors the legions were quartered in stationary encampments, and from the time of Hadrian at least they were severally recruited from the province in which they were stationed. But this general rule was subject to numerous exceptions. Thus, for example, the Asiatics contributed for a long time the bulk of the effective troops in Dalmatia and Mœsia, and for a certain period in Africa also. Furthermore, the soldier who after several years of service in his native country had been promoted to the rank of centurion was as a rule transferred to some foreign station; and after he had mastered the various difficulties of his second charge he was often assigned to a new garrison, so that the entire body of centurions of any one legion formed "a sort of microcosm of the empire." These officers were a potent source of influence, for their very position insured to them a considerable moral influence

over the conscripts whom it was their vocation to instruct. In addition to this individual propaganda, which is almost totally withdrawn from our ken, the temporary or permanent transfers of single detachments, and sometimes of entire regiments, to remotely situated fortresses or camps brought together people of all races and beliefs. Finally, there were to be found side by side with the legionaries who were Roman citizens, an equal, if not a greater, number of foreign *auxilia*, who did not like their comrades enjoy the privilege of serving in their native country. Indeed, in order to forestall local uprisings, it was a set part of the imperial policy to remove these foreign troops as far as possible from the country of their origin. Thus, under the Flavians, the *alæ* or indigenous cohorts formed but a minimal fraction of the auxiliaries that guarded the frontiers of the Rhine and the Danube.

Among the recruits summoned from abroad to take the place of the national troops sent to distant parts were numerous Asiatics, and perhaps no country of the Orient furnished, relatively to the extent of its territory, a greater number of Roman soldiers than Commagene, where Mithraism had struck deepest root. In addition to horsemen and legionaries, there were levied in this country, probably at the time of its union with the empire, at least six consanguineous cohorts. Numerous also were the native soldiers of Cappadocia, Pontus, and Cilicia, not to speak of Syrians of all classes; and the Cæsars did not scruple even to enroll those agile squadrons of Parthian cavalry with whose warlike qualities they had become acquainted at their own cost.

The Roman soldier was upon the whole pious and even superstitious. The many perils to which he was exposed caused him to seek unremittingly the protection of Heaven, and an incalculable number of dedicatory inscriptions bears witness both to the vivacity of his faith and to the variety of his beliefs. The Orientals especially, transported for twenty years and more into countries which were totally strange to them, piously preserved the memories of their national divinities. Whenever they found the opportunity, they did not fail to assemble for the purpose of rendering them devotion. They had experienced the need of conciliating the great lord (*Ba'al*), whose anger as little children they had learned to fear. Their worship also offered an occasion for reunion, and for recalling to memory under the gloomy climates of the North their distant country. But their brotherhoods were not exclusive; they gladly admitted to their rites those of their companions in arms, whatever their origin, whose aspirations the offi-

cial religion of the army failed to satisfy, and who hoped to obtain from the foreign god more efficacious succor in their combats, or, if they succumbed, a happier lot in the life to come. Afterwards, these neophytes, transferred to other garrisons according to the exigencies of the service or the necessities of war, from converts became converters, and formed about them a new nucleus of proselytes. In this manner, the Mysteries of Mithra, first brought to Europe by semi barbarian recruits from Cappadocia or Commagene, were rapidly disseminated to the utmost confines of the ancient world.

From the banks of the Pontus Euxinus to the north of Brittany and to the border of the great Sahara Desert, along the entire length of the Roman frontier, Mithraic monuments abound. Lower Mœsia, which was not explored until very recently, has already furnished a number of them,—a circumstance which will not excite our astonishment when it is remembered that Oriental contingents supplied in this province the deficiency of native conscripts. To say nothing of the port of Tomi, legionaries practised the Persian cult at Troësmis, at Durostorum, and at Cæscus, as well as at the *Tropæum Traiani*, which the discovery of the monuments of Adam-Klissi has recently rendered celebrated. In the interior of the country, this cult penetrated to Montana and to Nicopolis; and it is doubtless from these northern cities that it crossed the Balkans and spread into the northern parts of Thrace, notably above Serdica (Sofia) and as far as Bessapare in the valley of the Hebrus. Ascending the Danube, it gained a footing at Viminacium, the capital of Upper Mœsia; but we are ignorant of the extent to which it spread in this country, which is still imperfectly explored. The naval flotilla that paroled the waters of this mighty river was manned and even commanded by foreigners, and the fleet undoubtedly disseminated the Asiatic religion in all the ports it touched.

We are better informed regarding the circumstances of the introduction of Mithraism into Dacia. When in 107 A. D. Trajan annexed this barbarous kingdom to the Roman empire, the country, exhausted by six years of obstinate warfare, was little more than a desert. To repopulate it, the emperor transported to it, as Eutropius tells us, multitudes of colonists "*ex toto orbe Romano*," from all the territories of Rome. The population of this country was even more mixed in the second century than it is to-day, where all the races of Europe are bickering and battling with one another. Besides the remnants of the ancient Dacians were found here Illy-

rians and Pannonians, Galatians, Carians, and Asiatics, people from Edessa and Palmyra, and still others besides, all of whom continued to practice the cults of their native countries. But none of these cults prospered more than the Mysteries of Mithra and one is astounded at the prodigious development that this cult took during the 150 years that the Roman domination lasted in this region. It flourished not only in the capital of the province, Sarmizegetusa, and in the cities that sprang up near the Roman camps, like Potaissa and notably Apulum, but along the entire extent of the territory occupied by the Romans. Whereas one cannot find in Dacia, so far as I know, the slightest vestige of a Christian community, from the fortress Szamos-Ujvar to the northern frontier and as far as Romula in Wallachia, multitudes of inscriptions, of sculptures, and of altars which have escaped the destruction of Mithræums have been found. This *délbris* especially abounds in the central portions of the country, along the great causeway that followed the course of the valley of the Maros, the principal artery by which the civilisation of Rome spread into the mountains of the surrounding country. The single colony of Apulum counted certainly four temples of the Persian god, and the *spelæum* of Sarmizegetusa, recently excavated, still contains the fragments of a round fifty of bas-reliefs and other votive tablets which the piety of the faithful had there consecrated to their god.

Likewise, in Pannonia the Iranian religion implanted itself in the fortified cities that formed the chain of Roman defences along the Danube, in Cusum, Intercisa, Aquincum, Brigetio, Carnuntum, Vindobona, and even in the hamlets of the interior. It was especially powerful in the two principal places of this double province, in Aquincum and in Carnuntum; and in both of these cities the causes of its greatness are easily discovered. The first-named city, where in the third century the Mysteries were celebrated in at least five temples scattered over its entire area, was the headquarters of the *legio II adjutrix*,¹ which had been formed in the year 70 A. D. by Vespasian for the purpose of supporting the fleet stationed at Ravenna. Among the freedmen thus admitted into the regular army, the proportion of Asiatics was considerable, and it is probable that from the very beginning Mithraism counted a number of adepts in this irregular legion. When toward the year 120 A. D. it was established by Hadrian in Lower Pannonia, it undoubtedly brought with it to this place the Oriental cult to which

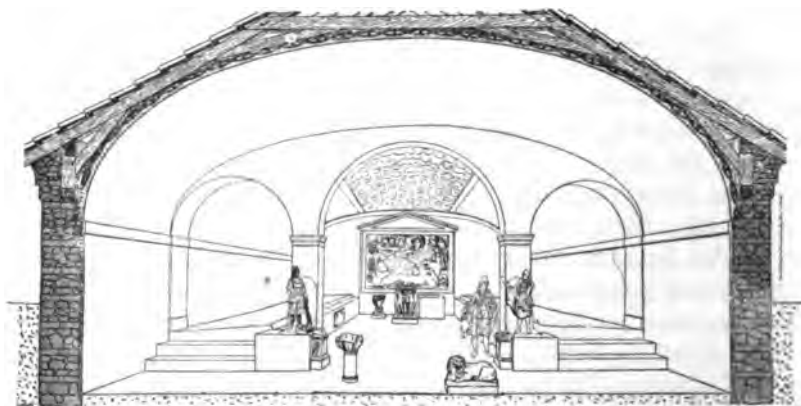
¹ One of the legions raised by the proconsuls in the Roman provinces for the purpose of strengthening the veteran army.—*Trans.*

it appears to have remained loyal to the day of its dissolution. The *legio I adjutrix* which had a similar origin probably sowed the fertile seeds of Mithraism in like manner in Brigetio, when under Trajan its camp was transferred to that place.

We can determine with even greater precision the manner in which the Persian god arrived at Carnuntum. In 71 or 72 A. D., Vespasian caused this important strategic position to be occupied by the *legio XV Apollinaris*, which for the preceding eight or nine years had been warring in the Orient. Sent in 63 A. D. to the Euphrates to reinforce the army which Corbulo was leading against the Parthians, it had taken part during the years 67 to 70 A. D. in suppressing the uprisings of the Jews, and had subsequently accompanied Titus to Alexandria. The losses which this veteran legion had suffered in its sanguinary campaigns were doubtless made good with recruits levied in Asia. These conscripts were for the most part probably at home in Cappadocia, and it was they that after their transportation to the Danube with the old rank and file of the legion there first offered sacrifices to the Iranian god whose name had been hitherto unknown in the region north of the Alps. There has been found at Carnuntum a votive Mithraic inscription due to a soldier of the Apollinarian legion bearing the characteristic name of *Barbarus*. The first worshippers of the *Sol Invictus* consecrated to him on the banks of the river a semicircular grotto, which had to be restored from its ruins in the third century by a Roman knight, and whose high antiquity is evidenced in all its details. When, some forty years after its arrival in the Occident, Trajan again transported the fifteenth legion to the Euphrates, the Persian cult had already struck deep roots in the capital of Upper Pannonia. Not only the fourteenth legion *gemina Martia*, which replaced that which had returned to Asia, but also the sixteenth and the thirteenth *gemina*, certain detachments of which were, as it appears, connected with the first-mentioned legion, succumbed to the allurements of the Mysteries and counted initiates in their own ranks. Soon the first temple was no longer adequate, and a second was built, which—and this is an important fact—immediately adjoined the temple of Jupiter Dolichenus of Commagene. A municipality having developed alongside the camp and the conversions continuing to multiply, a third mithræum was erected, probably toward the beginning of the second century, and its dimensions surpassed those of all similar structures hitherto discovered. It was enlarged by Diocletian and the princes associated with him, when in 307 they held a conference at Carnuntum. They

sought thus to give public expression of their devotion to Mithra in this holy city, which of all those in the North probably contained the most ancient sanctuaries of the Mazdean sect.

This warlike post, the most important in the entire region, seems also to have been the religious center from which the foreign cult radiated into the smaller towns of the surrounding country. Stix-Neusiedl, where it was certainly practised from the middle of the second century, was only a dependent village of this powerful city. But farther to the south the temple of Scarbantia was enriched by a *decurio coloniæ Carnuntli*. Toward the east the territory of Æquinoctium has furnished a votive inscription to *Petræ Genetrici*, and still farther off at Vindobona (Vienna) the soldiers of the tenth legion had likewise learned, doubtless from the neighboring camp, to celebrate the Mysteries. Even in Africa, traces are found

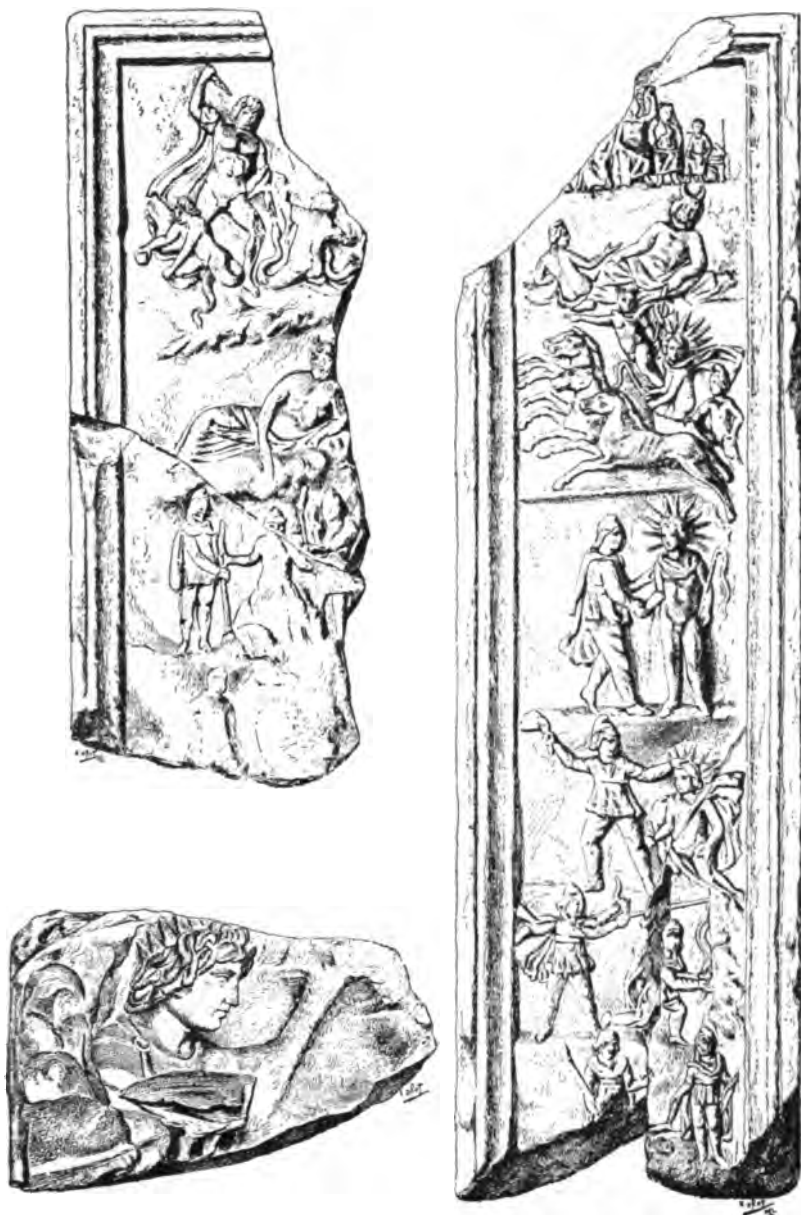


MITHRÆUM OF CARNUNTUM, THE MODERN PETRONELL, NEAR VIENNA TO THE EAST.¹ (Restored by Mr. Tragau.)

of the influence which the great Panonian city exercised on the development of Mithraism.

Several leagues from Vienna, passing across the frontier of Noricum, we come upon the hamlet of *Commagenæ*, the name of which is doubtless due to the fact that a squadron of Commageneans (an *ala Commagenorum*) was quartered here. One is not surprised, therefore, to learn that a bas-relief of the tauroctonous god

¹ This Mithræum, like all others of the same style, is underground. Before the great bas-relief of Mithras slaying the bull are two altars, the one large and square in form, the other smaller and richly ornamented. The small statue on the left is Mithras being born from the rocks. At the entrance we see on the right the lion of Mithras and on the left a font for holy water. The two torch-bearers have their stand at the pillars which separate the *aisles*. The Mithræum is approached by a staircase and through a square hall (or *pronaos*) which is considerably larger than the sanctum itself.



FRAGMENTS OF A BAS-RELIEF IN WHITE ITALIAN MARBLE.

Found in the Zollfeld (in Noricum), now in the Historical Museum of the Rudolfinum at Klagenfurt, Austria.¹

¹ The central part of the monument is utterly destroyed; the head of the sun-god from the left-hand corner alone being left. The left border represents a Hellenised illustration of Ahura

has been discovered here. Nevertheless, in this province, as in Rhetia, the army does not seem to have taken, as it did in Pannonia, an active part in the propagation of the Asiatic religion. A belated inscription of a *speculator legionis I Noricorum* is the only one in these countries that mentions a soldier; and generally the monuments of the Mysteries are very sparsely scattered in the valley of the upper Danube, where the Roman troops were concentrated. They are not found in increased numbers until the other slope of the Alps is reached, and the epigraphy of this last-named region forbids us to assign to them a military origin.

On the other hand, the marvellous extension that Mithraism took in the two Germanies is undoubtedly due to the powerful army corps that defended that perpetually menaced territory. We find here an inscription dedicated by a centurion to the *Soli invicto Mithræ* about the year 148 A. D., and it is probable that in the middle of the second century this god had already obtained a goodly number of converts in the Roman garrisons. All the regiments appear to have been seized with the contagion: the legions *VIII Augusta*, *XXII Primigenia*, and *XXX Ulpia*, the cohorts and auxiliary *alæ*, as well as the picked troops of citizen volunteers. So general a diffusion prevents us from telling exactly from what side the foreign religion entered this country, but it may be assumed without fear of error that, save possibly at a certain few points, it was not imported directly from the Orient, but was transmitted through the agency of the garrisons on the Danube; and if we wish to assign absolutely the circumstances of its origin we may take it for granted, with every likelihood of truth, that the eighth legion, which was transferred from Mœsia to Upper Germany in the year 70 A. D., first practised there the religion which was soon destined to become the preponderating one in this country.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

Mazda's struggle with demons, after the pattern of the *gigante machis*. The lower part of the same fragment exhibits the birth of Mithras and two shepherds who figure as torch-bearers. The right border shows scenes from the life of Mithras, among them Mithras crowning the sun-god with a halo of rays and ascending in the solar chariot to heaven.

MISCELLANEOUS.

THE WORDS AND WAYS OF ENGLISH SPEECH.

No more alluring topic for persons of studious tastes has formed the subject of an educational book than that taken for treatment by James Bradstreet Greenough, Professor of Latin in Harvard University, and George Lyman Kittredge, Professor of English in Harvard University, in their recent work on *Words and Their Ways in English Speech*.¹ The history of the development of words (their biography, or biology, or geology, as it has been variously termed) is replete with fascination. Not to speak of the researches of the great philologists, it has engaged the facile pen of a Max Müller, and aroused the ardent enthusiasm of an Archbishop Trench, and through their and their colleagues' labors has been made a subject of enlightened popular interest. It is seldom that the narration of the history of a word does not at once rivet the attention, be it of the most uninformed persons. But the popular expositors have not always been abreast of the latest and most approved philological knowledge and not always exhaustive, and it is this want that the present authors have evidently intended to supply. They have not entered perhaps so soulfully into their subject as others, but they have brought together an abundance of new material not accessible heretofore in any one book, and if we except the chapters on the origin of language and the poetry of language, to which in our opinion full justice has not been done, the work may be characterised as a highly creditable performance. With few exceptions the treatment follows the conventional lines, and we read several familiar titles in the chapter headings. We give below, for the benefit of our readers and as a specimen of the interest such investigations afford, a long quotation from the chapter on "Slang and Legitimate Speech."

SLANG AND LEGITIMATE SPEECH.

"A peculiar kind of vagabond language, always hanging on the outskirts of legitimate speech, but continually straying or forcing its way into the most respectable company, is what we call *slang*. The prejudice against this form of speech is to be encouraged, though it usually rests on a misconception. There is nothing abnormal about slang. In making it, men proceed in precisely the same manner as in making language, and under the same natural laws. The motive, however, is somewhat different, for slang is not meant simply to express one's thoughts. Its coinage and circulation come rather from the wish of the individual to distinguish himself by oddity or grotesque humor. Hence slang is seldom controlled by any

¹ New York: The Macmillan Co. 1901. Pages, x, 431.

regard for propriety, and it bids deliberate defiance to all considerations of good taste.

"Slang is commonly made by the use of harsh, violent, or ludicrous metaphors, obscure analogies, meaningless words, and expressions derived from the less known or less esteemed vocations or customs. But the processes involved are strikingly linguistic. In fact, slang may almost be called the only living language, the only language in which these processes can be seen in full activity. Take, for example, the expression *start in* for 'begin.' It is only a metaphor derived from lumbering operations, when men start into the woods in late autumn to begin the winter's work. 'Break ground,' which is in good use, is a figure of precisely the same kind, from the more respectable profession of building. So 'to pack up one's traps,'¹ from the vocation of trapping, is similar to the Latin *vasa colligere*, 'gather your pots and kettles,' which, originally soldiers' slang, came at last to be the regular expression for breaking camp. 'On the stocks' for 'in preparation,' a metaphor from shipbuilding, is in good colloquial use. 'Down to bed rock' and 'peter out' are natural expressions among miners, but they become slang when transferred to other circumstances and used as figures of speech.

"So with the poker terms 'ante up' and 'it is up to you,' with 'come a cropper,' 'to be in at the death,' 'come to the scratch,' 'toe the mark,' 'well-groomed,' 'knock-out blow,' 'below the belt,' 'cock of the walk,' 'mass play,' 'get on to his curves,' and a thousand other expressions that have passed into slang from various fields of sport. None of these phrases is accepted at present, though they differ much in their degree of slanginess, but it is impossible to predict their standing a hundred years hence. For the sport of former days has made many contributions to our legitimate vocabulary. Thus *bias* (from bowling) is a dignified word, though *bowl over* is still colloquial. So 'to *parry* a thrust,' 'to *fence*' (in an argument), 'to *cross swords* with the opposing counsel,' 'to *bandy* words' (literally, 'to bat them to and fro' as in bandy-ball), 'to *wrestle* with a problem,'² 'to *trip* one *up*' in a discussion, 'to *track* or *trace* a quotation' or 'to *lose track* of a subject,' 'to run *counter*' (literally, of dogs who follow the scent in the wrong direction), 'to *hit* (or *miss*) the mark,' 'within an *ace* of,' are all good English expressions, though most of them were formerly slang and passed through the intermediate stage of colloquialism before they secured admission to the literary language.

"The now disreputable amusement of cock-fighting (which was once respectable enough to divide with scholarship and archery the attention of Roger Ascham) has provided the language with *crestfallen*, 'in high feather,' and Shakespeare's *overcrow* (cf. *to crow over*). 'To show the *white feather*' is from the same source, since white feathers in a gamecock's tail are a sign of impure breeding. Often the origin of such words or phrases has been quite forgotten, but, when traced, discloses their true character at once. *Fair play* is still recognised as a figure from gambling; but *foul play*, now specialised to 'murder,' is hardly felt as a metaphor at all.

"Only the etymologist knows that *hazard* may be the Arabic *al zar*, 'the die,' and that *chance* means 'the fall of the dice' (L. L. *cadentia*, from *cado*). Yet both words still have gaming associations: *hazard* is a particular kind of dice-play, and 'to take one's chances,' 'a good or bad chance,' 'the chances are against it,' are transparent metaphors.

¹ The Elizabethans said "truss up your trinkets" in the same sense.

² Cf. St. Paul's famous figure in Ephesians vi. 12: "For we wrestle not against flesh and blood, but against principalities," etc.

"Many examples might be cited from sports that have the dignified associations of antiquity. Thus, 'to tilt at' (cf. *full tilt*), 'to break a lance,' 'in the lists,' 'to run one's course,' 'to reach the goal,' 'to win the palm.' Slang is no novelty, as many persons imagine. It is only new slang that is novel. 'The ancients did not know that they were ancients.'

"Provincialisms or dialect words are often adopted into slang, exactly as they are adopted into literary language. When Sir Thomas Lipton spoke of 'lifting the cup,' he was merely using a provincialism,¹ but when the people of the United States took up the expression in good-natured mockery it became slang. Burns's *croon* was also a dialect term, but it almost immediately commended itself to the poets, and is now in good use. So *vamos* is a proper Mexican word (Sp. 'let us go'), but when it is quoted and used by Americans for 'depart' (*vamoose*), as many words have been borrowed from other languages, it becomes slang. So *savvy* (Sp. *sabe usted*, 'do you know?') is a slang word for 'comprehension'; but *ignoramus* (L. 'we do not know,' used as a law term) is excellent English. A *fiasco* is properly a theatrical failure. The Italian say *far fiasco* ('to make a bottle') for 'to break down or fail in a theatrical performance.' The origin of the phrase is unknown, but *fiasco* is now sufficiently reputable English, though it is of recent introduction. Many other foreign words, now thoroughly naturalised, seem to have had slangy associations at some period of their history. This is especially likely in the case of those that may have been introduced by soldiers who have served in foreign parts. *Bravado* (Sp. *bravada*) looks like a word of this kind. *Bizarre* (which we take from French) has never been slangy in English. In French, however, it formerly meant 'soldierly,' and if it is actually from the Basque *bizarra*, 'beard,' we may conjecture that it was not a dignified borrowing. The 'sack of a city' (from Fr. *sac*, 'pack,' 'plunder') betrays its own origin; compare also *loot*, from the Hindoo word for 'booty.'

"A few additional examples may be cited to illustrate these points, and in particular to show how near slang lies to legitimate speech. We may say with propriety a *carnival* or a *Saturnalia* of crime, but not a *perfect circus*. A man may well be *recalcitrant*,² but only in colloquial style can he be a *kicker*. We cannot with dignity allude to the *curves* of base-ball, but a *bias*, from the game of bowls, is proper enough. A *l* is hardly out of the region of slang, but *probity* and *improbability*, similar mercantile expressions, have cleared their skirts of commercial associations, and are in good use.³ You can hardly *jump on* a man, nor can you *go at* him, but you can readily *assail* or *assault*⁴ him, and the Romans used *adire* for 'go to' in all senses. *Insult* means literally 'to jump at or upon.' *Apprehendo* is merely Latin for 'catch on.' So *attend* to is domestic language for 'punish,' but the Romans used *animadvertere*⁵ not only for 'attend to' in the literal sense, but for 'punish' as well, and *animadversion* is in good literary use.

"Our *desire* is a product of soldiers' slang. It evidently comes (through the

¹ Compare "to lift cattle" and *shoplifter*.

² L. *re-*, "back," and *calcitrare*, "kick," from *calx*, *calcis*, "heel."

³ The L. *improbus* must have meant originally "not first-class," and its use by Plautus of two girls in the sense of a "bad lot" clearly shows its slangy character. Yet this word, with its opposite, *probus*, has become one of the most respectable in the Latin language, and in English has lost all trace of its origin.

⁴ *Assail* is French from L. *ad*, "to," "at," and *salio*, "jump"; *assault* is also French from *ad* and *saltus*, "a jumping," which comes from the same verb *salio*.

⁵ From *animus advertere*, "to turn the attention to."

French) from *desidero*, 'to miss' a soldier who is 'out of his place' at roll-call. Once transferred, on account of its familiarity, to a more general meaning, *desidero* finally became the usual word for 'long for.' Thus, a word belonging, if not to slang, at least to a special vocation, becomes universal. Doubtless, *fire over one's head, on guard, enrolled* (in a body or sect), *in marching order, expedite, expedition*, and many others come from the same source.

"Salary affords a good instance of ancient slang. The *L. salarium* meant, among other things, 'salt-money,' an allowance which a soldier received to buy salt with (*L. sal*, 'salt'), but it was soon extended to the present meaning of 'salary.' Such an extension was clearly slang in the first instance. Compare our colloquial 'earn his salt,' and 'pin-money.' *Sardonic* also looks like venerable slang. It is certainly so if it comes from the name of a *Sardinian* (Gr. *Sardo*, 'Sardinia') plant which puckered up the eater's face into a sardonic smile. A *solecism* is so called from the bad Greek of the colonists of *Soli* in Asia Minor. Doubtless it was at first a slang designation. Compare the 'Stratford French' of Chaucer's Prioress, who was ignorant of the 'French of Paris,' and the old phrase 'French of Norfolk' for the Norfolk dialect of English.

"Slang is fond of clipped words: as, *monk* for *monkey*, *exam* for *examination*, *loony* for *lunatic*, *middy* for *midshipman*, *auto* for *automobile*, *biz* for *business*, *leg* for *blackleg*, 'varsity' for *university*. Many such formations have passed into the accepted vocabulary. Thus *cab* is short for *cabriolet*, *van* for *vanguard*, (for *avant-guard*), *fence* for *defence*, *miss* for *mistress*, *pert* for *apert*, *mob* for *mobile vulgus*, 'bus for *omnibus*, (itself originally a slang term), *cad* for *cadet*, *gin* for *Geneva*, *rum* for *rumbullion*, etc.

"In 1710, Swift, in the *Tatler* (No. 230), complained of the 'continual corruption of the English tongue' in an amusing article of some historical importance. He inveighs against such colloquial clippings as *I'd*, *can't*, *he'd*, *he's*, *shan't*, which he calls 'abbreviations and elisions, by which consonants of most obdurate sound are joined together, without one softening sound to intervene.' And he is particularly severe on 'the refinement which consists in pronouncing the first syllable in a word that has many, and dismissing the rest, such as *phizz*, *hipps*, *mobb*, *pozz*, *ref*, and many more, when we are already overloaded with monosyllables, which are the disgrace of our language.' 'Thus,' continues the critic, 'we cram one syllable, and cut off the rest, as the owl fattened her mice after she had bit off their legs to prevent them from running away.' *Incog* and *plenipo* he fears will suffer still further mutilation to *inc* and *plen*. Another 'refinement' is 'the choice of certain words invented by some pretty fellows, such as *banter*, *bamboozle*, *country put* and *kidney*,¹ some of which are now struggling for the vogue, and others are in possession of it.' 'I have done my utmost,' he adds, 'for some years past, to stop the progress of *mobb* and *banter*, but have been plainly borne down by numbers, and betrayed by those who promised to assist me.' And finally he is worried by certain young clergymen who 'in their sermons use all the modern terms of art, *sham*, *banter*, *mob*, *bubble*, *bully*, *cutting*, *shuffling*, and *palming*.' The reader will be interested to see that about half of the terms at which the essayist is so indignant have made good their position as respectable colloquialisms, and that several of them are quite at home in dignified composition.²

¹ In such phrases as a "man of that *kidney*," i. e., "kind" or "disposition."

² In the same paper Swift stigmatises "speculations, operations, preliminaries, ambassadors, pallisadoes, communication, circumvallation, battallions" as neologisms brought into common use by the war.

"Slang delights in fantastic coinages and in grotesque combinations or distortions of existing words. When a whimsicality of this kind establishes itself as a permanent colloquialism, or gets into the accepted vocabulary, the etymologist has a hard nut to crack. Unless the early history of the word is known, or at least the circumstances under which it came into use, the derivation is often an insoluble problem. And if the word is at all old, its history is likely to be obscure, for slang seldom gets into print until it has been in circulation for some time.

"A few examples of such linguistic chimeras will now be given.

"*Bamboozle* was a new slang word in 1710. It has been thought to be from *bam*, 'to hoax,' a slang word of about the same date; but *bam* is quite as likely to be an abbreviation of the longer form, and *boozle* remains unexplained. *Banter* is another unsolved puzzle. It was at least forty years old when Swift attacked it in the *Tatler*, in 1710. *Sham* is thought to be an affected pronunciation of *shame*. *Doggerel* is first found in Chaucer. The host objects to 'Sir Thopas' as 'rhym dogerel,' using the term, however, as a kind of quotation: 'This may wel be rhym dogerel,' i. e., 'This must be the rhyme doggerel that I have heard tell of.' The etymology is quite unknown, but it is hard to reject *dog*, in view of *dog-Latin*, *dog-logic*, and the like.

"*Cockney* is almost certainly 'cock-egg' (M. E. *ey*, 'egg'). The word meant at first an unusually small egg (such as are termed in New England *litter-eggs*, since the hen is thought to lay one at the end of her litter). Thence developed the meaning of a 'cockered child,' a 'pet,' a 'mother's baby,' or, in a wider sense, a 'milk-sop,' and, next, 'a [pampered] citizen' (a feeble 'cit' as opposed to a hardy rustic). Specifically, it meant 'one ignorant of country matters,' as a *greenhorn* is one who knows nothing of city life. Its particular application to a Londoner was then natural, and was made as early as the sixteenth century.¹ All such jocose or abusive names for the inhabitants of particular places or countries are akin to slang, if not of out-and-out slang origin. So *Yankee* for 'New Englander,' often applied by Englishmen to all inhabitants of the United States;² *Dago* for Italian; *Paddy* for Irishman; *Sawney* for Scotchman; *Gothamite* for New Yorker, and the like. *Dago* is a queer misnomer. It must come from the Spanish *Diego*, yet it is usually applied to Italians; but slang does not make nice distinctions of blood; witness the contemptuous use of *nigger* for many dark-skinned races who have no similarity to the negro (so *blackamoor*, 'black Moor,' for Ethiopian). *Yankee* is still a puzzle. The suggestion that it is for *Yengees* or the like, and came from the attempt of the North American Indians to pronounce *English* has no foundation in the history of the word, and no inherent probability.

"*Gerrymander* (with hard *g*) is a capital instance of the license which the maker of slang allows himself. It is an established political term in the United States and Canada³ for the 'redistricting' of a state in such a manner as to give a particular party an unfair advantage at an election. Such a measure was carried in Massachusetts in 1812, when Elbridge Gerry was governor of the Commonwealth. Some clever person observed that one of the newly laid-out districts that was expected to insure the success of the governor's party took, with a little imagi-

¹ For the history of *cockney* see the Oxford Dictionary as corrected and supplemented by Dr. C. P. G. Scott, Trans. Amer. Philol. Association, XXIII., 206 ff. The form of *ney* for *ey*, "egg," owes its *n* to the indefinite article *an* (*an ey* becoming *a ney*); see pp. 197-198.

² Cf. *Yankess* for "American securities" in English financial cant, like *Kaffirs* and *Jungles* for South African and Indian stocks, respectively.

³ In Canada and the West the hard *g* has been softened in pronunciation.

nation, the shape of a fantastic monster. A map of the district was published in which this was indicated, and the monster was dubbed *gerrymander*, a word made up from *Gerry* and *salamander*.¹ Usually such devices hardly survive the campaign that produces them,—but the gerrymander tickled the fancy of the American people, and the word is still in common use, both as a noun and as a verb. *Slantindicular*, a jocose amalgam of *slantin'* and *perpendicular*, has not fared quite so well."

* * *

The interesting reflections on the uses, functions, and effects of slang, we have not the space to reproduce here. But the foregoing will be sufficient to whet the reader's appetite for a fuller study of this instructive book. μ.

HYMN TO THE SUN.²

BY SIR C. E. CARRINGTON.

[The interest of these lines lies in the evidence they afford that the Gayatri serves a modern Christian as a devotional exercise just as well as it served an Indian five thousand years ago. There is no religion which might not adopt it. It is truly the *Leitmotive* of the universe, just as the swastika—of which the hidden significance was probably exactly the same—is the universal symbol. E. M. C.]

Thou mighty sun diffusing
Around a light divine,
I view thee, but am musing
On Him who bade thee shine !

Thou, over plain and mountain,
Shed'st thy pervasive beam ;
Thy God, the living fountain,
Thou, but a borrowed stream.

Shine on, then, wide extending
His glory o'er the earth,
I view thee, lowly bending
To Him that gave thee birth.

Shine on, majestic pouring
Thy day-spring's golden sea ;
I hail thee, still adoring
The God who bade thee be.

THE GAZA COIN.

The Gaza coin, published in *The Open Court* for March 1902, p. 160, which is here reproduced, bears a symbol which looks like a mutilated swastika ; but Prof. Charles C. Torrey, of New Haven, Conn., kindly informs me that it denotes the letter M, and is the final abbreviation for Marna, the chief deity of Gaza. The word means "our Lord," like the Phœnician "Ba'al" and the Hebrew "Adonai."

¹ See an article on "The Machinery of Politics and Proportional Representation" by W. R. Ware, in *The American Law Review*, VI., 282-286 (with a facsimile of the original gerrymander, from a broadside, p. 284).

² Written in 1816. Evidently inspired by the Gayatri.

In the Hellenistic age Marna was identified with Zeus.

The Marneion at Gaza was a stronghold of paganism ; it was a magnificent circular structure of marble, and pagan worship continued there longer than in any other place. Even in the days of Constantine, the Christians were in the minority in Gaza ; and when Porphyrios of Thessalonica became bishop of Gaza, he insisted on the destruction of the temple through an imperial decree, which was granted by the Emperor Arkadios. But the order was not executed, because Hilarius, the governor, yielded to pagan influence and allowed the pagan cult and oracles in the Marna temples to continue. But Porphyrios was persistent ; in the year 401, he appeared personally at Constantinople, and the destruction of the Marneion was again decided upon. Kynegios, an imperial plenipotentiary, appeared with a strong military detachment at Gaza, and within ten days seven temples of the town, dedicated to Helios, Aphrodite, Apollo, Kora, Hekate, Hercules, and Tyche, were destroyed. Finally the Marneion was attacked. Pagan devotees had it fortified by a stone barricade, but fire was thrown into the temple, and it was laid in ashes. Upon the ruins of the Marneion the architect Rufinus built a church which was called Eudoxiana, after Eudoxia, the wife of Arkadios. The statues of the gods were destroyed, and paganism had lost its last center in this part of the empire. For a while the population of Gaza continued to cherish pagan traditions, and many people regarded with horror the public square in front of the destroyed Marneion which had been paved with the stones of the temple. Scarcely had the last vestiges of paganism disappeared when the Moslems conquered the country and Islam was established as the religion of the ruling race.



ANCIENT COIN OF
GAZA, PALESTINE.

FACSIMILE EDITION OF THE ATHARVA-VEDA.

Professors Maurice Bloomfield and Richard Garbe have published a facsimile edition of the Kashmirian Atharva-veda bark manuscript.

The Atharva-veda is the fourth part of the Vedas, and contains the fire-ritual and ceremonies of the Soma offerings which played a very important part in Brahman religion, being considered as powerful spells by which the blessings of the gods and other heavenly gifts could be procured.

This facsimile edition is a stately work consisting of three large volumes reproduced by chromophotography, and is dedicated to the memory of Rudolf von Roth "to whose initiative and generosity the University of Tübingen owes this priceless document." The work sets a standard as to how valuable manuscripts should be reproduced for future use. It has been brought out under the auspices of the Johns Hopkins University, in Baltimore, and the Royal Eberhard-Karls-University, in Tübingen, and contains from 500 to 600 plates.

The size of the original leaves is for the most part about twenty-five centimeters in height and twenty in width. "The writing is in indelible ink, absolutely non-sensitive to damp and water ; each page before exposure to the lens of the photographer was sponged off with water in order to make the very clear writing still clearer. The method of preparation of the ink is known. It was made by converting almonds into charcoal and boiling the water thus obtained with gomûtra (*urina bovis*). The character is the so-called Çaradâ which seems to mean "letters sacred to Çaradâ," i. e., Sarasvatî, the tutelary goddess of instruction and writing. The alphabet is North Indian, from the same source as the more preva-

lent learned alphabet of India, the Devanāgarī. Its use seems to have been almost entirely confined to Kashmir and the northeastern part of the Punjab."

The editors promise to have this first step toward editing the manuscript, which is as close as possible to the original, followed up by further labors. "A transliteration of the text in Roman characters; a detailed comparison of the Kashmirian version with the vulgate text as hitherto known; and finally, if possible, a translation may be expected from their continued co-operation."

The price of these stately volumes which are a rare treasure and an ornament to every Oriental Library, is fifty dollars.

THE SYLLABLE "AUM" AND THE MANTRA CULT.

Apropos of the very interesting communication respecting "OM and the Gayatri" in the February *Open Court*, perhaps it may interest a few of your readers to be informed that that "OM" or "AUM" and other Brahman mystic syllables and sentences are in use throughout Eastern Asia where the Mantra¹ section of later Buddhism exists, especially in China, Japan, and adjacent countries.

The Mantra cult is somewhat reactionary, and although not altogether Madhyamika, or Madhyayana (Middle Vehicle), it is not strictly Hinayana (Minor Vehicle) or Mahayana (Major Vehicle) in the sense understood by the Asiatic votaries of these "schools."

The Gayatri-Mantri, or Dharani, is usually preceded by "OM" and—in Hindoo fashion—ends frequently with "Hum," which latter syllable deserves more attention than it receives.

Another initial phrase, frequently used on less sacred occasions, viz., NO-MAKU," commences certain of the Mantra connected with other than the most important divinities, etc.; but explanation would occupy much space, and the true meaning is esoteric.

AUM is explained as the exhaling and the inhaling of the breath of life, and as being parallel to the Chinese "Ying and Yang" (Japanese "In and Yo"). In Buddhist temples the Buddhistic forms of Brahma and Indra are to be seen, monstrous figures like the London Gog and Megog, as Guardians at the Gate. The mouth of Brahma is open, that of Indra as closed. In Shinto Shrines, and other fanes, the guardian figures of warriors and of animals—the fox, bear, lion, etc.,—are in pairs, male and female, with open and closed mouths, indicating that Buddhist and other Hindu influences exist. The sects that use these forms are stated to have been promoted by Samanta Bhadra, based on a deistic branch of the Samkhya school, and the teaching of Pantanjali, 300–200 B. C., and includes the Yoga, Tantra, etc., doctrines, the efforts to acquire Riddhi, and other esoteric knowledge—and consequently superhuman (or extraordinary) powers usually considered supernatural. The teaching was disseminated in China in the third century A. D.; and Vajra-bodhi is the chief propagandist referred to by the Japanese. Huen-tsang was the great teacher of the Chinese from whose pupils the Japanese, who went to China, learned the Mystic rites and doctrines.

Kukai-Kobodaishi established the Shingon (Mantra) True Words Sect in Japan at Mount Koya near the Bay of Osaka. Each divinity has special Mantra, and a single written character, which deviates from the standard Devanagari both as being written vertically, and not horizontally, and in the cursive style. The OM

¹ The Mantra is translated by Japanese "Shin-gon," i. e., True Words, hence the title of the sect that is the chief exponent of the doctrines.

followed by the Mantra and concluding with HUM, is whispered reverently and secretly; at the same time the fingers form the special Mudra (mystic sign) representing the Sanskrit written character appropriate; and the worshipper concentrates the thoughts on the contemplation of the esoteric doctrine, or subject-matter. This triple formula has esoteric signification only taught to initiates; and the manipulation of the Mudra is concealed by the loose sleeves of the robes or cassock.

KOBE, JAPAN.

C. PROUNDES.

BOOK REVIEWS.

CONSTRUCTIVE STUDIES IN THE PRIESTLY ELEMENT IN THE OLD TESTAMENT. An Aid to Historical Study for Use in Advanced Bible Classes. By *William R. Harper*, Professor of Semitic Languages and Literatures in the University of Chicago. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. 1902. Pages, 162. Price, cloth, \$1.00.

President Harper continues his quiet but effective work in disseminating the most approved results of the Higher Criticism, and in laboring toward a deeper and broader comprehension of the nature and history of the Old Testament. The present work, which is now in its revised edition, includes a comprehensive study of everything pertaining to the work of the priest in the Old Testament as distinguished from that of the sage and the prophet. The book is to serve as "a guide for students who wish to take up the questions relating to this subject, from an historical point of view. The materials for a preliminary study of the various topics are gathered together, and arranged with suggestions as to order and method of procedure." The work is thus intended for advanced pupils in Sunday schools as well as for use in colleges and theological seminaries. "The general results of modern historical criticism have been taken as a basis for the work," on the ground that it is only from the point of view of history that these subjects can now be considered intelligently. The general scope of the priestly element in the Old Testament is indicated by Professor Harper, and the history of worship, of sacrifices, feasts, and prayers, is considered in detail. The references to the literature are extensive, and the manual furnishes the directions necessary for a thorough study of the part which priestly history and priestly activity played in the Old Testament.

μ.

THE LEVEL OF SOCIAL MOTION. An Inquiry Into the Future Conditions of Human Society. By *Michael A. Lane*. New York: The Macmillan Co. 1902. Pages, vii, 577. Price, \$2.00.

Mr. Lane's conclusions are deep and comprehensive, and he has moved rapidly and unerringly to them. He believes that human society is speedily approaching a state of equality "very similar in all essentials to that which is advocated by socialist philosophers as the ideal of a genuinely Christian life," and that under the influence of forces which are entirely normal and scientific in their character. He is of the opinion that the brain of civilised women is increasing in weight, and that men and women will in the end be intellectually equal or nearly so; that the human population of the earth is moving with increasing velocity "toward a mean or normal number which when once reached can never again be disturbed;" and finally that the inferior races will ultimately be eliminated from the earth, not by war or by pestilence, but by the general diffusion of wealth and education.

These are, in bare and unpalliated form, the tenets of the book, and the author has pretty well covered the historical, biological, and sociological considerations

usually brought into action for the fortification of social theories. We miss greatly, however, an index. μ.

Political students desirous of studying the important subject of the development of cabinet government in England will find the subject interestingly and carefully treated in a work of that title, by Mary Taylor Blauvelt, M. A. (New York: The Macmillan Co. 1902. Pages, xvi, 300. Price, \$1.50.)

C. C. Birchard & Co., of Boston, have published "a collection of songs and choruses representative of the best musical art of the world," but especially of the art of contemporary American composers. The editor of the collection is W. L. Tomlins, and the title *The Laurel Song Book for Advanced Classes in Schools, Academies, Choral Societies, etc.* The poems forming the text of the work represent nearly all the great lyrical writers of English-speaking peoples. We find here such names as Chaucer, Beaumont and Fletcher, Shakespeare, Milton, Goldsmith, Keats, Burns, William Blake, Coleridge, Scott, Wordsworth, Tennyson, Browning, Stevenson, Kipling, etc., not to speak of the great composers of foreign countries. America is very well represented, inasmuch as it has been the special purpose of the editor to give full recognition to the writers of his own country. We find thus such names as the following in the collection: Fitz-Greene Halleck, Bayard Taylor, Walt Whitman, Lowell, Cooper, Emerson, Holmes, Poe, and Whittier, not to mention minor celebrities. The book is one that should appeal to every lover of minstrelsy, and is eminently adapted for use in the home as well as in schools. It contains 324 pages and is clearly and well printed.

NOTES.

The various Summer Schools now connected with our universities and other institutions of learning throughout the country have for years been affording to persons interested in education and general culture advantages and inspiration which formerly were altogether lacking. Vacations are now spent by teachers and professional men in obtaining the recreation which comes from a change of intellectual pursuit, as well as from that of purely physical activity and rest. The current numbers of *The Open Court* being almost exclusively devoted to topics related to the history of religion, and therefore likely to be widely read by people interested in religious matters, we take advantage of this fact to call attention to the prospectus of the Harvard Summer School of Theology, organised in 1899 by the divinity faculty of Cambridge, Mass., and having as its object "to provide a place where clergymen and students of theology may gather for the study of subjects which have intrinsic and current theological interest, and where they may feel the inspiration which comes from direct contact with the best and most recent results of modern scholarship." The lectures promise also to be interesting to teachers in schools and colleges and in the more advanced classes in Sunday schools. The libraries and other collections of Harvard University will be open to students of the Summer School, as will also the Semitic Museum, which will be of special value to those interested in Biblical studies. Letters of inquiry may be addressed to the Secretary of the Divinity Faculty, Rev. Robert S. Morison, Divinity Library, Cambridge, Mass.



GRAND MITHRAIC BAS-RELIEF OF HEDDERNHEIM, GERMANY.

(After Cumont. See p. 340 of the present number.)

Frontispiece to The Open Court.

THE OPEN COURT

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

**Devoted to the Science of Religion, the Religion of Science, and
the Extension of the Religious Parliament Idea.**

VOL. XVI. (no. 6.)

JUNE, 1902.

NO. 553

Copyright by The Open Court Publishing Co., 1902.

THE APOSTOLIC SUCCESSION.

DOGMA AND CRITICISM.

BY * * *

[It is not the policy of *The Open Court* to enter into discussions of the internal problems of the several Churches. We treat the religious problem from a general standpoint; and the problem of the Apostolic Succession as a tenet of the Episcopal Church of to-day thus does not seem to fall within the line of our work. The present article, however, is written in a sympathetic spirit, and comes from the pen of a man who is entitled to speak with authority, for he is a clergyman of high standing in the Episcopal Church.

We state our own view of the subject in a special article which appears on p. 335 of the present number.]—ED.

I.

WHEN the State privileges of the English Church were threatened, Dr. Newman and his friends, whom we can never name but with respect, sought to establish for it a more secure basis by asserting as a fundamental doctrine the theory of the tactual Apostolic Succession. "When the government and the country," asks Dr. Newman of his brother clergymen, "so far forget their God as to cast off the Church, to deprive it of its temporal honours and substance, on what will you rest the claim of respect and attention which you make upon your flocks? Hitherto you have been upheld by your birth, your education, your wealth, your connections; should these secular advantages cease, on what must Christ's ministers depend? * * * There are some who rest their divine mission on their own unsupported assertion; others, who rest it upon their popularity; others, upon their success; and others who rest it upon their temporal distinction. This last case has, perhaps, been too much our own: I fear we have neglected

the real ground on which our authority is built—OUR APOSTOLIC DESCENT."

Whether this theory had ever laid much hold on the main body of the English Church is a matter of doubt; certainly it had little at the time.¹ Keble had but just revived it in his famous Asposition. The original designs of the Oxford leaders so far pre-size Sermon, and beyond a few strong expressions of disapproval from Dr. Arnold and Dr. Whately, the efforts of Newman and his friends in its behalf did not at first arouse much sympathy or opposed, however, as to bring this theory down to our times and to our Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States as our main dogmatic heritage from that movement out of which they expected, and for which they sacrificed, so much. Honest we may well think these efforts and designs were; yet hardly, perhaps, far-sighted. Mentioning the less important truth before the greater, the history of the first theological generation after the Oxford Movement shows that this dogma which the leaders had made primary and elemental, attracted the assent of raw and undeveloped men in Holy Orders then as it attracts the assent of raw and undeveloped men in Holy Orders now; because magnifying the rights of the church as of apostolic descent amounts to magnifying the official rights of the clergy as the appointed means for maintaining the church's life: and to magnify one's official rights is largely to sanction one's own eccentricities and extend the limits within which one may assert them; and this is what raw and undeveloped men, in Orders or out of them, all like. So, as far as the clergy are concerned, in force of mere numbers,—of hands that hold it, if not of heads that appreciate its difficulties,—this theory has come to occupy a position of importance in the American church, although it has no place in its official formularies. By the diligent spread of unofficial teaching, it has become an inseparable part of the current thought of men about the church. It is held in a loose and indefinite form, no doubt, for the current thought about the church is in greater part loose and indefinite. It appears behind the fourth Lambeth Article as a shadow cast by distortion, effectually frightening off those whom the fair and attractive appearance of the article

¹"The following Tracts were published with the object of contributing something towards the practical revival of doctrines which, though held by the great divines of the Church, at present have become obsolete with the majority of her members, and are withdrawn from public view even by the more learned and orthodox few who still adhere to them. The Apostolic Succession, the Holy Catholic Church, were principles of action in the minds of our predecessors of the seventeenth century; but in proportion as the maintenance of the Church has been secured by law, her ministers have been under the temptation of leaning on the arm of flesh instead of her own divinely-appointed discipline." *Advertisement to Collected Tracts.* 1834.

itself might be expected to conciliate and win. For the wording of the article and its plain reasonable interpretation is fair, and it is attractive. At present, leading minds in most other churches are less disposed than in former times to the mere self-assertion and bad economy involved in over-stressing the "Dissidence of Dissent," and they look with more favour upon the advantages of historicity and a mode of government that comports better with dignity and flexibility of practice and more generally effective administration. Less interested than formerly in maintaining non-Episcopal government as of the essence of Scripture because they increasingly feel that the thesis is sterile, they are appreciative of the benefits of an administrative system tried and proved good by a most mature experience, and might readily accept and use them, did they not think that in so doing they would be committed to the support of another thesis which they are quite sure is sterile, and withal straight across the grain of their most intimate and inveterate prejudice,—the *jure divino* theory of Apostolic Succession.

In the fourth Lambeth Article the Historic Episcopate is mentioned in an unobjectionable way if one reads it plainly and straightforwardly and free from the domination of the current thought. There is no reason beyond the suggestion of the current thought to suppose that the intention of the word *historic* is to assert more than that Episcopacy has prevailed as the usual and generally satisfactory and effective method of church government; and this probably no one would greatly care to dispute. Except as the current thought suggests, it could hardly be taken to convey the idea of unbroken continuity in the Apostolic Succession; in which as a private belief, so many find pleasure. Least of all does the word imply an official opinion that Episcopal ordination is necessary to the existence of a true church. But though all this be true, the interpretation of the article is practically fixed by the current thought, and with the clergy especially, tends beyond its language towards a more pronounced sacerdotalism: and other churches, though they see and probably desire the good that comes from Episcopal administration, naturally and rightly hesitate to accept this article. Possibly they would not wish more than ourselves that it should be given a fixed official interpretation,—no one would wish this,—but they and we together must regret that it is not cleared and illuminated by some official assurance of the liberty of interpretation which the church allows, placing this theory distinctly where it belongs, in the wide realm of private opinion.

So we may doubt whether it is so much the extreme and oft-

times very useful conservatism of the church as pure misfortune that withholds it from the opportunity for comprehension that the temper of the times appears to present. It is regrettable that any chance for bringing nearer a union of the chaos of sects about us should be looked at and passed by. For whatever be the theory of the church we choose to hold, certainly we must think that some organic form is necessary; and it is obvious that every approach to organic unity made consistently with necessary flexibility of practice, serves the interests of economy and peace. While agreeing that the mustard plant of the parable has many branches, we are disappointed by the waste of so much energy as is spent even now in busily affirming mere negations and emphasising mere disagreements, when there are matters of more weight and importance for all of us to be getting at. The most mischievous effect of this waste, we notice too, is not that there is no general agreement among churchmen upon a doctrine of the church, but that so many, both within and without, have no doctrine of the church at all. The growing number of those who repudiate any church connection see the ideal of religious liberty seeming to translate itself for the individual as a license to worship as he likes, lend himself to any extravagance he likes, think as he likes, rant as he likes; while separate organisations living in mutual exclusiveness, jealousy and occasional recrimination, tend to strengthen the attachment of each undeveloped person to the several things he finds in them ready-made and likes, by loudly calling them best and allowing him to stop at them as undeveloped as he ever was and caring less than ever for it. In the Protestant Episcopal Church one sees the organs reflecting the thoughts and aims of the "Catholic" element rejoicing in a local "Catholic" triumph over "Protestant" error and ineptitude; the hallowed satisfaction of "Protestants" over the upsetting of some tactless little hierarch amidst his copes and candles; Herodian and Pharisee in occasional political union with no abatement of their mutual distrust and defiance, bent on the suppression of those called "Broad Churchmen" whom they regard sometimes as radical iconoclasts, busy with the bruised reed and the smoking flax, and again as mere humanitarian Gallios, caring never a button for those things which Herodian and Pharisee both loosely describe as "essentials of the faith," but never define alike. All abroad in the land one sees the operation of a competitive missionary or proselyting policy, each party mainly intent, no doubt, on creedless error, but ever with half an eye upon the errors of its Christian competitors and its own "numerical in-

crease" as compared with theirs; a growing sect here and a waning sect there; advantage on this side pitted against advantage on that side,—pull Dick, pull devil!—and so far from discerning in this state of things any influences to make one come by a settled doctrine of the Church, the average man infers from it little more than that where bitter envying and strife is, there is confusion and every evil work.

Lovers of spiritual freedom and of the light and perfection revealed to one who sees in it hardly so much the license to resolutely follow what he likes and call it best as the liberty to find what is really best and then to like and resolutely follow that, feel dissatisfied with this appreciation of religious liberty and the witch's work that those who have it make with it. To Protestant Episcopalians especially, dissatisfaction's sting is sharpened by the sense of a lost chance to do something, first, towards sweetening and tempering this imperfect enthusiasm for the sake of its really valuable energy and endurance, and then, towards turning this valuable energy and endurance upon a work of more worthwhileness than that which now so largely wastes them. And since the best preparation for the task of sweetening and tempering somewhat an imperfect enthusiasm in others is to sweeten and temper it very highly in ourselves, it seems timely if we have these ends in view, to begin by criticising this dogma of Apostolic Succession which appears vaguely, perhaps, but yet with a damaging persistency, in the current thought about the Protestant Episcopal Church.

II.

While we who propose this criticism belong of many generations to the Protestant Episcopal Church, or rather, regard it with every emotion of gratitude as a priceless heritage and aid towards perfection belonging to us; we cannot speak in the name of High Churchmanship or Low, and we hesitate to say we speak in the name of Broad Churchmanship, attractive as that distinction is. To call oneself a Broad Churchman is a very large pretension,—so large that we have never dared to make it: for those who make it are bound to justify it by all their works and ways, and this we are by no means sure that we can do. We are more at ease and satisfied to say what we have to say from the less exalted ground of one who attempts only to see things as they are; for it is a ground open to almost any one who will submit to the simple discipline necessary to fit himself for it; and further, we believe that in see-

ing things as they are lies at least the first prospect of determining their law and handling it and them most easily and advantageously.

We propose this criticism then, free from concern to prove or disprove the fundamental nature of the dogma by the aid of ecclesiastical history. Most of those who have arguments to make for or against it make them depend on their interpretation of history. One class among us will have it that the continuity of the Apostolic Succession is historically certain; Mr. Haddan and Mr. Lowndes come forward with bulky volumes to prove it; and the corollary is that we are thereby spiritually marked off as a true church, from the Methodists, Presbyterians, Independents, or what not organisation. Now Rome, we may notice, standing officially upon this same dogma of Apostolic Succession, has pronounced our Anglican orders invalid, and shows a disposition to exclude and side-track us much like that which we show in our unofficial attitude and current thought to exclude and side-track the Presbyterians, Methodists, and other denominations. A second class among us believing that Presbyterians once lived comfortably within the limits of the Church of England, think they might very well do so now; that as many persons successfully exercised the ministry of the Church of England "with no better than Presbyterian ordination," as Keble tells us, such persons would be quite in place there now;¹ and as for Rome, whatever his Holiness may have since thought about the validity of Anglican orders, in the time of Mary and Elizabeth, when proposals were made to reconcile the Church of England, there was no provision specified in them for the reordination of its ministers. This second class among us reject the historical claims of the first, think their pretended Apostolic Succession is no better than a fable, and deplore the sacerdotalism that the dogma brings in, with its train of privilege and ceremony. But in method they are entirely at one with the first class; both hang their opinions upon their reading of history rather than upon their ability and willingness to see things as they are,—for they have this ability; every one has it and can use it if he will but take the pains. The second class look with satisfaction upon the inconsistency, as they term it, which modern sacerdotalists, especially those of the *Lux Mundi* school, exhibit in their well-known cordiality towards Biblical criticism. When the same kind of criticism, they say, that these persons are now quite willing should be applied to the Bible is applied

¹ The proposals of Ussher and those of Stillingfleet, with a study of the circumstances leading up to them (1647-1667), are peculiarly suggestive and valuable.

to ecclesiastical history, their peculiar sacerdotal system will disappear bodily; and it is agreeable to these prophets to discern forerunnings of fulfilment in the works of Dr. Hatch and Dr. Hort, for example. It is the reading of history that separates these classes, that divides opinion on this dogma. One says, History as I read, is for it; one says, History as I read, is against it: and each naturally makes the most in an evidential way of what he chooses or chances to read.

But when both classes have thus made their evidential most, the ability and willingness to see things as they are must still, we think, pronounce it as amounting, just now at least, to very little. For we cannot avoid the fact that if the unbroken continuity of the Apostolic Succession could be determined beyond doubt, it would take us but a short way towards the principal thesis of the transmission of spiritual gifts: and lest we be suspected of casting in our slender fortune at the outset with the second class, we hasten to add that if breaks and lapses in continuity could be determined beyond doubt, it would not much help those who dispute and discredit this thesis. This, however, we can say with pleasure,—the proposition of each class is quite maintainable. As Mr. Haddan sums it up:

“Without Bishops no Presbyters, without Bishops and Presbyters no legitimate certainty of sacraments, without sacraments no certain union with the mystical Body of Christ, viz., with His Church, without this no certain union with Christ, and without that union no salvation.”

Or, reverting once more to Dr. Newman:

“We have been born, not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God. The Lord Jesus Christ gave His Spirit to His Apostles; they in turn laid their hands on those who should succeed them; and these again, on others; and so the sacred gift has been handed down to our present bishops . . . I know the grace of ordination is contained in the laying on of hands, not in any form of words . . . and if we trace back the power of ordination from hand to hand, we shall come to the Apostles at last. We know we do, as a plain historical fact: and therefore all we who have been ordained clergy, in the very form of our ordination acknowledged the doctrine of the the Apostolical Succession. And, for the same reason, we must necessarily consider none to be really ordained who have not been thus ordained.”

This, we say, is quite maintainable. Those who maintain it do so, it is true, by virtue of what seems to us a very blind and incompetent Biblical criticism; yet no less blind and incompetent appears the Biblical criticism of those who maintain its opposite. Its opposite is also quite maintainable: it may be that historically as much may be made out for the one as for the other. But demon-

stration is obviously impossible for those who approach the matter in this way. The criticism, therefore, that we propose, relates to an ulterior question, seemingly overlooked by both these classes, yet so fundamental as to deserve being called the only question that is worth much pains to try to answer ; and since its value is practical rather than academic, its answer is fortunately not to be found by using some method of Biblical criticism or historical interpretation, at which most of us are not very apt ; but by undergoing the simple discipline necessary to enable one to see things as they are, which almost any one can do. The question is this: does human experience as it advances, recommend this dogma or does it not? Does the course that the human mind is taking tend towards it or away from it? The importance of this question is plain ; for unless the dogma is furnished with just this recommendation, unless it lies in the main stream of human thought, in the way the human race is taking, whatever other arguments and recommendations may be provided for it will in the long run surely fail.

And who having eyes to see can doubt that experience does not recommend it, that the main stream of human thought does not include it? Experience as it progresses shows ever more clearly that the object of religion is *righteousness* ; and the relation of this dogma to righteousness can not be traced save in a way that is felt to be forced and artificial. The relation of the Bible to righteousness and of the church to righteousness is definite enough and experience shows that it is vital and necessary : and when those who have lost sight of it through identifying the Bible with the results of some unfortunate method of interpretation, or the church with some perverted and inadequate representation, take full account of the revelation of human experience, back to the church and Bible they will come. But the connection of this thesis with righteousness, or even with the church or with the Bible, is not definite nor does experience show by any means that it is vital and necessary, —quite the contrary ; and hence there is increasing difficulty found in attracting serious attention to any consideration of it at all. How often have we seen some preacher, loved and venerated for his blameless life and his masterly exemplification of Christian virtue, pause in the midst of excellent counsel to his attentive congregation and refer to this dogma in a passing word of approval and assent ; and then have we unfailingly marked how, with whatsoever accuracy his other words were aimed, this shaft had gone wide into the air. And when Mr. Moberly, the gentle and scholarly coryphaeus of the present apologists for sacerdotalism, compro-

mises with the times, quite after the manner of his school, and clothes his plea with arguments cut and shaped in a very modern fashion, so far is his average lay reader from conviction or from interest as to be sensible only of a hopeless incongruity, as one who sees the powdered peruke of a Colonial gallant surmounting our conventional evening dress. Yet it is not the preponderance of historical evidence nor the force of argument nor yet, as some say, the spread of education, that is deposing this dogma from the domain of reality in the minds of men. It is the same influence that in the past has insensibly, gradually, and without violence or strife, caused many dogmas and beliefs to fade forever from our practical credenda. Here education, as the word is commonly understood, must be satisfied with smaller credit than has been claimed for it: for education, the attainment of certain facilities and the command of certain accomplishments, has been found by no means incompatible with a firm and active belief in many dogmas against which experience has pronounced; for instance, a belief in witchcraft. History may be interpreted to give excellent testimony to the reality of witchcraft and a very good case for it in the way of argument and logic has often been, and still may be, made out. But the belief in witchcraft has permanently gone; and the best account we can give ourselves of its disappearance is that it has faded away before the breath of the *Zeitgeist*,—that experience has, in the long run, failed to recommend it. Argument, logic, the preponderance of evidence, powerless to dispel it, would be as powerless to bring it back. One professing it now would be regarded with no stronger feeling than the perfectly good-humoured toleration that is the surest token of indifference. And lest it be held offensive that we have placed these two theses, that of Apostolic Succession and that of witchcraft, so close together as to intimate a further comparison,—for such was by no means our design,—let us take by way of illustration another belief that is perhaps not so remote from the main current of human thought and therefore less likely to give offence when mentioned in the same breath,—the belief in the divine right of kings. The arguments, scriptural and otherwise, by which the establishment of this thesis was attempted, are just as valuable now as they were when Sir Robert Filmer put them in array: on the other hand, the counterblasts of Locke and Macaulay retain their precise original value as well. The thesis fails to command our assent, however, not because it has been destroyed by logic and argument, but because it has not the recommendation of enlarging human experience. When

persons now cite Scripture to prove the divine right of primogeniture, or when others use the same method in attempts to disprove it, one feels instinctively that thereby they do no more than give the exact measure of their own worth as critics. So, too, when persons propose the dogma of tactual Apostolic Succession, basing it on their criticism of the commission, "As the Father hath sent me, even so send I you,"—a commission about which there is no reasonable doubt,—and propose further to erect their criticism of the New Testament and ecclesiastical history into a kind of stark gentile Leviticus for the hard and fast regulation of our present practice, we feel in the same way, that not only in criticism but in their interpretation of our religious and social needs as well, these persons understand neither what they say nor whereof they affirm.

And, returning to our observation made a moment ago, the very looseness and indefiniteness with which this dogma is held where it is held at all, is a signal proof of this. Men who are interested in goodness and believe in goodness, who are interested in and appreciate the church as a valuable means to goodness, are not attracted by this dogma. If they know of it at all, they know of it only as an academic thesis with which they feel no personal practical concern; and the claim that it is fundamental to the things in which they believe and are interested, simply escapes them. They usually accept what they hear about it from the clergy courteously but not seriously. When such statements are backed by personal qualities that win admiration and approval, they borrow weight enough sometimes to gain a rather long toleration; but of themselves, they have none. They are allowed for the excellences that go with them; but the excellences do go with them and not in them.

Such, then, is the course of the criticism that we would outline for present application to this dogma: for it is the criticism that will serve as the final test of all dogma, whether we would have it so or not. The criticism by which every shade and form of belief must ultimately stand or fall is found in this,—Does deepening and enlarging human experience recommend it? And if we of the Protestant Episcopal church, intent only on seeing things as they are, are beforehand in applying it now and diligent in conforming ourselves and our activities to meet the suggestions brought out by its application, we shall obtain an advantage that will hardly be taken from us and whose benefits are inestimable. For it will be a *real* advantage, based on the solid merit of seeing things as they are and keeping in the main stream of human thought, instead of a

nominal advantage, based on a criticism of Scripture and history which men even now suspect and increasingly will suspect, to be out of correspondence with reality.

III.

Although we are withheld from speaking for Broad Churchmen, we yet believe that the clue to the position of the true Broad Churchman is to be found in a clear apprehension of the nature of the final criticism of dogma. If so, we come in sight of certain advantages inhering in that position which do not seem to be quite appreciated by some who bear the name of Broad Churchmen. First and greatest among these, we discern that as with Israel of old, in quietness and in confidence rather than in controversy and argument, is the Broad Churchman's strength. And lest while we deliberately praise and advocate a policy of inaction for the Broad Churchman in legislative and controversial matters, we be found to belittle the specific work that there is for him to do, or to intimate that the direction of the best development is finally to lie in other hands than his, we say that it is our sense of the greatness of that work and the paramount necessity of instituting just the lines of development that he proposes, that impels us to recommend this course as the best means of accomplishing the results that we as well as he would bring about. For it is clearly surer and safer not to attempt these results by putting into exercise the direct opposition and antipathy that usually increases the attachment of an undeveloped person to the small ideal he likes and lives by, but rather to steadily exhibit a larger ideal and then try with all amiability and patience to get the undeveloped person to like that. A mere forward and combative strenuousness is forbidden those whose trust is in the power of the *Zeitgeist*, and has beside the practical demerit of antagonising those whom we would temper and enlighten and irritating those with whom we are in essential agreement. One who is consciously working with the *Zeitgeist* has everything to gain and naught to lose by leaving argument and controversy entirely to those who must depend upon them. Everyone remembers the animadversions of the Bishop of Oregon in the last General Convention, upon the ritual affectations of sacerdotalism. True and just enough, no doubt, his observations were; but we cannot think they served his purpose. Nay, did they not rather strongly work against it by affording the very opposition most likely to increase the loyalty of those who had incorporated this sacerdotalism and all that goes with it, into their ideal of the Christian ministry?

Everyone, too, remembers the notable effort of Dr. Winchester Donald in the same Convention, to "put it upon record that he would not countenance any reflection upon the ways the other Christian denominations were administering this rite (the Lord's Supper) and would not deprive them of the comfort and help they were receiving," by declaring his belief that "Episcopal ordination is not necessary to a valid administration of the Lord's Supper." True again, no doubt, and expressed with strenuousness and courage; but why not leave the expression of it to the *Zeitgeist*, upon whose judgment we must finally in any wise depend? The immense amount of controversial capital that has since been made out of the incident, the murmur of disapproval that arose from the floor of the Convention itself, are proof that the clearing and enlightening work of the *Zeitgeist* was hindered and not furthered by Dr. Winchester Donald's strenuousness and courage which are in themselves so admirable. But it may be said that the working of the *Zeitgeist* is slow, and that such strenuous and courageous words are sometimes needful to prevent the present generation from being sacrificed root and branch to a misrepresentation of Christianity and reality. Yet if they only make the slow work slower, wherein is the final balance of profit? It is as well that our generation should be sacrificed if need be, though we ourselves anticipate no such necessity, as to protract the sacrificing process through an indefinite future for the sake of the few in this and in each generation who can be beaten off their chosen ground by the force of argument and controversy. And we know, too, that by comparison with the numbers in this generation who can be *won*, to whom an ideal larger and higher than their own can be safely trusted to recommend itself, without recourse to argument or even to persuasion, these few are few indeed.

A second advantage discernible in the position of the Broad Churchman, if our clue to that position be right, is that it minimises the dissipation of time and energy upon things that lie outside the serious purposes of life. For, whereas some of us think that by establishing their favourite dogma of the priesthood, changing the name of the church, bringing in the Provincial System and forbidding marriage with a divorced person or a deceased wife's sister, we lay the best and surest foundations of a Christian society; and that if we use the six points of ritual into the bargain we shall be perfect: it follows that out of this dogmatic fulness of their heart their mouth must often speak. And whereas others again think that our present help is chiefly in a resolute antipathy to this program, it must needs be that they also labour in and out of season

for their faith's sake. From these and like necessities, the Broad Churchman is free. His time is not absorbed in attention to a fixed dogmatic and ecclesiastical routine, nor his growth in the greatest of graces impaired by devotion to prescribed antipathies. Freedom in the one direction helps him against deficiency in light, freedom in the other direction helps him against faults of temper. He is free to absorb fresh knowledge from any source, free to hold himself resolutely away from partisanship, to hate nothing but hatred, to identify no man with his sins, to feel an infinite tenderness for persons and reserve all his severity for actions. He is free to drive straight at conduct in his relations with men, free to exhibit to them the glory and beauty of their privilege to be perfect as their Father in Heaven is perfect, to be righteous in doing righteousness, even as He is righteous. And, finally, in the diligent use of this freedom there is the guarantee of a sure, rapid, unrestrained development. Increased knowledge, increased light, coördinated with increased mildness and sweetness of temper,—insight and flexibility,—how great do these appear when we attempt to take the sum of what we call sometimes personality and sometimes character. So far, we even think, may this development in insight and flexibility go as to cause the Broad Churchman to see a considerable measure of merit regularly appearing with the dogmatic and ecclesiastical routine that so regrettably absorbs the energies of his friends. Imperfect, indeed, as a representation of Christianity, must this routine appear to him ;—and all the more imperfect as he increases in insight and flexibility ; yet hardly so as to deserve to be called a misrepresentation : for it can seldom be adopted without carrying with it something of the saving notion of righteousness. The relation between the routine and the notion is, as we intimated a moment ago, purely artificial,—and thereby is the Broad Churchman warned from art or part with those who profess implicit belief in the routine,—but, though the notion of righteousness be taken imperfectly and artificially as it is when taken with the routine, yet it oftentimes *is* taken, and so far as it is taken it is saving.

The true Broad Churchman, then, understanding clearly that the final test of dogma is to be found only in the verdict of human experience as it deepens and enlarges ; and possessing the advantages consequent upon this knowledge, such as those we have just now attempted to describe, has before him the largest opportunity for the furtherance of religion : for by driving at conduct, the worth of which men understand, instead of at a dogmatic and eccle-

siastical routine, the worth of which they do not understand ; by establishing his work on the solid ground of experience, instead of on a mooted criticism of Scripture or history ; he reveals directly and nakedly the essential nature, the essential worth and power, of religion, and thereby provides it with the most competent authority and recommendation possible. Especially is it true that the progress of organised Christianity depends mainly on the use the Broad Churchman makes of his opportunities. Such only as are consciously or unconsciously working in accord with the *Zeitgeist* constitute the Church's vital center. They vindicate its claim upon the consideration of men and justify its plea of divine grace and endowment. They take their place in a true and admitted Apostolic Succession, for their work bears straight towards the apostolic ideal of conduct and character.

But in these times when machinery is officially loved and glorified for its own sake, their resolute refusal to commit their trust to machinery naturally hinders a frank official recognition of their use and value. They will hardly be entrusted for some time to come with such preferment and factitious power as lies in the official gift of the Church ; nor should we think in our envying contemplation of the immense natural power inhering in their position, that they would greatly care to be ; especially as there is no apparent dearth of persons glad to bear the burden of these responsibilities. Canonists, debaters, dogmatists, controversialists, legislators,—of such as these there seems to be no end ; and the newspaper that comes nearest their collective thought is the New York *Churchman* ! But those who choose to work with the *Zeitgeist*, while seeing the advantage, whatever it amounts to, accruing from official preferment, see also that the price to be paid for it in time, labor, temper, and above all, in *seriousness*, is greater than they can afford to give. And so it comes to pass that while those who trust in machinery and routine have every facility given to enable them to display their logical grasp and brilliancy in expounding this or that phase of the metaphysics that have somehow attached themselves to Christianity, these must be satisfied with the simpler and more obscure work they find in the range of conduct and character. These must check the exuberance of their activity and so keep it in pace and line as to make it a part of the essential tendency of the human race ; while those—the believers in machinery and routine—can give themselves without restraint to a theory of the priesthood, changing the name of the Church, the six points of ritual, and introducing the Provincial System.

APOSTOLIC SUCCESSION AS AN HISTORICAL TRUTH.

BY THE EDITOR.

THE doctrine of uninterrupted Apostolic Succession is purely historical in its nature, and we may state at the start that though the majority of the Episcopalian clergy deem it to be an essential article of faith of their Church, it possesses a theoretical value only, and its solution, be it in the affirmative or the negative, will have no serious results whatever. The respect in which Episcopalian ministers are held is naturally personal, and will always remain such in exact proportion to their personal accomplishments. How dispensable for Episcopalian clergymen is belief in the doctrine of Apostolic Succession, appears from the fact that Bishop Brooks, than whom no Episcopalian clergyman is more recognised as truly inspired, did not believe in it.

Alexander V. G. Allen, a professor in the Theological School in Cambridge, quotes Brooks as saying :

"I, for one, and I think that I am speaking for multitudes in this congregation this morning, do not believe in the doctrine of Apostolic Succession in any such sense as many receive it. I do not believe in the exclusive prerogative which gives to the Church which receives it any such absolute right of Christian faith."

Again, in a sermon discussing the proposed change of the name of the Protestant Episcopal Church to "The American Church," Bishop Brooks says :

"It was evident therefore that the change of name must be justified on another ground,—that the Episcopal Church, even though one of the smaller Christian bodies, had a distinct and absolute right, through a divine commission from Christ and the Apostles not possessed by other Churches, and entitling her, therefore, to claim for herself, and to be known as, the only true apostolic, Catholic Church in America. If the Episcopal Church did indeed possess such an exclusive commission, then she would have the right to the name, 'The Church in the United States' or the American Church."

Our authority for the preceding quotation continues :

" Upon this point Bishop Brooks remarked that there was not a line in the Prayer Book which declares any such theory. It was simply a theory held by individuals,—a theory which many both of the clergy and laity did not believe. He avowed for himself that he rejected the theory and would not consent to it for a single day."

As to the truth of Apostolic Succession, it is obviously an historical problem, and its solution depends upon historical evidences which for believers in it are extremely unsatisfactory. It would assume that the method of blessing the bishops at their ordination by an imposition of hands comes down in uninterrupted succession from Jesus through the apostles to the Roman Church, and from the Roman Church to the Anglican Churches. Now, it is well known that the presence of St. Peter in Rome is, to say the least, very doubtful. It is considered a symptom of reactionary spirit in Harnack that he should regard St. Peter's having been in Rome as not true, but merely possible; and certainly a *mere possibility* is all that can be claimed for it since the fact is very improbable if we bear in mind the actual conditions of the primitive Christians at Jerusalem, and consider that St. Peter was a Jew who (leaving aside the miracle of tongues at Jerusalem) spoke presumably only Aramaic, the language of the Jews of his day, that he did not eat with Gentiles, and remained a thorough Jew even after having been apprised of St. Paul's success among the Gentiles, which was highly appreciated by the apostles at Jerusalem, not wholly on account of the recognition which their beloved master received in the world of the Gentiles, but also for very good substantial reason that collections were made by St. Paul among the Gentile Christians for the "saints at Jerusalem."

The Christianity of Paul was by no means the same as that of Peter, and when they fell out on the subject they made a special stipulation, according to which they divided the world between them, so that Peter should have the field among the Jews for himself and his conception of Christianity, while the propagation of the new religion among the Gentiles should be Paul's share.

Suppose Peter had gone to Rome, he would have done so only in palpable violation of his contract with Paul and in infringement upon Paul's field. He had no moral right to do so and Paul would have been entitled to drive him out of the place. From a purely human standpoint it seems very unlikely that Peter, with his narrow national Judaism, should have been able to conduct a Christian Church in Gentile Rome, even if he had only been the

leader of the Jew-Christians there. The Jews of the diaspora differed as much from the Jews in Jerusalem as an American Jew differs from a Polish Jew; and we might as well expect the Chicago Synod to place a rabbi from the interior of Poland in charge of their leading synagogue as that Peter of Galilee should have been installed in Rome. Roman Jews would never have understood Peter's language, nor would they have been satisfied with his Palestinian views, because the Jews at Rome must have modified considerably their attitude toward the Gentiles in their Gentile surroundings at Rome. If Peter would not have suited the Roman Jews, still less would he have been acceptable to the Roman Christians. Thus, it seems to me that for any one who looks at the problem from the simple attitude of an historical inquirer, the probability of Peter's having gone to Rome in defiance of his compact with Paul is extremely slight, and can be explained only by constantly calling to aid special divine interference and miracles, such as that of the miracle of tongues at Pentecost. At any rate, the belief of Peter's having reached Rome is not supported by New Testament evidence, if only for the reason that according to unequivocal documentary evidence he was restricted by special agreement with his fellow-apostle, Paul, to the Jewish world.

Obviously, the bishops and other leaders of the Gentile Christian world were installed by Paul, and Peter recognised the establishment of Christian churches among the Gentiles; and no word is mentioned of making the legality of the offices in the Gentile Church founded by St. Paul dependent upon the uninterrupted Apostolic succession in the sense in which many members of the Episcopal Church (and among them men in leading positions) accept the word. Paul certainly claims that he was called by Christ himself, and did not receive his office from any one of the apostles. His case, however, is the most flagrant contradiction to Apostolic Succession, for since he never met Jesus in the flesh, his Apostolic Succession is of a purely spiritual nature, and there was never any tactual contact established between him and his master through a laying on of hands. In our opinion, humanly speaking, this settles the problem, and it is difficult to understand how Episcopalians can continue laying so much stress upon a doctrine which is based on the same slender grounds as the claim of the Bishop of Rome, of holding the keys of St. Peter.

Now, we would suggest that our brethren of the Episcopal Church should take the standpoint of the actualities of to-day, instead of pinning their faith to a doubtful solution of an historical

problem. The Episcopal Church does not stand or fall with the doctrine of Apostolic Succession; but the doctrine as held by the Church is a characteristic feature of the spirit in which it treats religious traditions. I should say that a true Episcopalian is a man who is faithful to the spirit of reverence for historical tradition. The Episcopal Church is more conservative than any other Protestant Church. The leaders of the Church cherish tradition; they love ritual; they are sticklers for good form and an artistic mode of worship. Such are the facts of to-day, and they are a desideratum of religious people in many quarters. A certain class of people are attracted to the Church, not by the dogma of Apostolic Succession, but by this spirit of reverence for the past and the observance of decorum.

Mutatis mutandis we can apply the same principle generally to all denominations. The several denominations are not different in dogma, or if they are the members of the churches care very little about it, and are frequently utterly ignorant of the peculiar tenets of their churches. They differ, however, in method, viz., in the mode of dealing with religion, in preaching, and in forms of worship. Whether or not baptism in olden times was actual immersion, is of no importance for the Baptists to-day, but their habit of immersion testifies to their mode of performing a rite with the thoroughness of fulfilment to the letter. It indicates a strong zeal, and this zeal characterises the Baptist.

As to Apostolic Succession by tactual contact, we may illustrate the case by saying that we may be very proud of having shaken hands with a great man. We may enjoy the idea that there is an uninterrupted connexion of the laying on of hands from Jesus down to every clergyman of the Episcopal Church; but what does it signify? Does the ministry of these men really depend upon actual contact? Is this not a very external and gross, materialistically gross, conception of the divinity of the ministry, which stands in flat contradiction to the ideal proposed by Jesus when he says: "For where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them."

Shall Christianity be outdone by Buddhism where a parallel idea is mentioned in the Mahâparinibbâna Suttanta, the Book of the Great Decease? When the inhabitants of the place crowd around the couch of the dying Buddha, he says: "He who does not do what I command sees me in vain; this brings no profit. Whilst he who lives far off from where I am, yet walks righteously, is ever near me."

The method of ordaining a bishop is by the laying on of hands, but that is a symbol only to indicate the transference of authority by blessing. Spirit is not transferred by bodily contact. Let, therefore, our brethren of the Episcopal Church not take their stand upon the dead past, but let them adhere to the spirit of their organisation and live in the living present.

THE DISSEMINATION OF MITHRAISM IN THE ROMAN EMPIRE.¹

BY PROFESSOR FRANZ CUMONT.

[CONTINUED.]

OF all countries Germany is that in which the greatest number of Mithræums, or places of Mithraic worship, has been discovered. Germany has given us the bas-reliefs having the greatest



MITHRA MONUMENT OF OSTBURKEN.¹

Discovered in 1861 near the ruins of a Roman fort, in the Odenwald, Hesse. (Cumont, III., p. 350.)

dimensions and furnishing the most complete representations, and certainly no god of paganism ever found in this nation as many enthusiastic devotees as Mithra. The *Agri decumates*, a strip of land lying on the right bank of the Rhine and forming the military confines of the empire, together with the advance posts of the Roman military system between the river Main and the fortified walls of the *limes*, have been marvellously fertile in discoveries.

North of Frankfort, near the village of Heddernheim,² the ancient *civitas Taunensium*, three important temples have been successively ex-

humed; three others existed in Friedberg in Hesse and two more have been dug out in the surrounding country. On the other side, along the entire course of the Rhine, from Augst (Raurica) near Basel as far as Xanten (Vetera), passing through Strassburg, May-

¹ Extracted by the author from his *Textes et Monuments figurés relatifs aux Mystères de Mithra* (Brussels: H. Lamertin). Translated by T. J. McCormack.

² See the Frontispiece to this number of *The Open Court*.

ence, Neuwied, Bonn, Cologne, and Dormagen, a series of monuments have been found which show clearly the manner in which the new faith spread like an epidemic, and was disseminated into the very heart of the barbarous tribes of the Ubians and Batavians.

The influence of Mithraism among the troops massed along the Rhenish frontier also accounts for the extension of this religion into the interior of Gaul. A soldier of the eighth legion dedicated an altar to the *Deo Invicto* at Geneva, which lay on the military road from Germany to the Mediterranean, and other traces of the



BAS-RELIEF OF NEUENHEIM.¹

Oriental cult have been found in modern Switzerland and the French Jura. In Sarrebourg (*Pons Saravi*) at the mouth of the pass leading from the Vosges Mountains, by which Strassburg

¹ The monument which has escaped the fate of mutilation by the hands of fanatics, was discovered in 1838 in a cave near Neuenheim, on the southern slope of the Heiligenberg, near Heidelberg, by workmen laying the foundation of a farm house. It is interesting because it shows very clearly twelve small bas-reliefs exhibiting scenes from the life of Mithras, beginning with his birth from the rocks on the top of the left border, passing over to the right side where he catches the bull, carrying him to the cave so as not to show the footprints of his hoofs, and ending on the top border, where his ascent to Ahura Mazda is represented. Some of the scenes have not yet been explained satisfactorily. Of interest is the second one, in which Ahura Mazda hands to Mithras the scepter of the government over the world.

communicated and still communicates with the basins of the Mosel and the Seine, a *spelæum* has recently been exhumed that dates from the third century; another, of which the principal bas-relief carved from the living rock still subsists to our day, existed at Schwarzerden, between Metz and Mayence. It would be surprising that the large city of Treves, the regular residence of the Roman military commanders, has preserved only some débris of inscriptions and statues, did not the important rôle which this city played under the successors of Constantine explain the almost total disappearance of the monuments of paganism. Finally, in the valley of the Meuse, not far from the route that joins Cologne with Bavay (*Bagacum*), some curious remains of the Mysteries have been discovered.

From Bavay, this route leads to Boulogne (*Gesoriacum*), the naval basis of the *classis Britannica* or Britannic fleet. The statues of the two dadophors, or torch-bearers, which have been found here and were certainly chiselled on the spot, were doubtless offered to the god by some foreign mariner or officer of the fleet. It was the object of this important naval station to keep in daily touch with the great island that lay opposite, and especially with London, which even at this epoch was visited by numerous ships. The existence of a Mithræum in this principal commercial and military depot of Britain should not surprise us. Generally speaking, the Iranian cult was in no country so completely restricted to fortified places as in Britain. Outside of York (*Eburacum*), where the headquarters of the troops of the province were situated, it was disseminated only in the west of the country, at Caërleon (*Isca*) and at Chester (*Deva*), where camps had been established to repel the inroads of the Gallic tribes of the Silures and the Ordovices; and finally in the northern outskirts of the country along the wall of Hadrian, which protected the territory of the empire from the incursions of the Picts and the Caledonians. All the stations of this line of ramparts appear to have had their Mithraic temple, where the commander of the place (*præfectus*) furnished the model of devotion for his subordinates. It is evident, therefore, that the Asiatic god had penetrated in the train of the army to these northern regions, but it is impossible to determine precisely the period at which it reached this place or the troops by whom it was carried there. But there is reason for believing that Mithra was worshipped in these countries from the middle of the second century, and that Germany served as the intermediary agent between the far Orient

" *Et penitus toto divisos orbe Britannos.*"

At the other extremity of the Roman world the Mysteries were likewise celebrated by soldiers. They had their adepts in the third legion encamped at Lambæse and in the posts that guarded the defiles of the Aurasian Mountains or that dotted the frontiers of the Sahara Desert. Nevertheless, they do not appear to have been as popular to the south of the Mediterranean as in the countries to the north, and their propagation has assumed here a special character. Their monuments, nearly all of which date from later epochs, are due to the officers, or at least to the centurions, many of whom were of foreign origin, rather than to the simple soldiers, nearly all of whom were levied in the country which they were charged to defend. The legionaries of Numidia remained faithful to their indigenous gods, who were either Punic or Berber in origin, and only rarely adopted the beliefs of the companions with whom their vocation of arms had thrown them in contact. Apparently, therefore, the Persian religion was practised in Africa almost exclusively by those whom military service had called to these countries from abroad; and the bands of the faithful were composed for the most part, if not of Asiatics, at least of recruits drawn from the Danubian provinces. Finally, in Spain, the country of the Occident which is poorest in Mithraic monuments, the connection of their presence with that of the garrisons is no less manifest. Throughout the entire extent of this vast peninsula, in which so many populous cities were crowded together, they are almost totally lacking, even in the largest centers of urban population. Scarcely the faintest vestige of an inscription is found in Emerita and Tarraco, the capitals of Lusitania and Tarraconensis. But in the uncivilised valleys of Asturias and Gallæcia the Iranian god had an organised cult. This fact will be immediately connected with the prolonged sojourn of a Roman legion in this country, which remained so long unsubjugated. Perhaps the conventicles of the initiated also included veterans of the Spanish cohorts who, after having served as auxiliaries on the Rhine and the Danube, returned to their hearths converted to the Mazdean faith.

The army thus united under the same fold citizens, emigrants, and adventurers from all parts of the world; kept up an incessant interchange of officers and centurions and even of entire army-corps from one province to another, according to the varying needs of the day; in fine, threw out to the remotest frontiers of the Roman world a net of perpetual communications. Yet this was not the only way in which the military system contributed to the dissemination of Oriental religions. After the expiration of their term

of service, the soldiers continued in their places of retirement the practices to which they had become accustomed under the standards of the army; and they soon evoked in their new environment numerous imitators. Frequently they settled in the neighborhood of their latest station, in the little towns which had gradually replaced in the neighborhood of the military camps the shops of the sutlers. At times, too, they would choose their home in some large city of the country where they had served, to pass there with their old comrades in arms the remainder of their days. Lyons always sheltered within its walls a large number of these veteran legionaries of the German army, and the only Mithraic inscription that London has furnished us was written by a soldier emeritus of the troops of Britain. It was customary also for the emperor to send discharged soldiers to some region where a colony was to be founded; Elusa in Aquitania was probably made acquainted with the Asiatic cult by Rhenish veterans which Septimius Severus established in this region. Frequently, the conscripts whom the military authorities transported to the confines of the empire retained at heart their love for their native country, with which they never ceased to sustain relations; but when, after twenty or twenty-five years of struggle and combat, they returned to their native land, they preferred to the gods of their own city or tribe, the foreign deity whose mysterious worship some military comrade had taught them in distant lands.

Nevertheless, the propagation of Mithraism in the towns and country districts of the provinces in which no armies were stationed was due in great measure to other agencies. By her continued conquests in Asia, Rome had subjected to her domination numerous Semitic provinces. After the founding of the empire had assured peace to the entire Roman world and permanently insured the safety of commerce, these new subjects, profiting by the special aptitudes of their race, could be seen gradually concentrating in their hands the entire traffic of the Levant. As the Phœnicians and Carthaginians formerly, so now the Syrians populated with their colonies all the shores of the Mediterranean. In the Hellenic epoch they had established themselves in the commercial centers of Greece, and notably at Delos. A number of these merchants now flocked to the vicinity of Rome, settling at Pozzuoli and at Ostia. They appear to have carried on business in all the maritime cities of the Occident. They are found in Italy at Ravenna, Aquileja, and Tergeste; at Salonæ in Dalmatia, and as far distant as Malaga in Spain. Their mercantile activity even led them into

the distant interior of these countries at every point where there was the least prospect of profit. In the valley of the Danube they penetrated as far as Sarmizegetusa and Apulum in Dacia, and as far as Sirmium in Pannonia. In Gaul, this Oriental population was particularly dense. They reached Bordeaux by the Gironde and ascended the Rhone as far as Lyons. After occupying the banks of this river, they flocked into the interior of the province, and Treves, the great capital of the north, attracted them in hordes. They literally filled, as St. Jerome puts it, the Roman world. Even the later invasions of the barbarians were impotent to dampen their spirit of enterprise. Under the Merovingians they still spoke their Semitic idiom at Orleans. Their emigration was only checked when the Saracens shattered the navigation of the Mediterranean.

The Syrians were distinguished in all epochs by their ardent zeal. No people, not even the Egyptians, defended their ideals with such great pertinacity against the Christians. So, when they founded a colony, their first care was to organise their national cults, and the mother country frequently allowed them generous subsidies toward the performance of this pious duty. It was in this manner that the deities of Heliopolis, of Damascus, and Palmyra first penetrated to Italy.

The word *Syrian* had in popular usage a very vague significance. This word, which was an abbreviation of *Assyrian*, was frequently confounded with it, and served to designate generally all the Semitic populations anciently subject to the kings of Nineveh, as far east as, and even beyond, the Euphrates. It embraced, therefore, the sectaries of Mithra established in the valley of this river; and as Rome extended her conquest in this quarter, the worshippers of the Persian god necessarily became more and more numerous among the "Syrians" who dwelt in the Latin cities.

Nevertheless, the majority of the merchants that founded the commercial houses of the Occident were servitors of the Semitic Baals, and those who invoked Mithra were generally Asiatics in humbler conditions of life. The first temples which this god possessed in the west of the empire were without doubt mainly frequented by slaves. The *mangones*, or slave mongers, procured their human merchandise preferably from the provinces of the Orient. From the depths of Asia Minor they drove to Rome hordes of slaves purchased from the great landed proprietors of Cappadocia and of Pontus; and this imported population, as one ancient writer has put it, ultimately came to form distinct towns or quar-

ters in the great capital. But the supply did not suffice for the increasing consumption of depopulated Italy.

War also was a mighty purveyor of human chattels. When we remember that Titus, in a single campaign in Judæa, reduced to slavery 90,000 Jews, our imagination becomes appalled at the multitudes of captives that the incessant struggles with the Parthians, and particularly the conquests of Trajan, must have thrown on the markets of the Occident.

But whether taken *en masse* after some great victory, or acquired singly by the regular traffickers in human flesh, these slaves were particularly numerous in the maritime towns, to which their transportation was cheap and easy. They introduced here, concurrently with the Syrian merchants, the Oriental cults and particularly that of Mithra. This last-named god has been found established in an entire series of ports on the Mediterranean. We signalise above all his presence at Sidon in Phœnicia and at Alexandria in Egypt. In Italy, if Pozzuoli and its environs, including Naples, have furnished relatively few monuments of the Mysteries, the reason is that this city had ceased in the second century to be the great *entrepôt* from which Rome derived its supplies from the Levant. The Tyrian colony of Pozzuoli, at one time wealthy and powerful, complains in the year 172 A. D. of being reduced to a small settlement. After the immense structures of Claudius and Trajan were erected at Ostia, this latter city inherited the prosperity of its Campagnian rival; and the result was that all the Asiatic religions soon had here their chapels and their congregations of devotees. Yet none enjoyed greater favor than that of the Iranian god. In the second century, at least four or five *spelæa* had been dedicated to him. One of them, constructed at the latest in 162 A. D., and communicating with the baths of Antonine, was situated on the very spot where the foreign ships landed, and another one adjoined the *Metroon*, or sanctuary in which the official cult of the *Magna Mater* was celebrated. To the south the little hamlet of Antium (Porto d'Anzio) had followed the example of its powerful neighbor; while in Etruria, Rusellæ (Grosseto) and Pisæ likewise accorded a favorable reception to the Mazdean deity.

In the east of Italy, Aquileja is distinguished for the number of its Mithraic inscriptions. As Trieste to-day, so Aquileja in antiquity was the market in which the Danubian provinces exchanged their products for those of the South. Pola, at the extremity of Istria, the islands of Arba and Brattia, and the sea-ports of the coast of Dalmatia, Senia, Iader, Salonæ, Naronæ, Epidaurus, in-

cluding Dyrrachium in Macedonia, have all preserved more or less numerous and indubitable vestiges of the influence of the invincible god, and distinctly mark the path which he followed in his journey to the commercial metropolis of the Adriatic.

His progress may also be followed in the western Mediterranean. In Sicily at Syracuse and Palermo, on the coast of Africa at Carthage, Rusicada, Icosium, Cæsarea, on the opposite shores of Spain at Malaga and Tarraco, Mithraic associations were successively formed in the motley population which the sea had carried to these cities. And farther to the north, on the Gulf of Lyons, the proud Roman colony of Narbonne doffed its exclusiveness in his favor.

In Gaul, especially, the correlation which we have discovered between the spread of the Mysteries and the extension of Oriental traffic is striking. Both were principally concentrated between the Alps and the Cévennes, or to be more precise, in the basin of the Rhone, the course of which had been the main route of its penetration. Sextantio, near Montpellier, has given us the epitaph of a *pater sacrorum*, and Aix in the Provence a presumably Mithraic representation of the sun on his *quadrigium*. Then, ascending the river, we find at Arles a statue of the lion-headed Kronos who was worshipped in the Mysteries; at Bourg-Saint-Andéol, near Montélimar, a representation of the tauroctonous god sculptured from the living rock near a spring; at Vaison, not far from Orange, a dedicatory inscription made on the occasion of an initiation; at Vienne, a *speleum* from which, among other monuments, has been obtained the most unique bas-relief hitherto discovered. Finally, at Lyons, which is known from the history of Christianity to have had direct relations with Asia Minor, the success of the Persian religion was certainly considerable. Farther up the river, its presence has been proved at Geneva on the one hand and at Besançon and Mandeure on the Doubs, a branch of the Saone, on the other. An unbroken series of sanctuaries which were without doubt in constant communication with one another thus bound together the shores of the great inland sea and the camps of Germany.

Sallying forth from the flourishing cities of the valley of the Rhone, the foreign cult crept even into the depths of the mountains of Dauphiny, Savoy, and Bugey. Labâtie near Gap, Lucey not far from Belley, and Vieu-en-Val Romey have preserved for us inscriptions, temples, and statues dedicated by the faithful. As we have said, the Oriental merchants did not restrict their activity to establishing agencies in the maritime and river ports; the hope of

more lucrative trade attracted them to the villages of the interior, where competition was less active. The dispersion of the Asiatic slaves was even more complete. Scarcely had they disembarked from their ships, when they were scattered haphazard in every direction by the auctions, and we find them in all the different countries discharging the most diverse functions.

In Italy, a country of great estates and ancient municipalities, either they went to swell the armies of slaves who were tilling the vast domains of the Roman aristocracy, or they were afterwards promoted to the rank of superintendents (*actor, villicus*) and became the masters of those whose miserable lot they had formerly shared. Sometimes they were acquired by some municipality, and as public servants (*servi publici*) they executed the orders of the magistrates or entered the bureaus of the administrations. It is difficult to realise the rapidity with which the Oriental religions were thus able to penetrate the regions which it would appear they could never possibly have attained. A double inscription at Nersæ, in the heart of the Apennines, informs us that in the year 172 of our era a slave, the treasurer of the town, had restored a Mithræum that had fallen in ruins. At Venusia, a Greek inscription Ἡλίου Μίθρα was dedicated by the steward of some wealthy burgher, and his name Sargaris at once proves his servile rank and Asiatic origin. The examples could be multiplied. There is not a shadow of a doubt but these obscure servitors of the foreign god were the most active agents in the propagation of the Mysteries, not only within the limits of the city of Rome itself, and in the other great cities of the country, but throughout the entire extent of Italy, from Calabria to the Alps. We find the Iranian cult practised at Grumentum, in the heart of Lucania; then, as we have already said, at Venusia in Apulia, and at Nersæ in the country of the Æqui, also at Aveia in the land of the Vestini; then in Umbria, along the Flaminian road, at Interamna, at Spoleto, where one can visit a *spelæum* decorated with paintings, and at Sentinum, where there has been discovered a list of the patrons of a *collegium* of Mithraists; likewise, in Etruria this religion followed the Casian way and established itself at Sutrium, at Bolsene, and perhaps at Arretium and at Florence. Its traces are no less well marked and significant to the north of the Apennines. They appear only sporadically in Emilia, where the provinces of Bologna and Modena alone have preserved some interesting *debris*, as they do also in the fertile valley of the Po. Here Milan, which rapidly grew to prosperity under the empire, appears to be the only locality in

which the exotic religion enjoyed great favor and official protection. Some fragments of inscriptions exhumed at Tortona, Industria, and Novara are insufficient to prove that it attained in the remainder of the country any wide-spread diffusion.

It is certainly remarkable that we have unearthed far richer booty in the wild defiles of the Alps than in the opulent plains of upper Italy. At Introbio, in the Val Sassina, to the east of Lake Como, in the Val Camonica, watered by the river Oglio, altars were dedicated to the invincible god. But the monuments which were consecrated to him specially abound along the river Adige (Etsch) and its tributaries, near the grand causeway which led in antiquity as it does to-day over the Brenner pass and Puster-Thal to the northern slope of the Alps in Rhætia and Noricum. At Trent, there is a Mithræum built near a cascade; near San-Zeno, bas-reliefs have been found in the rocky gorges; at Castello di Tuenno, fragments of votive tablets have been unearthed with both faces carved; on the banks of the Eisack, there has been found a dedicatory inscription to Mithra and to the sun; and Maals finally has given us the celebrated sculptured plaque discovered in the sixteenth century and now in the museum at Vienna.

The progress of Mithraism in this mountainous district was not checked at the frontiers of Italy. If, pursuing our way through the valley of the Drave, we seek for the vestiges which it left in this region, we shall immediately discover them at Teurnia and especially at Virunum, the largest city of Noricum, in which in the third century at least two temples had been opened to the initiated. A third one was erected not far from the same place in a grotto in the midst of the forest.

The city of Aquileja was undoubtedly the religious metropolis of this Roman colony, and its important church proselytised much in all this district. The cities that sprang up along the routes leading from this port across Pannonia to the military strongholds on the Danube almost without exception favorably received the foreign god: they were Æmona, the Latovici, Neviodunum, and principally Siscia, on the course of the Save; and then toward the north Adrans, Celeia, Poetovio, received him with equal favor. In this manner, his devotees who were journeying from the shores of the Adriatic to Mœsia, on the one hand, or to Carnuntum on the other, could be received at every stage of their journey by co-religionists.

In these regions, as in the countries south of the Alps, Oriental slaves acted as the missionaries of Mithra. But the condi-

tions under which their propaganda was conducted were considerably different. These slaves were not employed in this country as they were in the *latifundia* and the cities of Italy, as agricultural laborers, or stewards of wealthy land-owners, or municipal employees. Depopulation had not created such havoc here as in the countries of the old civilisation, and people were not obliged to resort to foreign hands for the cultivation of their fields or the administration of their cities. It was not individuals or municipalities, but the state itself, that was here the great importer of human beings. The procurators, the officers of the treasury, the officers of the imperial domains, or as in Noricum the governors themselves, had under their orders a multitude of collectors of taxes, of treasurers, and clerks of all kinds, scattered over the territory which they administered; and as a rule these subaltern officers were not of free birth. Likewise, the great *entrepreneurs* who leased the products of the mines and the quarries, or the customs returns, employed for the execution of their projects a numerous staff of functionaries, both hired and slave. From people of this class, who were either agents of the emperor or publicans whom he appointed to represent him, are those whose titles recur most frequently in the Mithraic inscriptions of southern Pannonia and Noricum.

In all the provinces, the lowly employees of the imperial service played a considerable part in the diffusion of foreign religions. Just as these officers of the central power were representatives of the political unity of the empire in contrast with its regional particularism, so also they were the apostles of the universal religion as opposed to the local cults. They formed, as it were, a second army under the orders of their prince, and their influence on the evolution of paganism was analogous to that of the army proper. Like the soldiers, they too were recruited in great numbers from the Asiatic countries; like them, they too were perpetually changing their residence as they were promoted in station; and the lists of their bureaus, like those of the legions, comprised individuals of all nationalities.

Thus, the imperial administration transferred from one government to another, along with its clerks and quartermasters, a knowledge of the Mithraic Mysteries. A characteristic discovery made at Cæsarea in Cappadocia tells us in very good Latin that a slave, probably of indigenous origin, an *arcarius dispensatoris Augusti* (a clerk of the imperial treasury), offers an image of the sun to Mithra. In the interior of Dalmatia, where the monuments of the Persian god are rather sparsely scattered for the reason that this province

was early stripped of its legions, employees of the treasury, the postal and the customs service, left nevertheless their names on some inscriptions. In the frontier provinces especially, the financial agents of the Cæsars must have been numerous, not only because the import duties on merchandise had to be collected here, but because the heaviest drain on the imperial treasuries was the cost of maintaining the army. It is therefore natural to find cashiers, tax-gatherers, and revenue-collectors (*dispensatores, exactores, procuratores*), and other similar titles mentioned in the Mithraic texts of Dacia and Africa.

Here, therefore, is the second way in which the Iranian god penetrated to the towns adjoining the military camps, where, as we have seen, he was worshipped by the Oriental soldiers. The general domestic service, as well as the political functions, of these administrators and officers, was the cause of the transportation of public and private slaves to all garrisons; while the constantly renewed needs of the multitudes here assembled attracted to these points merchants and traders from all parts of the world. Then again, as we have pointed out, the veterans themselves afterwards settled in the ports and the large cities, where they were thrown in contact with merchants and slaves. In affirming categorically that Mithra was introduced in this or that manner in a certain region, our generalisation manifestly cannot lay claim to absolute exactitude. The concurrent causes of the spread of the Mysteries are so intermingled and intertwined, that it would be a futile task to attempt to unravel strand by strand the fibres of this entangled snarl. Having as our sole guide, as we frequently do, inscriptions of uncertain date, on which by the side of the name of the god appears simply that of an initiate or priest, it is impossible to determine in each single case the circumstances which have fostered the progress of the new religion. The more fleeting influences are almost absolutely removed from our ken. On the accession of Vespasian, did the prolonged sojourn in Italy of Syrian troops who were faithful worshippers of the sun have any durable result? Did the army which Alexander Severus conducted into Germany, and which, as Lampridius has recorded, was *potentissima per Armenios et Osrhænos et Parthos* (viz., very largely composed of Armenians, Osrhænians, and Parthians), impart a new impulse to the Mithraic propaganda on the banks of the Rhine? Did any of the high functionaries that Rome sent annually to the frontier of the Euphrates embrace the beliefs of the people over whom they ruled? Did priests from Cappadocia or Pontus ever embark for the Occident after the manner

of the missionaries of the Syrian goddess, in the expectation of wresting there a livelihood from the credulity of the masses? Even under the republic Chaldæan astrologists roamed the great causeways of Italy, and in the time of Juvenal the soothsayers of Com-magene and Armenia vended their oracles in Rome. These subsidiary methods of propagation, which were generally resorted to by the Oriental religions, may also have been put to profitable use by the disseminators of Mithraism; but the most active agents of its diffusion were undoubtedly the soldiers, the slaves, and the merchants. Apart from the detailed proofs already adduced, the presence of Mithraic monuments in places where war and commerce were constantly conducted, and in the countries where the vast current of Asiatic emigration was discharged, is sufficient to establish our hypothesis.

The absence of these monuments in other regions is also clear proof of our position. Why are no vestiges of the Persian Mysteries found in Asia, in Bithynia, in Galatia, in the provinces adjoining those where they were practised for centuries? Because the production of these countries exceeded their consumption, because their foreign commerce was in the hands of Greek ship-owners, because they exported men instead of importing them, and because from the time of Vespasian at least no legion was charged with the defence or surveillance of their territory. Greece was protected from the invasion of foreign gods by its national pride, by its worship of its glorious past, which is the most characteristic trait of the Grecian spirit under the empire. But the absence of foreign soldiers and slaves also deprived it of the least occasion of lapsing from its national religion. Lastly, Mithraic monuments are almost completely missing in the central and western parts of Gaul, in the Spanish peninsula, and in the south of Britain, and they are rare even in the interior of Dalmatia. In these places also no permanent army was stationed; there was consequently no importation of Asiatics; while there was also in these countries no great center of international commerce to attract them.

On the other hand, the city of Rome is especially rich in discoveries of all kinds, more so in fact than any of the provinces. In fact, Mithra found in no other part of the empire conditions so eminently favorable to the success of his religion. Rome always had a large garrison made up of soldiers drawn from all parts of the empire, and the veterans of the army, after having been honorably discharged, flocked thither in great numbers to spend the remainder of their days. An opulent aristocracy resided here, and

their palaces, like those of the emperor, were filled with thousands of Oriental slaves. It was the seat of the central imperial administration, the official slaves of which thronged its bureaus. Finally, all whom the spirit of adventure, or disaster, had driven hither in search of fame and fortune flocked to this "caravansary of the universe," and carried thither their customs and their religions. Colaterally, the presence in Rome of numbers of Asiatic princelings, who lived there, either as hostages or fugitives, with their families and retinues, also abetted the propagation of the Mazdean faith.

Like the majority of the foreign gods, Mithra undoubtedly had his first temples outside of the *pomoerium*, or limits. Many of his monuments have been discovered beyond these boundaries, especially in the vicinity of the prætorian camp; but before the year 181 A. D. he had overleaped the sacred barriers and established himself in the heart of the city. It is unfortunately impossible to follow step by step his progress in the vast metropolis. Records of exact date and indubitable origin are too scarce to justify us in reconstructing the local history of the Persian religion in Rome. We can only determine in a general way the high degree of splendor which it attained there. Its vogue is attested by a hundred or more inscriptions, by more than seventy-five fragments of sculpture, and by a series of temples and chapels situated in all parts of the city and its environs. The most justly celebrated of these *spelæa* is the one that still existed during the Renaissance in a cave of the Capitol, and from which the grand Borghesi bas-relief now in the Louvre was taken. (See the illustration on page 204 of the April *Open Court*.) To all appearances, this monument dates from the end of the second century.

It was at this period that Mithra came forth from the partial obscurity in which he had hitherto lived, to become one of the favorite gods of the Roman aristocracy and the imperial court. We have seen him arrive from the Orient a despised deity of the deported or emigrant Asiatics. It is certain that he achieved his first conquests among the lower classes of society, and it is an important fact that Mithraism long remained the religion of the lowly. The most ancient inscriptions are eloquent evidence of the truth of this assertion, for they emanated without exception from slaves or freedmen, from soldiers active or retired. But the high destinies to which freedmen were permitted to aspire under the empire are well known; while the sons of veterans or of centurions not infrequently became citizens of wealth and influence. Thus, by a natural evolution the religion transplanted to Latin soil was bound

to wax great in wealth as well as in influence, and soon to count among its sectaries influential functionaries at the capital, and church and town dignitaries in the municipalities. Under the Antonines, literary men and philosophers began to grow interested in the dogmas and rites of this Oriental cult. The wit Lucian parodied their ceremonies; and in 177 A. D. Celsus in his *True Discourse* undoubtedly pits its doctrines against those of Christianity. About the same period a certain Pallas devoted to Mithraism a special work, and Porphyry cites a certain Eubulus who had published *Mithraic Researches* in several books. If this literature were not irrevocably lost to us, we should doubtless re-read in its pages the story of the Roman armies, both officers and soldiers, passing over to the faith of the hereditary enemies of the empire, and of great lords converted by the slaves of their own establishments. The monuments frequently mention the names of slaves beside those of freemen, and sometimes it is the former that have attained the highest rank among the initiates. In these societies, the last frequently became the first, and the first the last,—to all appearances at least.

One capital result emerges from the detailed facts which we have adduced: It is that the spread of the Persian Mysteries must have taken place with extreme rapidity. With the suddenness of the flash of a train of gunpowder, they make their appearance almost simultaneously in countries far removed from one another: in Rome, at Carnuntum on the Danube, and in the *Agri decumates*. Manifestly, this reformed church of Mazdaism exercised on the society of the second century a powerful fascination, of which to-day we can only imperfectly ascertain the causes.

But to the natural allurements which drew crowds to the feet of the tauroctonous god was added an extrinsic element of the highest efficacy: the imperial favor. Lampridius informs us that Commodus was initiated into the Mysteries and took part in the bloody ceremonies of its liturgy, and the inscriptions prove that this condescension of the monarch toward the priests of Mithra created an immense stir in the Roman world, and told enormously in favor of the Persian religion. From this moment the exalted dignitaries of the empire are seen to follow the example of their sovereign and to become zealous cultivators of the Iranian cult. Tribunes, prefects, legates, and later *perfectissimi* and *clarissimi*, are frequently mentioned as authors of the votive inscriptions; and until the downfall of paganism the aristocracy remained attached to the solar god that had so long enjoyed the favor of

princes. But to understand the political and moral motives of the kindly reception which these dignitaries accorded to the new faith, it will be necessary to expound the Mithraic doctrines concerning the sovereign power and their connection with the theocratic claims of the Cæsars. This we shall do in a forthcoming article.

THE FYLFOT AND SWASTIKA.

BY THE EDITOR.

[CONCLUDED.]

THE Dipylon pottery (so called because discovered near the Dipylon gate of Athens) belongs to the pre-Homeric age. It is rich in swastikas which have not yet lost their religious signifi-



DIPYLON VASE. (Museum at Athens.)

cance. We reproduce here one specimen of great beauty which is preserved at Athens in the Museum of the Archæological Society. The urn represents a funeral procession, and over the horses that draw the hearse we see three withershins swastikas. The geese or

swans (birds sacred to the sun, being at the same time emblems of transmigration and resurrection), are not missing; and it is noticeable that the wheels on all the carriages are of the shape of the sun-wheel: they have four spokes only (thus ☉).

The Greek-speaking population of Thrace used the swastika as a symbol of the day (viz., of "light"). At least, Professor Percy Gardner discovered that on a coin of the City of Messembria (which means midday) it stands for an abbreviation of the second part of the name, thus MEC☉.¹



APOLLO WITH THE SWASTIKA. (From a vase in the Historical Art Museum in Vienna.)²

In ancient Greece the swastika was called gammadion, because its arms are of the same shape as the letter *gamma* (Γ), but its significance was almost forgotten. It appears still on the breast of Apollo, and some Greek antiquarian has ingeniously explained it as a monogram of Zeus, the figure consisting of two Z's placed cross-wise.

¹ See *Academy*, July 24, 1880.

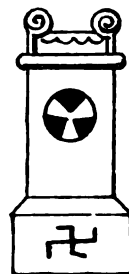
² Title page of D'Alviella's *Migration of Symbols*.

A slab of an antique tomb at Capua shows a man with a swastika on his breast, which proves that this particular use of the symbol had a religious purpose. The person here represented



SLAB OF AN ANTIQUE TOMB FOUND
AT CAPUA.

(Zmigrodzki, No. 142.)



THE SWASTIKA ON
AN ANCIENT CEL-
TIC ALTAR.¹

may have been a priest of Apollo, as is indicated by the solar disc that appears above his right shoulder.



ATHENA SLAYING A GIANT. (From *Étude céramogr.*, I., 8.)

The meander pattern (thus ) , that gracefully involved line which was frequently used in embroidery on Greek garments, is commonly supposed to be an artistic development of the swastika.

¹ Made of white sandstone found in the Pyrenees. (Zmigrodzki, No. 161.)

The three-armed swastika in the shape of three feet (a real flyfoot) appears frequently upon Greek shields and became the coat of arms of the three-cornered island of Sicily.

The swastika together with the Egyptian key of life (*crux ansata* †) was used by the early Christians long before they adopted the cross (i. e., the figure of two intersecting lines) as the symbol of their religion, and it is a remarkable fact that the cross is absolutely absent in the oldest Christian catacombs of Rome.¹

Zoeckler² says that the key of life † as well as the swastika卐 appears on cups and other domestic utensils, on the tombs of martyrs, also on the garments of grave diggers, etc.; and (according to de Rossi³) they were the favorite symbols of the earliest times,



THE CHRISTOGRAM, THE Λ, THE RING, THE PALM, AND THE SWASTIKA AS PICTURED ON A TOMB IN THE CATACOMBS.⁴



THE GRAVE DIGGER DIOGENES. NO CROSS BUT SWASTIKAS. Picture on his tomb in the Catacombs of S. Domitilla.⁵

their use being in vogue in the second and third centuries of our era. Gori,⁶ a Roman Catholic archæologist, suggests that the swastika was the monogram of Jesus, in which Christ's name was spelled Zesus and thus abbreviated into two crossed Z's.

The swastika on Christian tombs has been explained by early Christian authors to be the combination of two Z's which were said

¹ The first cross that appears in the catacombs of Rome bears the form of a T and dates from the end of the fourth century. Cf. Rev. Robert Sinker's article in Smith's *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, p. 497.

² Zoeckler, *Das Kreuz Christi*, p. 141.

³ De Rossi in *Spicileg. Solesm.*, IV., p. 514, *Roma sotterranea*, p. 318. Cf. Stockbauer's book on the cross, p. 92, which quotes Garrucci and Buonrotti.

⁴ After Perret. From Zmigrodski, *loc. cit.*, 132.

⁵ After Boldetti, reproduced from F. X. Kraus, *Gesch. d. chr. Kunst*, I., p. 170.

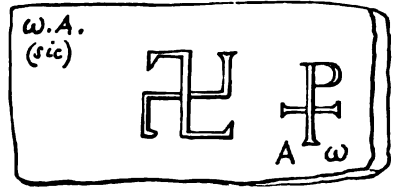
⁶ Gori, *De symb. lit.*

to mean Ζήσους, i. e., thou shalt live.¹ This (like the Zeus monogram interpretation of the swastika) is a striking instance of the



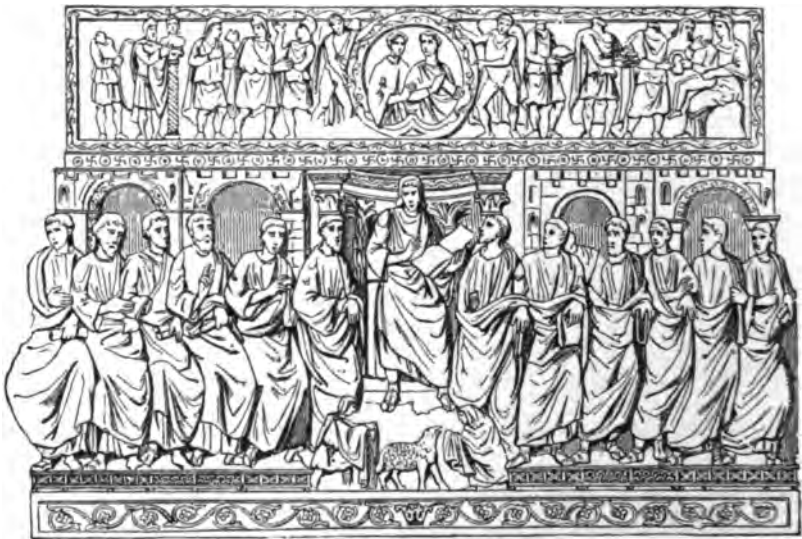
AN ABBOT'S MITRE OF THE EIGHTH CENTURY.

Cahier, *Mélanges d'Archéologie*.
(Zmigrodzki, *loc. cit.*, No. 138.)



CHRISTIAN SYMBOLS IN THE CALLIXTINE CATACOMBS.²

(The Christogram, the Swastika, and the ΑΩ, the latter in two forms.)



THE SARCOPHAGUS IN ST. AMBROGIO, MILAN.³

Christ with the twelve Apostles. Swastikas and solar discs are employed as ornaments.

use of an old symbol sanctioned by tradition, the explanation of which is a mere afterthought based on an incidental resemblance.

¹A hand with the inscription ZHCEC, occurring in the catacombs, is reproduced by F. X. Kraus, I., page 117, from Martigny.

²Smith and Cheetham, *Dict. of Chr. Ant.*, I., p. 497.

³From Lübke's *Kunstgesch.*, p. 266.

The swastika, being called *gammadion*, was frequently regarded as a composition of four letters gamma (Γ). Zmigrodski (*Zur Geschichte der Swastika*, Fig. 136) reproduces from Rohault de Fleury's *L'Évangile* (Ravenna) a picture of the celebration of the mass (sixth century) where Christ is surrounded by four disciples, perhaps the Gospel writers, each one wearing a gamma.

Balsamon (*De patriarch.*, p. 446) in the enumeration of the marks of patriarchal dignity mentions the robe trimmed with gammas ($\delta\iota\alpha\ \gamma\alpha\mu\mu\acute{\alpha}\tau\omega\upsilon\upsilon\ \sigma\tau\iota\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\omega\upsilon$), saying:

"These crosses were peculiar to the white eucharistic vestments, those of a purple color being destitute of them."¹

Canon Venables (from whom we quote this extract) continues:

"In the western church the word gammadia is of frequent occurrence in the later papal biographies, in Anastasius, in the lists of offerings made to the basilicas



SWASTIKA AND CHRISTOGRAM IN THE CATACOMBS.

(After Boldetti, reproduced from Zmigrodski, *loc. cit.*, No. 134.)

and churches. E. g., Leo III. among gifts to the Church of St. Susanna gave a purple vestment, 'having on the middle a cross of golden stripes . . . and four golden-striped gammadions in the vestment itself,'² and Leo IV. to the Church of St. Mary at Anagni 'a vestment with gammadions woven in gold.'³ These gammadions were of gold, others were of silver (§ 397). or of Tyrian velvet."⁴

On the appearance of the Christogram (✙) and the definite acceptance of the cross as the symbol of the Christian faith, the swastika began to fall into disuse, yet it was never entirely abandoned, and we find it still used in the eighth century as an ornament in the embroidery of sacerdotal garments. It is difficult to say whether its reappearance in northern countries, among the Saxons, the Scandinavians, the Poles, and other Slavs, etc., must be attributed to a revival of prehistoric pagan influences or should be regarded as a lingering reminiscence of its use among the early

¹ E. V. in Smith's *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, p. 709.

² "Habentem in medio crucem de chrysoclavo . . . atque gammadias in ipsa veste" chrysoclavas quatuor," § 366.

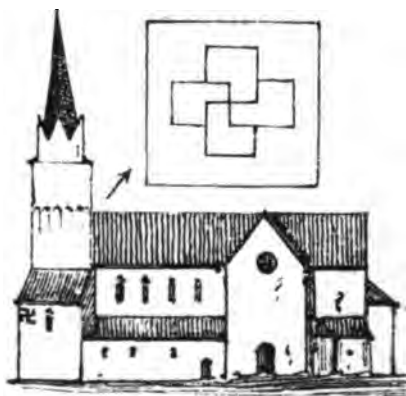
³ "Vestem . . . cum gammadiis auro textum," § 536.

⁴ Cf. Goar, *Eucholog.*, p. 315, col. 2.

Christians.¹ In either case, however, their use is a continuance of a symbol that has absolutely nothing to do with Christianity.

Thomas Wilson, curator of the Department of Prehistoric Anthropology in the United States National Museum at Washington, has published an account of the swastika² which is as complete a collection of the material as has ever been made in a printed book, and we reproduce from it with the author's permission some of the most important cuts, including the chart showing the places in which swastikas have been found. (March *Open Court*, p. 154.)

Mr. Wilson enumerates (pp. 879 ff.) a goodly number of instances of the use of the swastika among the Indians of America. It figures prominently in the four quarters of the altar of the Navajo



THE OLD CATHEDRAL OF KRUSWICA,
NEAR POSEN. (Twelfth century.
Zmigrodzki, No. 142.)³



MOLDAVIAN PRINCESS.⁴
(Silk embroidery, 14th century.)

Indians, which is a dry painting of colored sand representing a mythological chart when they sing their mountain chant.⁵ Each of these swastikas bears in its midst a cross within a circle and every one is, according to its position in the four quarters, of a different color.

¹ The *Century Dictionary*, s. v. *fylot*, publishes swastika illustrations of a brass plate of the Lewknor Church (Oxfordshire, England) and on the miter of Thomas a Becket.

² Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C., 1896. It appears in the Reports of the U. S. Nat. Mus. for 1894, pp. 757-1011.

³ The swastika is chiselled in granite, outside on one of its walls.

⁴ This illustration is the ornament of a death-register, kept in a Greek monastery at Putna, Bukowina. The swastika on the buttons of the Princess's dress is shown more plainly above the picture. See Zmigrodzki, *loc. cit.*, No. 145.

⁵ See Dr. Washington Matthews, U. S. A., essay "The Mountain Chant: a Navajo Ceremony," in *The Fifth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, 82 pp., with 9 plates and 9 figures.

The use of the swastika among the red men of the new world is the same as in prehistoric Europe and Asia. It is a symbol of good luck, of protection, of consecration. It appears therefore upon the shield, on amulets, on ceremonial vestments, and also simply as an ornament.

The appearance of the swastika among the nations of both Americas was first a surprise to anthropologists and seemed to give credence to the Chinese account of the spread of Buddhism to Fusang, a country far away East beyond the Pacific Ocean. Mr.



WAR SHIELD OF PIMA INDIANS.¹

Wilson has even discovered in an unquestionable prehistoric mound in Tennessee a figure seated in Buddha fashion;² but the evidence that it is Buddhistic is neither sufficient nor convincing.

Mr. Wilson grants (p. 882) that "one swallow does not make a summer," but he argues that, "taken in connection with the swastika," it furnishes "circumstantial evidence" to prove "the migration of Buddhism from Asia." In our opinion, the shell engraving (though it may be different in style from the usual type of

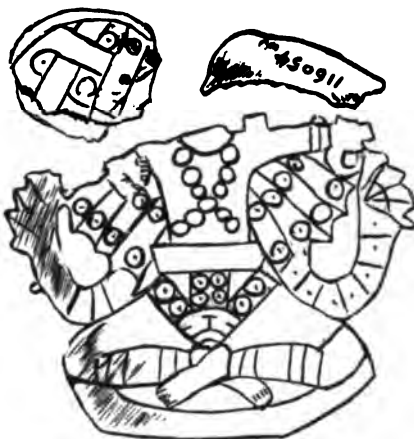
¹ Wilson, *Swastika*, p. 900. The hole on it was made by an arrow.

² See Thomas Wilson, "The Swastika" (*Report of the U. S. National Museum for 1894*, plate 10, facing page 880).

art among the mound-builders) betrays no Chinese, let alone East Indian, taste,—notwithstanding Mr. Gandhi's endorsement of the hypothesis.



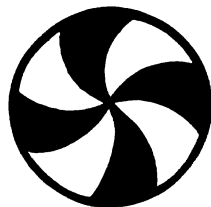
THE SWASTIKA ON A SPIDER-GORGET FROM A MOUND IN ST. CLAIR COUNTY, ILLINOIS.¹



SHELL CARVING FOUND IN AN ANCIENT MISSISSIPPI MOUND. (After Wilson.)



A SICILIAN COIN WITH TRIQUETRA.



THE DAKOTA WHIRLWIND SYMBOL.²
(Pottery decoration.)

After all, the presence of the swastika in America can be no more surprising than the religious use of the cross, for the swastika

¹ *Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, 80-81, pl. LXI, facing p. 288.

² See *Second Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, Plate LXXX, fig. ii; also *Tenth Annual Report* (1888-1889), p. 605.

reaches back to the neolithic age, and the Buddha posture is simply the natural position of a seated man before the invention of chairs.

It seems probable that the use of the swastika in America is not due to importation, and we are inclined to think that the ancestors of the red man carried the symbol from their Asiatic home



THE DEMON OF THUNDER. ON THE DRUMS THE MITZU-TOMO-É.
A Japanese temple statue. (After a photograph.)

in prehistoric times when they first set foot on the soil of the New World.

It almost seems as if the swastika were of so peculiar and odd a shape that (unlike the simple cross) it could not have originated simultaneously in different places and with varying significance. But consider the symbol of the whirlwind among the Dakotas or the Japanese *mitsu tomo-e*, or three-shields-figure, commonly used as a drum emblem. The former looks like a curved swastika and

the latter reminds one of the Triquetra on ancient Greek shields and coins. While the Triquetra¹ appears to be historically connected with the swastika, being a modification of it, neither the Dakota whirlwind symbol nor the Japanese drum emblem seems to have anything to do with the swastika.²

Mr. Wilson's diligence in massing materials is outdone only by that indefatigable collector of swastikas, Dr. M. von Zmigrodzki, a Galician by birth, to whom European and especially the Slavic monuments of folklore are more accessible than to American anthropologists. But his collections are only partly published, and even they are little accessible, being published in anthropological journals of limited circulation.³

In an unpublished communication of some length Dr. Zmigrodzki mentions the Easter folk customs among the Slavs of Russia and Austria, in which eggs marked with swastikas play an important part. They are given as presents to persons of respect, exchanged as tokens of affection by lovers, and carried by the widow to the grave of her husband.

There is no need here of entering into a discussion of the theories concerning the migration and original home of the swastika, as proposed by Mr. Wilson, or its being an evidence of a primitive monotheism, a pure worship of God under the symbol of the solar light, as proposed by Dr. Zmigrodzki. We must rest satisfied with facts.

We leave the questions open whether the original home of the swastika is India or some other country; whether or not it originated in several places in the same or a similar fashion; and finally, what is its original significance: we can only insist on its being a venerable symbol of prehistoric ages which abounds among all the nations of the northern hemisphere, especially the Aryans, the Semites, the Mongolians, but seems to have remained unknown to the natives of the southern continents, the Nigrittos of Oceania and the Negroes of Africa, and also the ancient Egyptians.

¹ Also called *triskeles*, i. e., "three-legged."

² The Sicilians adopted the Triquetra with special reference to the three-cornered shape of their island, just as the Chicagoans placed the Y in their coat of arms to indicate the tripartition of their city. The Triquetra is not limited to Sicily; it occurs also on coins of Pamphylia. See for instance the silver stater of Aspendus in Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, Fig. 1070.

³ Dr. Zmigrodzki made two comprehensive collections of swastikas, both hand-made in the form of large charts, 1 meter in breadth and several, perhaps 10 or 12, meters in length. One was exhibited in Chicago and is now the property of the International Folklore Association, being preserved in the Walker Museum of the University of Chicago. The big scroll is neatly encased in a glass covered table and can by means of a crank easily be rolled backward or forward. Zmigrodzki's second chart was exhibited in Paris in 1900 and may have found there a similar home.

THE JESUIT UNDER THE X-RAY.

IN REPLY TO THE ARTICLE OF M. DE LADEVÈZE.

BY CHARLES MACARTHUR.

IT may be said, without fear of honest contradiction from any source worthy of serious consideration, that the article "The Truth About the Jesuits," which appeared in the January issue of *The Open Court*, was written or inspired by a Jesuit, in spite of the editorial information that the author is a Protestant. The quotations are familiar to all who have ever been engaged in a controversy with them, and are their entire stock in trade. M. Henri de Ladevèze, of Nice, France, though he may nominally be a Protestant, is unquestionably what is known in this country as "a temporal co-adjutor," and in France as "a Jesuit of the short robe." He is indebted to his memory for his jests and to his imagination for his facts. Outside of this, there are but two mistakes, one each of omission and commission, for there was not even the slightest hint about "the chaste womb of the Virgin," without which no Jesuit's inspiration is complete, and then the unlucky plea *tu quoque*. When we hear a street urchin salute a companion with some foul epithet, we naturally expect the retort, "You're another"; but to think that the Jesuits, "that illustrious order of men who have illumined the world by their scientific attainments, their scholarly ability, and their profound learning," to even think that they would attempt to screen themselves behind a *tu quoque*, addressed to the other Orders, who have always filled the second rank only, should be considered rank heresy.

The dragging in of St. Liguori is more indubitable evidence of the source of inspiration. Liguori commenced life as a lawyer. Powerful family influence brought him into prominence before the public. He was uniformly unsuccessful, and in disgust he resigned from the Bar, joined the Church, established the order of Redemp-

torists, and wrote his *Moral Theology*. This work is mainly an indorsement of those Jesuit teachings from 1580 to 1680, which created so much trouble throughout Christendom, and it contains hardly one proposition original to the author. It is merely a rehash of Jesuit casuistry. I will here repeat a question I have asked a score of times, without any solution. "If a fourth-rate lawyer can become a saint and a theologian, to what position may a first-class lawyer aspire? Moreover Liguori, by his own testimony at least, has enabled the Jesuits to cast odium on Pope Clement XIV. who suppressed the Order, and at the same time, incidentally, to press his own claims for sanctity. The Jesuits claim God informed Clement that he would forgive all his sins except the suppression of their Order. Clement was dying, and at that moment Liguori was saying mass and was at the elevation of the host. Liguori stood in that position for several minutes during which he projected his astral body to Rome, heard the Pope's confession and then returned and finished the mass. Abbé Darras in his history of the Popes says that this visit of Liguori to Clement when "separated by a space of more than forty leagues" is both "incontestable and well authenticated." But Clement, notwithstanding all this evidence, did not revoke his bull, and in consequence several holy Jesuits have been constrained to see him roasting in the very hottest part of hell.

Before going any further, let me place myself on record as being unalterably opposed to Jesuitism, but not to the Jesuit *per se*. One does not hate a man because he has the foul-smelling catarrh, but he hates the catarrh because it has the man. This is my position, after nearly thirty years' study of the teachings and practices of this politico-religious society, and in my various discussions with them and with their friends I have invariably refused to consider their charges against the characters of their opponents. A Jesuit always evades a direct charge made against his Order, and tries to parry the blow by attracting attention to any weakness, supposititious or real, in the personal character of his opponent. I will notice only two instances of this class, in the article under review.

Joseph Justus Scaliger (1540-1609) is called "the greatest scholar of modern times." He became a Protestant, and in those days of controversy he was hotly engaged with the Jesuits. Unable to meet his arguments, the Jesuits engaged a lampooner named Scioppius to do their unsavory work, which resulted in "a quarto volume of more than 400 pages, written with consummate

ability, in the admirable and incisive style, with the entire disregard for truth which Scioppius always displayed, and with all the power of that sarcasm in which he was an accomplished master." (See *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Vol. XXI., p. 364, article Scaliger.) Having performed his task, Scioppius demanded his pay, and when the Jesuits refused he lampooned them so severely and told so many truths about their Order that they became the laughing-stock of Europe.

The next item is the claim that the Jesuits were expelled from France owing to Martinique having been taken by the English, and that a scape-goat was necessary. This is absolutely false. In 1743, the Jesuits sent to Martinique as Inspector of Missions one Father Lavalette, who was considered a great financier. He founded a mercantile establishment which, by its connections with large houses in France and Germany, through its agents Lionci Frères of Marseilles, soon controlled the trade of that section. In a few years Lionci Frères found that they had either advanced or had become responsible for about two millions sterling, and they drew a draft on the Order for four hundred thousand pounds. The draft was dishonored, the Jesuits repudiated Father Lavalette and his transactions, although they admitted having received the profits up to date. Lavalette was dismissed from the Society, retired to the Isle of Jersey, outside of French jurisdiction, where he lived on an annuity granted him by the Society. Lionci Frères threatened suit and were begged not to do so for the sake of religion and were assured that the entire Society would pray for them; in fact, that a mass had already been offered. But the mass proved inefficacious, and Lionci Frères went into bankruptcy. A suit followed, and the Jesuits were ordered to redeem the bills of exchange of their Agent. They declined and pleaded their Constitution. This Constitution up to that time had been kept secret; they were forced to produce it, and it became one of the principal articles of the accusation which terminated in 1762 by their being expelled from France. The Official Document reads:

"As persons professing a doctrine whose consequences would tend to destroy natural law, the code of morals God himself has imprinted in the hearts of men, and consequently to break all the ties of civil society by authorising theft, falsehood, perjury, the most criminal impurity, and in general all passions and crimes, by the teaching of occult compensation, equivocations, mental reservations, probabilism and philosophical sin."

Their books were seized and extracts from their Casuists, proving these charges, were appended to the decree of banish-

ment, which was duly signed by his most Catholic majesty, Louis XV. These extracts, which were collected by a commission of Parliament, every member of which was a Catholic, are duly verified, fill four volumes, and are still preserved, not only in the archives, but in many of the public libraries, of France.

A hundred years previous to this, the Jesuits had a like experience in Spain, for their bank at Seville went into bankruptcy in 1646,—liabilities many millions,—exact amount unknown. Investigation proved they had been engaged in many large mercantile transactions, carried under fictitious names. Business secrets had been extorted in the confessional, and the unwilling lips of many a merchant, and the more susceptible ones of his wife, had been opened, and co-partnership affairs of this world had been traded for security in the next. But let Palafox, bishop of Angelopolis, tell the story. In a letter to Pope Innocent X., dated January 8, 1649, he says :

"What other Order, most holy father, from the first of the monks and mendicants, or any other of the Religious, has made a bank of the Church of God? Has lent money at interest and publicly conducted meat markets and other shops in its religious houses? A traffic which is disgraceful and unworthy of religious characters. What other Order has ever become bankrupt? Or to the great surprise and scandal of the laity, has filled almost all the world, by sea and land, with its trade and commercial contracts? Undoubtedly such profane and worldly conduct does not appear to have been dictated by Him who declares in His Gospel that no one can serve God and Mammon. All the great and populous City of Seville is in tears; the widows, orphans, students, virgins, priests and laymen, mingle their lamentations on account of having been miserably deceived by the Jesuits, who, having obtained from them above 400,000 ducats, and spent them all for their own purposes, only paid them by a disgraceful bankruptcy. But having been brought to justice and *convicted*, to the great scandal of all Spain, of acts *which in private individuals would have been capital offences*, they endeavored to withdraw themselves from secular jurisdiction by their claim of spiritual immunity, and named ecclesiastics for their judges. The matter having at length been carried before the Royal Council, it decreed that since the Jesuits pursued the same business that was pursued by laymen, they should be treated like laymen and sent back to the secular power. Thus numberless persons who are reduced to ask charity, are forced to demand from civil tribunals the money they loaned to the Jesuits, which to some is all their substance; to others, all their dowry; to others, all their savings; and in consequence they are loudly declaiming against the perfidy of these Religious and load them with execration. What will English and German Protestants, who boast of preserving such inviolable faith in their engagements, and of such scrupulous honesty in their tradings, say of these things? They certainly must mock at the Roman Catholic faith, at ecclesiastical discipline, at priests, at Regulars, and the holiest professions in the Church, and become only more hardened and obdurate in their errors. Have such proceedings as these, which are absolutely worldly and unlawful, ever been practiced by any religious Order, other than the most holy Society of Jesus?"

The Jesuits did not pay back one cent to these widows and orphans. But we are assured by M. de Ladevèze that the Filipinos do not detest the Jesuits as they do the other monks. This is granted. See Public Document 190 on the report of the Philippine Commission. But why? The Jesuit is exclusive. His training and education make him so. He may be acquainted with the common people, but he associates only with the higher classes. He uses the former as tools; he toadies to the latter. Aguinaldo boasts that he is the son of an "educated Jesuit." The qualifying term may be a libel on the rest of the Order, but may be excused on the score of filial piety.

The Jesuits own the statue of the Virgin of Antipolo, the most celebrated on the Island, and possibly the most remarkable in the world. This statue was in the habit, ever since 1650, of climbing up an Antipolo tree (hence the name) in order to see if there were need of giving assistance to any vessel in the harbor. She climbed up once too often, as a shot from an Oregon volunteer ended the exhibition, and one of the holy fathers carried his arm in a sling for over a month thereafter. Possibly a case of sympathetic affection.

Yes, the Jesuit is *sui generis*. He is exclusive in his loves and unique in his miracles.

The next question is: Have the Jesuits ever given us a first-class man? I may be unusually obtuse; mayhap their mentality is so superior to mine that I have been unable to comprehend their writings, and hence I boldly declare that they have never produced a man worthy of being considered more than second-class. Their very mode of instruction precludes their producing a genius. When a bright man is found among them, he is either squelched or he leaves the Order.

M. Cousin says: "The boasted genius of the Jesuits for education is nothing but the organisation of a vile system of spying into the conduct of the young men, and there never was one manly course of studies in their Institutions. They sacrifice substance to show, and deceive parents by brilliant and frivolous exhibitions."

Says Macaulay: "They appear to have discovered the precise point to which intellectual culture can be carried without risk of intellectual emancipation."

On February 12, 1899, the N. Y. *Times* published from its correspondent in Italy an article on "The Mondragone Controversy." Mondragone is a Jesuit College, and the query was made

why ninety-five per cent. of its graduates failed in the matriculation examination, which by law they must pass before they may enter a university.

Occasionally, we have forcible examples right here. Two of these graduates were candidates for the jury in the Molineaux case. One was asked: "Do you know the meaning of turpitude?" "Oh, yes. Turpitude is a product of turpentine." The other was asked: "Would you understand what was meant by the phrase: 'The existence of malice may be inferred from the perpetration of the deed?'" "Why, certainly. It means that if they are not married they ought to be."

Just one more. The Empress Eugenie was the niece of Father Beckx, General of the Order, and she caused the Public Schools to be placed under their control. These gentlemen of "scientific attainments, scholarly abilities and profound learning" prepared a History of the World, and in the chapter devoted to this country the French youth were informed that, "Catholic Lafayette, assisted by one Washington, secured the independence of the United States." And these are the gentlemen who desire to control our Public Schools.

As far as their founder, Ignatius, is concerned, unless Palanco, his secretary and biographer, falsifies, he was a veritable ignoramus, spoke only one language, and that a mongrel Spanish, and could scarcely read or write. Mosheim says: "Not only Protestants, but also many Roman Catholics, and they men of learning and discrimination, deny that Loyola had learning enough to compose the writings ascribed to him, or genius enough to form such a Society as originated from him. . . . Most of his writings are supposed to have been produced by Jo. de Palanco, his secretary. His spiritual exercises, the Benedictines say, were transcribed from the works of a Spanish Benedictine whose name was Cisneros." Yet Guntherode admits that the Society paid 100,000 gold florins to the Papal Exchequer to have this gentleman canonised.

Their trump-card, Bellarmine, who was created Cardinal, in order, as the General said, "to preserve the credit of our Society," never gave us a new idea. He was noted for his inhuman treatment of heretics, but we are assured he had a tender spot in his heart, at least for insects. He persistently refused to kill or even remove the vermin that infested his clothing and took a holy delight in their bites, saying with a heavenly smile: "We shall have Heaven to reward us for our sufferings, but these poor creatures have nothing but the enjoyments of this present life."

The similarity between the Jesuits and the Mohammedan Societies, the Kadyras and the Kadelyas, in their teachings and discipline has already been fully described in these columns, so I will now turn to their Casuists or Holy Doctors.

Let us get indubitable Catholic testimony first. Speaking of Stephen Banny, Jesuit Professor of Humanities and Moral Theology, Abbé Bouilliot says: "He could permit our consciences to impute crimes to our enemies without calumniating them; allow us to kill them without being a murderer; betray truth without lying; appropriate the property of others without stealing; yield to all the refinements of voluptuousness and taste all the sweetness of sin, and still keep the precept of continence; and teach us a thousand ways of gaining Heaven, while we are doing everything possible to effect our damnation."

Banny's work, *Summary of Sins* according to Jesuit custom, was duly examined and approved by four theologians of the Society, and every Provincial in whose province it was published gave it his official sanction. According to the rules of the Society, no member may publish a book or even a newspaper article except "*con permiso superiorum*." They have had about 200 Casuists, and about 166 of these are prominent. If space would permit, equally good Catholic testimony could be brought against every one of them.

The ingenuity of the Jesuit casuist is taxed to its limit to find an excuse for every imaginable crime. It is his duty to examine every subject, to conjure up peculiar situations between inconceivably brutal human beings, whom he places in almost impossible positions, and then he gives full play to his imaginings, which are manifested by a love of unclean details far exceeding any work ever suppressed by Anthony Comstock. He looks with suspicion on every movement; the meeting of the betrothed; the kiss of a sister and a brother, father and daughter, and even the caress a mother bestows to the infant in her arms. In one word, the Jesuit Casuist knows nothing of love and its sacredness; to him, everything is contaminated with sin, and his illustrations are drawn with that one point in view.¹

¹ The footnote mark at the end of the above sentence indicates the omission from the present article of fifteen closely written MS. pages, full of details and quotations from Jesuit authorities. Similar accusations from the same pen have appeared in the *Brooklyn Daily Times* and are thus not inaccessible to readers interested in the subject. Though we deem it but just to the critic of M. Ladeveze's article to allow him to present his case and to substantiate it, it is not our intention to enter into certain details which are far from pleasant reading and which, even if only half true, exhibit an unfathomable abyss of depravity and immorality.—Editor.

During April and May, 1901, I published two letters in the *Brooklyn Daily Times*, in answer to Father Patrick F. O'Hare, who claimed that all of my quotations taken from the Jesuits were false. I take this extract from the last letter :

"Now, my proposition is this : I will place my two volumes of Gury, in Latin, and Marottes Catechism in French, in the hands of the Editor of the *Brooklyn Daily Times* and request him to select five competent gentlemen to act, two of whom must belong to the Italian (Catholic) Church. I will present the points I have made, and if there should be the slightest doubt in regard to the genuineness of my copies, I feel safe to say that I can procure the identical books from which Senator Paul Bert quoted, which caused the expulsion of your friends, the Jesuits, from French territory twenty years ago. I will see that the reasonable expenses of the committee are paid, and all that I ask is that *you* act on the committee; I will agree in advance to accept the decision, which is to determine whether you or I lie."

O'Hare remained as mum as the proverbial clam. This proposition has been open for twenty years. It still remains open, and will remain so till the end. Our country is filled with Societies for "Propagation of the Faith," "Truth of Catholic History," etc., etc. In Washington there is an immense Institution, the centre of Jesuitism. Large sums of money have been, are being, and no doubt will be, donated for carrying it on. So, to these professors I send my greeting. The above proposition, gentlemen, is open to you. Are my quotations correct?¹

I should much prefer to have their claims disproved, and I will be the first to lift my hat and cry out : *Hoch die Jesuiten !*

¹The bulk of these quotations has been omitted from the present article, at the place above referred to.—*Ed.*

MISCELLANEOUS.

IS SPIRITUALISM UNSCIENTIFIC?

IN CRITICISM OF LT.-COL. GARDNER'S ARTICLE.

To the Editor of The Open Court:

Some time ago I read an article, "An Evening With the Spiritualists," in *The Open Court*, and since then my attention has more than once been directed to this article, with the result that I am persuaded that in the cause of justice and right thinking the article merits a few comments. (See *The Open Court* for Dec., 1901.)

In this day when old systems and ways are being challenged, and are passing away, it behooves one who makes any pretension to scientific training to consider seriously what the Scientific Spirit is, and take thought that he do as little as possible to blind or mislead the inquirer, or bring ridicule upon science. He must remember that he is not justified in accepting or rejecting any theory or belief until he can produce the evidence and argument for or against said theory or belief; unless he make it unmistakably plain that he adopts said theory or belief unproven and merely upon hypothesis or assumption. He has neither right nor reason to make objections or give counter-explanations unless his objections and counter-explanations are more reasonable,—more consistent with Nature. And let him look well to his fundamentals.

My desire is neither to defend nor attack the writer or spiritualism,—neither is necessary to my aim and contention,—but to impress upon all that the only way not to confound and pervert, but to enlighten and direct, is to employ the true scientific method; that we had better hold our peace forever than to lift up our voice in a cry on the wrong track. Is it necessary that it forever be said that man attempts every wrong way before he will enter the right?

In the article the Judge had three visions, clairvoyant in nature, every one of which seems to have been fulfilled to the letter,—prophetic insight which was absolutely impossible to him in the ordinary, full self-consciousness of his waking state. The particularities of the visions should be noted. Now, history, from the most ancient to the most modern, gives us visions of various sorts and values. Swedenborg, Dr. Walker, and many others have foretold the date and manner or other circumstances of their own death and burial; and others have foreseen the death of friends under the most unexpected and unheard-of circumstances,—which followed to the letter. I know of such cases among my acquaintances, as does nearly every one.

It should not be necessary for me to say that I do not concede anything infallible nor supernatural in these occurrences,—nor in anything else of like nature.

Science has made the term supernatural obsolete. Cause and effect hold everywhere : orderly interaction is necessary.

But here is my question : Does the flow of more or less blood to certain centers of the brain and its cortex sufficiently explain such visions or other psychical action ? Does more or less blood cause one to know and see things he can neither know nor see when in full command of his faculties (objective self), conduct the thought-current from centre to centre properly to make one see these things in their precise relation or as they will afterward actually occur ? Is this sufficient cause or is it miracle ?—hold my entire psychical activity in absolute subjection ? hold my will-power under its magical control ?—this more or less blood ! Does the cart push the horse ?

In such investigation, where we do not yet know the relations of the various phenomena and powers, we should always bear in mind the possibility of three very distinct relations,—primary cause, concomitant, effect. In psychical investigation the caution is particularly necessary. Now, is this flow of blood the sufficient and primary cause of hypnotism,—the hypnotic state ? Does it explain those rare cases of somnambulatory clairvoyance in which the subject describes and relates things not only before unknown to himself, but also unknown to all present ? And if the subject fail and blunder, does the blood explanation serve here ? Whatever one may mean by "thought transference," does the blood explicate all, or anything, here ?

Finally, in these cases—which are authenticated beyond honest doubt—of "trance," in which competent physicians have pronounced the subject dead,—where the heart has ceased to beat, where there is no natural warmth, where the blood has ceased to circulate,—in these cases, I ask, where is this more or less blood, which must (says the writer) control and cause the thoughts of this person who is all the time conscious of the funeral preparations going on round him, who hears every word said, and who is all this time in the most exquisite mental agony, yet wholly unable to manifest any sign of life or consciousness,—who is completely unable to make the required connection between subjective and objective self,—who may exercise his "will-power" to his full limit, but cannot bring about the proper effect ? I will say no more on this subject. I use it, because it is striking, on account of its infrequency ; familiarity has not yet bred contempt ; yet it is no harder to explain than the ordinary sleeping and waking,—requires no other principles or psychic laws.

Because one thing happens or is true that doesn't always necessarily prohibit the possibility of another thing happening or being true. It depends on conditions. Science should give everything its just and proper place. We should not get so tangled up and overwhelmed with phenomena and mechanism that we can't see or realise noumena and meaning. We must realise that "naming" isn't necessarily "explaining"—especially when the names are merely *hypothetical* labels to denote certain *unexplained* entities or actions, such as auto-suggestion, thought-transference, telepathy, and other "well known" mental phenomena and powers. Our explanations should not be still more miraculously inexplicable or mere empty names. It isn't likely that thoughts are things ; nor knowledge substance.

"Will-power," says the writer, is "the ability of determining a preponderating activity to one or more ganglia or groups of nerve-cells, and so causing nervous force to be directed or expended through *one* channel, or to *one* organ, rather than to another." Now, even granting the validity of, and the sequence of the parts in, this definition—which is unnecessary—still, whence this "ability" which determinates this "activity" which causes the direction and expense of this "ner-

vous force"? Study this definition and you will see what I mean by mechanism so filling the mind's eye that it is impossible to see, or inquire into, the meaning. Granting that the phenomena are comprehended—which is questionable—still the truth remains that both phenomena and noumena, or *both* mechanism and meaning, should be comprehended. What the definition would mean is that will-power is the ability to direct and control thoughts, I infer. But what, in his definition, has this "ability"? I can deduce only from his argument that more or less blood controls the thoughts—or, it could be differently worded, as it is in his definition, if necessary.

Now since this quantity of blood effects and controls all these thoughts, the will-power must be subject to it "in vision," so also in waking hours—if he is correct,—that is, the "ability" must belong to this more or less blood.

It is only too true that many so-called scientists not only have never known the scientific spirit, but are also much like the Irishman who couldn't "see the city, for the houses," and whose explanations are as delightfully elucidating as the small boy's information shouted at the farmer, "Mister, your wheel's turning round," and "There's spokes in your wheel."

That these psychical powers are real; that these psychological phenomena have been witnessed, and credited as bona fide, what man who has followed the developments of psychical research will question? That if they exist or occur they must necessarily be natural and entirely according to "law," what scientist will doubt? Consequently, who will hesitate to acknowledge that our duty is thorough and unprejudiced investigation, before we dogmatically assert or seem to argue concerning said powers and phenomena? And, again, be sure of your fundamentals; be sure of your accoutrement: let there be no erroneous nor senseless nor gratuitous presuppositions.

This more or less blood is undoubtedly a marvellous and venerable power if it is a sufficient explanation of visions, and likewise of all other psychical action. It must be the sufficient and easy explanation of the writer's article, and of this letter also.

Now this, while it may confound the ignorant and make amusement for the careless, cannot but grieve the scientific; and bring ridicule upon science: pray you avoid it. And let us pray that this more or less blood drive us not into too much, one way or the other.

L. M. J.

[The author of this letter is a man of wide experience in the field of spiritualistic phenomena and comes from a family of extraordinarily sensitive disposition. His father was a writing medium when four years of age, but such occult habits were not encouraged in those days, and the grandfather interfered. Mr. L. M. J. is quite familiar with the experiences of his father which he listened to in his childhood, and he thought of questioning them as little as his fairy-tales. But after graduating from college he became a zealous investigator of spiritual manifestations, for he believed that they merit first an investigation and then an explanation. He writes: "My attitude was simply that of the scientist inquiring into any phenomena, without prejudice or desire one way or other: I wanted only to understand the facts, the same as in any other case; and I have not the least feeling of partisanship for them more than any reality,—for so they seem to me. Yet there has been humbug and insufficient mediumship: and this too must be explained. I hold to no ism of any sort; and would that all be subjected to strict and impartial investigation by pure scientific methods."

Lieut.-Col. Gardner has promised to consider L. M. J.'s criticism and may

answer the same in a forthcoming number. The editor, belonging to the large class of doubters, has expressed his views on the subject in an article entitled "Spirit or Ghost," which appeared in the April *Monist*.—*Ed.*]

CHARITY.

BY THE HON. C. C. BONNEY.

Of all the angels sent us from the throne
Of the Divine, the loveliest one is known
By the sweet name of Charity. Her face
Filled with the beauty of celestial grace,
Turns from the splendors of the rich and strong,
To seek the lowliest in sorrow's throng,
And change their tears and wretchedness and pain
To peace and joy. She asks no other gain
Than the delight of making others blest
With food and shelter, raiment, work and rest,
Virtue and peace, pure lives and worthy deeds,
And all the graces that the great world needs.

A SPIRITUALISTIC SEANCE.

To the Editor of The Open Court:

As an inquirer into the phenomena of Spiritualism, I was naturally interested in the article in *The Open Court* of December, 1901, written by Lieut.-Col. Gardner—"An Evening with the Spiritualists."

The account of a *séance* at Boston brought to my mind an incident which—occurring within my own experience, a few years ago—has led me to regard a great deal of present-day "Spiritualism" as about the lowest form of "Materialism" to which mankind can descend.

I was invited one evening to a *séance* in one of our New Zealand towns: about twenty persons were present (male and female, say half and half). The meeting was presided over by an individual known to the others as "Brother" Jones, who opened the proceedings by requesting "Brother" Fish to oblige the company with a prayer. Brother Fish's abilities in this direction were extraordinary indeed: he addressed Omnipotence with a fervor and unctuousness which would have done credit to a Salvation Army officer or Latter Day Saint; and at the same time gave utterance to a caricature of the "Lord's Prayer" which (could it only have been reported) would have been worthy of a prominent place in the French "Comic Bible," or the "Annals of Blasphemy." The prayer concluded, Brother Fish was invited to sing a hymn; upon which that personification of piety led the congregation in a strictly original version of "Abide with Me"; I say "strictly original," because though he knew the tune well enough, his knowledge of the words was limited to "Abide with me, fast falls the even tide," which he adapted to the tune, with consummate solemnity, from beginning to end: the effect of this "exercise" upon myself was more ridiculous than sublime. This part of the proceedings being over, Brother Jones stated that, the regular medium being absent, their friend Brother Bell would give an "inspired" address; and Brother Bell having

gone off into a "trance" (under the influence of another infliction of "Abide with me"), proceeded "inspirationally" thus:

"Jab; Jab; Jab; Yah; Yah; Yabbababba;
 "Bok; Bo—o—ak; Bok; Bok; Bokbokbok;
 "A—a—a—ah! U—u—u—u—uh!"

Then silence for a few seconds; followed by several long sighs, and most dismal groans.

Then, very quickly:

"Jabyab; Jabyab. Bokbokbokbokbok!
 "Oo—oo—oo—oo—oo—oo—oo—oo—oo!" (like a long howl).

And so on; the same repeated *ad libitum* for more than half an hour.

While this "speaking with tongues" proceeded, the company—who were sitting in pitch darkness—preserved silence; but when Brother Bell's "control" had concluded his discourse, a loud hum of conversation ensued, the burden of which was a desire to know what was the *language* of this long and entertaining address. My acknowledgment of some slight acquaintance with French, Italian, and German appeared to lead to a general agreement that it could be neither of these; and finally a "sister," who was evidently laboring under an attack of intense hysterical excitement, shrieked out:

"Oh, dear brethren, it was Persian! Persian! A—a—ah!
 (A piercing scream here.)

"The spirit of the Lord hath been poured richly upon us!"

The company generally having apparently accepted (without any debate) the lady's "inspired" utterance, and agreed that the language was Persian, order was restored; and Brother Jones having announced that poor Brother Bell was terribly "torn," this noisy "intelligence" was helped out of him by means of a repetition of "Abide with me."

Brother Bell, having received the congratulations of his friends, volunteered a second "trance" address; and another—but milder—"spirit" having been sung into him, with the help of "Abide with me," he proceeded, after a few preliminary grunts and snorts, to edify the company with a very long and vapid sermon about nothing. When this was over, Brother Jones asked for questions; and I made so bold as to request the spirit to give us the meaning of the "Persian" address; after taking a little time for consideration, the reply was given that "the spirit did not think it proper that any explanation should be given."

After relieving Brother Bell of the second spirit by means of a final application of "Abide with me," the company dispersed, with mutual congratulations upon the amount of "psychic power" generated during the sitting. Before leaving I shook hands with Brother Bell and asked him how he felt; he replied that the "great volume of odic force generated" had made a new man of him, and that in future he intended to sit "only for healing."

Spiritualism of this type has more devotees in the English-speaking world than is generally supposed, nor is it limited only to the uneducated and simple; I am acquainted with people in most walks of life—doctors, lawyers, tradesmen, laborers, even clergymen—who are making, or playing at making, a religion of it; and yet with such barbarism flourishing in our midst we are sending away thousands of pounds every year for the conversion of Chinamen, Mahometans, and Hindoos.

No wonder the Mormons (who have the sense to regard such proceedings as

little better than devil-worship) find these Colonies a promising field for their missions, and feel that in taking their converts away to Utah and Idaho they are but obeying the commandments of the Lord, in dividing the sheep from the goats.

W. H. TRIMBLE.

DUNEDIN, New Zealand, March 10, 1902.

FROM THE ADI GRANTH, THE HOLY SCRIPTURES OF THE SIKHS.

BY E. MARTINENGO-CESARESCO.

Be kind! Make this thy mosque—a fabric vast and fair;
Be true! Make this thy carpet, spread five times for prayer;
Be just! When art thou this, thy lawful meat thou hast;
Be good! In this behold thy God-appointed fast.

Thy cleansing rite a heart that no lustration needs,
Thy rosary a crown of self-forgetful deeds.¹

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTES.

THE BEGINNING OF POETRY. By *Francis B. Gummere*, Professor of English in Haverford College. New York: The Macmillan Co. 1901. Pages, x, 483.

Professor Gummere has given us in this book a very interesting study. One can scarcely refrain from smiling, however, on reading his opening sentence, that it is his object "neither to *defend* poetry nor to account for it;" as though to *defend* the effusions of the muse were something that was *per se* incriminating. Yet poetry has not been without its detractors. Peacock, Plato, and Mahomet, *tres nobiles fratres*, have vilified it; Selden, in his *Table Talk*, Pascal, Newton, Lefebvre, Bentham, and Renan have been among its scoffers; and even Shakespeare had his fling at the art. But most horrible of all is the arraignment of Goethe, who, in answer to the question, "Who is driving poetry from off the face of the earth?" pertinently replied: "The poets." A defence, therefore, even after Professor Gummere's admissions, would seem to be slightly necessary.

But Professor Gummere's purpose has been different: it is "to use the evidence of ethnology in connection with the progress of poetry itself, as one can trace it in the growth or decay of its elements. . . . The elements of poetry, in the sense here indicated, and combined with sociological considerations, have," he says, "never been studied for the purpose of determining poetic evolution; and in this study lie both the intention of the present book and whatever modest achievement its writer can hope to attain." He considers rhythm as the essential fact of poetry; he finds also that poetry is communal and social in its origin, and artistic and individual in its outcome. The author has well summarised his conclusions. After remarking that we may think of poetry in its beginnings as rude to a degree, yet nobly rude and full of promise, he says: "Circling in the common dance, moving and singing in the consent of common labor, the makers of earliest poetry put into

¹ "The sounds not beaten by human hands are always sounding" (in the ears of the true worshipper).

"These *unbeaten sounds* are said to sound in the *daswa duar* as a sign that the personality is merged in the Supreme, by continually hearing these supernatural sounds (*om, om*)."

Note to text, by Dr. Ernest Trumpp (Translation of the *Adi Granth*. 1877).

it those elements without which it cannot thrive now. They put into it, for the formal side, the consent of rhythm, outward sign of the social sense; and, for the nobler mood, they gave it that power by which it will always make the last appeal to man, the power of human sympathy, whether in love or in hate, in joy or in sorrow, the power that links this group of sensations, passions, hopes, fears, which one calls self, to all the host of kindred selves dead, living, or to be born. No poetry worthy of the name has failed to owe its most diverse triumphs to that abiding power. It is in such a sense that prehistoric art must have been one and the same with modern art. Conditions of production as well as of record have changed; the solitary poet has taken the place of a choral throng, and solitary readers represent the listening group; but the fact of poetry itself reaches below all these mutations, and is founded on human sympathy as on a rock. More than this. It is clear from the study of poetic beginnings that poetry in its larger sense is not a natural impulse of man simply as man. His rhythmic and kindred instincts, latent in the solitary state, found free play only under communal conditions, and as powerful factors in the making of society." μ.

We are glad to announce the appearance of a new and cheap edition of Prof. Adolf Harnack's work, *Das Wesen des Christenthums*, consisting of sixteen lectures delivered in the University of Berlin during the winter term of 1899 to 1900. Dr. Harnack has earned a well-deserved reputation for theological erudition and his great work, *The History of Dogma*, has taken front rank among books on this subject. But he is more than a scholar; he is also a man of great religious enthusiasm who has declared that "the theologians of every country only half discharge their duties if they think it enough to treat of the Gospel in the recondite language of learning and bury it in scholarly folios." The present lectures were accordingly designed to present the essential features of the Christian religion and its historical development in a popular form for lay students of every calling. The lectures were a great success in Berlin and appear to have served their purpose admirably. The publishers of the work are the prominent house of J. C. Hinrichs, of Leipzig, which has made a specialty of theological and Oriental works of every character. It was they who issued Dr. Delitzsch's lecture on "Babel and Bible." Readers unacquainted with German may be grateful to know that Dr. Harnack's work was, on its first appearance last year, translated into English by T. Baily Saunders, under the title, "What is Christianity?", and published by G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. The price of the German edition is one mark fifty pfennigs, bound.

Mr. John Maddock has published a booklet entitled: *A Catechism of Positive, Scientific Monism. In Refutation of the Negative Monism of Prof. Ernst Haeckel*. He defines monism as "the science which teaches that all forms came forth from the great, universal, material womb—intelligent, potential matter." The dynamic force of nature Mr. Maddock calls "the Great Dynamis," which is intelligent "because its works show intelligence." But Dynamis is no God, and "the universe is governed by its own inherent laws." Eternal life is "that which is in the atoms out of which all forms are made." Man "cannot save himself," but it is the work of the Great Dynamis to fashion him and to "reach his specific goal." The "result of the scientific teaching of positive monism will be peace on earth."

Mr. Maddock endorses the Higher Criticism, and claims that his positive monism is practically based on the same principles as Christianity.

Crane & Co., of Topeka, Kas., have just published a *Life of Charles Robinson, the First State Governor of Kansas*. The author is Frank W. Blackmar, Ph. D., Professor of Sociology and Economics in the University of Kansas. He has had access to the collection of sources of the Kansas Historical Society, and his work will be one of value to those interested in the foundation and growth of this typical Western state. "From the life of Charles Robinson," says his biographer, "much of the early history of Kansas radiates in every direction as from a common center." His service to the State of Kansas is, in fact, unparalleled in the history of that commonwealth and has become an integral part of its political and social patrimony. Mr. Robinson was the founder of the now flourishing city of Lawrence and the staunchest supporter of the vigorous university of that place. He participated also in the foundation of the Territorial Government of Kansas, but most signally distinguished himself in the great struggle to make Kansas a Free State,—a struggle that was the most characteristic of all the stirring events preceding the Civil War and that ultimately led to the overthrow of slavery. The present volume is adorned with many handsome illustrations, including portraits of the ex-Governor and also of Mrs. Robinson, who still resides in the city of Lawrence.

The pretensions of biology to be the fundamental and controlling science in the construction of our views of the world have waxed so enormously of late that Dr. J. Grasset, Professor in the medical faculty of Montpellier, France, has felt called upon to refute these claims in a little volume entitled *Les limites de la biologie*. The book is the outgrowth of a lecture delivered before a convention of Catholic physicians in Marseilles. Dr. Grasset has sought to demonstrate that biology is not the universal science, that biological concepts and points of view are not the only modes of thought and knowledge, that biology has well-defined limits separating it from the other sciences and other forms of knowledge. In pursuing his plan he has endeavored also to refute biological monism, which he calls "the seductive incarnation of positivistic monism." In the claims of biology for universal control he finds old claims only, such as have been frequently put forward in the history of philosophy. The author has supported his contentions with many quotations (Paris: Félix Alcan, Éditeur. 1902. Pages, iii, 188. Price, 2 fr. 50.)

Dr. Lyman Abbott has published in book form his lectures on *The Rights of Man*, delivered before the Lowell Institute of Boston, in January and February of last year. The lectures were not rewritten for publication in book form, but were taken down in shorthand. It has been Dr. Abbott's purpose to define with approximate accuracy what the rights of man are in State, Church, and Society; to indicate the fundamental principles according to which our nation must frame all its policies,—principles which he believes are "absolute, eternal, and unalterable, because they are divine," because they inhere in the nature of man and of human society, because they inhere in the nature of God. (Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1901. Pages, xi, 375. Price, \$1.50 net.)

Mr. Charles Watts has replied in a brochure of 102 pages, entitled *The Miracles of Christian Belief*, to the Rev. Ballard's *Miracles of Unbelief*, which he defines to be "the best exposition and defence of Christian claims made in recent times." Rationalists will follow Mr. Watt's arguments with interest, as they are from the pen of one of their most vigorous champions. (London: Watts & Co. Price, 1 shilling.)

A book on practical psychology written in simple and colloquial language has been attempted by Dr. Edward Thorndike, of Teachers College, Columbia University, New York City. The title is: *The Human Nature Club*. The book, as its author states, merely aims to "introduce the reader to the scientific study of human nature and intelligence," and is intended "to be useful to intelligent people in general and especially to young students in normal and high schools beginning the study of psychology." Dr. Thorndike has, according to his own confession, merely paraphrased in simple language the doctrines of the leading text-book psychologists, and has adopted the unconventional form of fictitious dialogue as his means of presentation. In our opinion much of this dialogue is unnecessary and at times undignified, but it is possible that it may be of assistance to some people in acquiring a knowledge of the simpler teachings of routine psychology. The book was originally written for Chautauquan readers. (New York: Longmans, Green & Co. 1901. Pages, vii, 235. Price, \$1.25.)

F. York Powell, Regius Professor of Mediæval and Modern History in the University of Oxford, has written an inspiring preface to a little work by Charles Beard, entitled: *The Industrial Revolution*, which briefly and pointedly records the history of the economic progress of England from 1760 to the beginning of the present century. Mr. Beard believes that a reorganisation of industry is "both necessary and desirable, not that one class may benefit at the expense of another, but that the energy and wealth wasted in an irrational system may be saved to humanity, and that the bare struggle for a living may not occupy the best hours of the workers' lives." "There is yet remaining," he says, "the problem of individual development, which must find its solution in the reorganisation of our educational system on the basis of social need and morality." (New York: The Macmillan Co. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co., Ltd. 1901. Pages, xiii, 105. Price, forty cents.)

The American Unitarian Association of Boston, Mass., has published for free distribution a pamphlet by the Rev. Joseph Henry Crooker, D. D., entitled: *The Unitarian Church; A Statement*. The purpose of the pamphlet is "to give briefly and clearly certain information about the Unitarian Church: its history, its characteristic convictions, its achievements, its hopes." Dr. Crooker recognises that Unitarianism is not now and probably never will be the one universal religion; but is rather a particular form of the religious life. It has been its aim to affirm the great spiritual ideals of the human soul, to "cultivate the religious spirit that includes all truth, and the religious sentiment that embraces all men." The Unitarian teaching, Dr. Crooker says, does not antagonise other forms of faith, but merely endeavors to preserve the historical continuity of the progressive spiritual life of the Christian centuries.

The Psychological Index, No. 8, for the year 1901, has just recently been issued as an appendix to *The Psychological Review*. It is a bibliography of the entire periodical and book literature of psychology and the kindred subjects of biology, pathology, general philosophy, etc., for the year 1901. It contains the titles of 2985 books, pamphlets, and articles.

The Proceedings of the Seventh Annual Meeting of the Congress of Religion held at Buffalo, N. Y., in June and July, 1901, are published by the Unity Publishing Co., of Chicago.

M. Fr. Paulhan's *Psychological Study of Character* met with almost unexpected success on its original appearance, the first edition having been exhausted almost immediately after its publication. It has now been reprinted, and the author has enlarged it by a preface of some thirty-six pages in reply to the numerous criticisms which were advanced against its tenets when the book was first published. M. Paulhan's conception of the subject of psychology of character is, as he claims, new and original with him. He seeks to show how the various manifestations of *abstract laws* produce different classes of psychic types; in his view, concrete psychology, or the study of the forms of character, is intimately connected with abstract psychology, of which he studies, analyses, and arranges the "different incarnations." (*Les caractères*. Par F. Paulhan. Paris: Félix Alcan, Éditeur. 1902. Pages, xxxiii, 244. Price, 5 francs.)

Dr. Lester F. Ward has contributed a report on sociology at the Paris Exhibition of 1900 to the *Report of the Commissioner of Education*, announced for speedy publication. Readers will find here admirably summarised the investigations which are being conducted in all civilised countries into the deeper problems of social life.

We desire to acknowledge the receipt of an Italian pamphlet by Icilio Vanni, Professor of the Philosophy of Law in the University of Rome. The pamphlet treats of the theory of knowledge as a sociological induction from positivism. It is published in Rome, Via Nazionale, 200.

DOCTOR MARIE ZAKRZEWSKA.

Died May 13th, 1902.

While going to press, we are informed through the daily papers of the demise on May 13th of Dr. Marie Zakrzeska, of Boston, at the age of seventy-three years. She was a remarkable personality, and we wish every one of our readers had known her as well as the writer of these lines did while living in Boston many years ago. She was one of the foremost women physicians in New England, if not in the whole world. She studied medicine at a time when no one as yet knew the need of women physicians who, if not for other reasons, are sorely needed for the many ailments women are subject to, which are often neglected for lack of care because many women are reluctant to discuss their symptoms with male physicians. She was practically the founder of the Woman's Hospital in Roxbury, Mass., creditably known all over the country. But her interests were not limited to the medical profession and to the care of the physical health of her sex; she extended her help to everyone that was in need of assistance, and paved the way for young men and women to establish themselves in life, by practical advice as well as by pecuniary assistance. The present generation of women physicians in Boston look rightly to her as their foster mother, and the Woman's Hospital is a living memorial of her life and her spirit that will be more enduring, certainly more useful, than ever a monument of marble or bronze could be. Her life is finished, but the work she has done will not die; even if her name should be forgotten, the spirit of her noble aspirations, her practical methods, her charitable disposition, will not die, for it has become a living building-stone in the life of the nation, and as a woman physician she has become an ideal worthy of imitation and emulation. P.C.



Leo Tolstoy.

Frontispiece to The Open Court

THE OPEN COURT

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

**Devoted to the Science of Religion, the Religion of Science, and
the Extension of the Religious Parliament Idea.**

VOL. XVI. (NO. 7.)

JULY, 1902.

NO. 554

Copyright by The Open Court Publishing Co., 1902.

JOHN HENRY BARROWS.

Died June 3.

BY THE EDITOR.

IT is with profound regret and deep emotion that we inform our readers of the premature death of Dr. John Henry Barrows, Chairman of the Religious Parliament of 1893.

He died of pneumonia in his 55th year at his residence in Oberlin, Ohio, to which place he had been called a few years ago as president of the renowned institution which has made that little place famous throughout the United States. Our readers will find a portrait of Dr. Barrows and a sketch of his life in *The Open Court* for January of this year.

Only a few months ago Dr. Barrows was in the best of health; and we had a communication from him relating to matters of the Religious Parliament Extension. He sanctioned the proposition to send out a circular letter, and sent us for this purpose his signature for reproduction. He accepted the Vice-Presidency of the Religious Parliament Extension with the Hon. C. C. Bonney as President; and we thought that he would be with us and work with us for many years in spreading good will on earth in the spirit of the Religious Parliament, to the success of which he not a little contributed. He has passed away, but the work in which he took so prominent a part has become a fact of history and it will endure as a blessing for all time to come.

DR. MARIE ZAKRZEWSKA.

FUNERAL ORATION BY WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, AND HER OWN FAREWELL ADDRESS.¹

A large number of the friends of Dr. Marie Zakrzewska, the founder of the New England Hospital for Women and Children, gathered on May 15th in the chapel of the Massachusetts Crematory Society, off Walkhill street, Forest Hills, to pay a last tribute of respect to her memory.

The service was as simple as possible, and was made most impressive by the reading of a farewell address to her friends, written by Dr. Zakrzewska in February, with the request that it be read at her funeral. The body reposed in a black broadcloth-covered casket, on which were laid a few green wreaths. The request that flowers be omitted was observed.

The services opened as follows with an

ORATION BY WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON.

"We are gathered this lovely spring afternoon to testify our respect and love for a dear friend. She has anticipated this occasion by preparing her own address, presently to be read by another. Being dead she yet speaketh. For this remarkable woman's strong individuality could not be veiled, and, regardless of conventional forms, she has elected to have this simple service without clerical aid.

"She had no politic methods, no skill in concealing opinions that traversed those in vogue, but her manifest sincerity of soul attracted helpers whom policy would have repelled. Although not literally the first regular woman physician in Boston she was, *par excellence*, the head of the long line of educated women who adorn and dignify the ranks of the profession in this vicinity. She won and kept the same proud position elsewhere held by her venerable surviving friends, Doctors Elizabeth and Emily Blackwell.

"The very success of her students, consequent upon her faithful conflict against a senseless prejudice, serves now to obscure the

¹ Reported in *The Boston Herald*, May 16.

trials and disappointments that then blocked the way. The same solemn objections that are to-day urged to obstruct the further progress of women were then actively employed to show the danger of admitting the sex to the practice of medicine. Puerile and unworthy as they now seem, they furnished an apparently impassable barrier to reform. Patience, persistence, resolution and unshaken faith were needed by this apostle, and did not fail her. Now her triumphs and services have become historic records, while the New England Hospital, whose foundation she laid in tribulation, is at once her monument and the city's pride.

"Aside from her professional labors she contributed to the moral advance of the community and was herself a centre of independent thought. Invaluable are untrammelled expressions of sincere belief regardless of agreement. They furnish a tonic all too scarce, and many a word of our friend's that seemed impulsive proved stimulating and helpful to the disturbed hearer. If brusqueness at times gave momentary offence it was readily condoned as inseparable from the saving quality of frankness.

"That Dr. Zakrzewska shared for so many years the companionship of that great German, Karl Heinzen, one of the bravest and truest of reformers, was high testimony to her intellect and heart. For, absorbing as were her professional labors, she always found time for thought and service in unpopular causes where freedom was at stake. In a pro-slavery community she was an outspoken and radical abolitionist, the friend of Garrison and Phillips. In the movement for the political enfranchisement of women she took her place in the ranks of the faithful, an honored comrade with Lucy Stone, Mrs. Howe, the Sewalls and other veterans of the struggle. From the inception of the Women's Club she was a prominent member.

"Living in an environment of religious formality she remained firmly outside the pale of theological influence; and if she found satisfaction in Theodore Parker's sermons, it was because of their humanity regardless of speculations on the future life of which she was a frank unbeliever. No threats of punishment hereafter would tempt her to misreport the message which her reason brought. In this respect her monumental integrity paralleled that of Harriet Martineau. Whatever reality there may be in the heaven pictured by devout minds, it is safe to say that no celestial city that bars out such souls as this for unbelief would be worth the seeking. We can surely testify that she helped make this city more celestial than she found it.

"Our friend, although of foreign birth, became, from her contrasted experience, more American than most Americans. She loved her adopted country profoundly, and when revisiting her native land turned always gladly to this as her true home. It is to her honor that love never blinded her to the nation's faults, nor caused her to withhold her protest against its evil courses. She deplored its present reactionary tendency, and the abasement of its ideals clouded her last days.

"Few more precious gifts has Europe presented to America than this cosmopolitan citizen whose presence blessed and uplifted this country of her choice."

* * *

At the conclusion of his remarks, Mr. Garrison introduced Mrs. Emma Merrill Butler, who read

DR. ZAKRZEWSKA'S FAREWELL ADDRESS.

"During my whole lifetime I have had my own way as much as any human being can have it without entirely neglecting social rules or trespassing upon the comforts of others more than is necessary for self-preservation. And now upon this occasion I wish to have my own way in taking leave of those who shall come for the last time to pay such respect as custom, inclination and friendship shall prompt, asking them to accept the assurance that I am sorry to pass from them, this time never to return again.

"While these words are being read to you, I shall be sleeping a peaceful, well deserved sleep, a sleep from which I shall never arise. My body will go back to that earthly rest whence it came. My soul will live among you, even among those who will come after you. I am not speaking of fame, nor do I think that my name, difficult though it be, will be remembered. Yet the idea for which I have worked, the seeds which I have tried to sow here and there, must live and spread and bear fruit. And after all, what matters it who prepared the way wherein to walk? We only know that great and good men and women have always lived and worked for an idea which favored progress. And so I have honestly tried to live out my nature, not actuated by an ambition to be somebody, or to be remembered especially, but because I could not help it.

"The pressure which in head and in heart compelled me to see and think ahead, compelled me to love to work for the benefit of womankind in general, irrespective of country or of race. By this I do not wish to assert that I thought of all women before I

thought of myself! Oh, no! It was just as much in me to provide liberally for my tastes, for my wishes, for my needs. I had about as many egotistical wants to be supplied as the average of mankind. To look out for self, for those necessary to my happiness, I always considered not a pleasure only, but a duty. I despised the weakness of characters who could not say 'no' at any time, and thus gave away and sacrificed all their strength of body and mind, as well as their money, with that soft sentimentality which finds assurance in the belief that others will take care of

them as they have taken care of others.

"But in taking leave, I cannot pass by those who in every possible way in which human beings can assist one another have assisted me, by giving me their true friendship. Of my earliest career in America, Dr. Elizabeth Blackwell has been the most powerful agent in strengthening what was weak in me, while, shortly after, my acquaintance with Miss Mary L. Booth fed the enthusiasm kindled by Dr. Blackwell and strengthened me in my uphill path.



DR. MARIE E. ZAKRZEWSKA.

the corner-stone upon which I have built all my life long. To many valuable friends in New York I owe a deep gratitude, and especially to Mrs. Robert G. Shaw, of Staten Island. In Boston I leave a great number of friends without whom I could never have accomplished anything, and who have developed my character as well as faculties dormant within me, of which I was unaware. It is the contact with people of worth which develops and polishes us and illuminates our every thought and action.

"To me the most valuable of these early friends were Miss

Lucy Goddard, Mrs. Ednah D. Cheney, Mrs. George W. Pond, Mrs. James Freeman Clark, Mrs. George R. Russell, Dr. Lucy E. Sewall, and Dr. Helen Morton,—not that I give to others a place lower than to them, but because I am fully conscious how deeply they affected my innermost life and how each one made its deep imprint upon my character. I feel that whatever work may be ascribed to my hand could not have been done without them. Although I could not number them in the list of other friends who, in a special sense, formed a greater part of my life's affections, still I owe to each and every one a great debt, and I wish now, whether they be still alive or in simple tribute to their memory, to tell of them my appreciation of their kindness.

"To those who formed the closer family circle in my affections, Mr. Karl Heinzen, Miss Julia A. Sprague and my sisters, I have tried to show my gratitude during the whole of my life, on the principle of Freiligrath's beautiful poem :

' O lieb, so lang du lieben kannst ;
O lieb, so lang du lieben magst ;
Die Stunde kommt, die Stunde kommt,
Wo du an Gräbern stehst und klagst.'

"And now, in closing, I wish to say farewell to all those who thought of me as of a friend, to all those who were kind to me, assuring them all that the deep conviction that there can be no further life is an immense rest and peace to me. I desire no hereafter. I was born, I lived, I used my life to the best of my ability for the uplifting of my fellow-creatures, and I enjoyed it daily in a thousand ways. I had many a pang, many a joy, every day of my life, and I am satisfied now to fall a victim to the laws of nature, never to rise again, never to see and know again what I have seen and known in my life.

"As deeply sorry as I always have been when a friend left me, just so deeply sorry shall I be to leave those whom I loved ; yet I know that I must submit to the inevitable, and submit I do, —as cheerfully as a fatal illness will allow. I have already gone in spirit, and now I am going in body, and all that I leave behind is my memory in the hearts of the few who always remember those whom they have loved. Farewell.

M. E. Zakrzewska

The address was signed : "M. E. Zakrzewska. Prepared in February, 1902."¹

¹ This signature is not that appended to Dr. Zakrzewska's Farewell Address, but is taken from a letter to the editor of *The Open Court*.

[When Mrs. Butler concluded the reading of Dr. Zakrzewska's farewell address to her friends, Mrs. Ednah D. Cheney arose and in a few brief words paid a loving tribute to the memory of her friend.

Among those present were :

Mme. Heinzen, Mr. and Mrs. Heinzen, Miss Hattie Heinzen, Mrs. Hollingsworth, Miss Julia Sprague, Mr. and Mrs. Steinberg, Mr. Reichter, Mr. Cronize, Mr. and Mrs. W. Smith, Dr. Elizabeth Pope, Dr. Augusta Pope, Dr. Elizabeth Kellar, Dr. Fanny Berlin, Miss Anna Reichter, Mrs. Ednah D. Cheney, Miss Rose Heinzen, Emil Richter, Mr. and Mrs. Dary, Miss Kuhn, Francis Garrison, Louis C. Elson, Babson S. Ladd, Mrs. Elizabeth Peabody, Mrs. Crosby, Miss Floretta Vining, Mrs. Thomas Mack, Miss Julia A. Sprague, Frederick May, Albert E. Parsons, Dr. Mary Hobart, Dr. Clara Alexander, Mrs. S. A. P. Dickerman, Mrs. Farless, Miss Eva Channing, Mrs. H. M. Laughlin, Mrs. A. S. Copeland, Miss Sarah Copeland, Mrs. L. H. Williams, Mrs. Perkins, Miss Lucia M. Peabody, Henry B. Blackwell, Fräulein Antonie Stolle, John Ritchie, Richard C. Humphries, Dr. Emma Call, Miss Lucia Peabody.

All of the physicians of the New England Hospital were present, also representatives of the various women's organisations of which Dr. Zakrzewska was a member]

SKETCH OF DR. ZAKRZEWSKA'S LIFE.

BY MRS. EDNAH D. CHENEY.¹

Born and educated in Berlin, Prussia, Dr. Zakrzewska began her medical studies and her practical experience in a hospital at a very early age. At that time the practice of the profession was not open to women in Germany, and she looked across the water for the fuller opportunities and wider activity which then had opened to women in America in 1847, and which she felt to be needful to her own work.

The Western Reserve Medical School of Cleveland at that time admitted women. She went thither, and gained there a command of the English language so necessary to her, while she continued the professional studies already familiar to her, and there received her degree as M. D. This medical school afterward withdrew the privilege it had extended to women, because the Pennsylvania College for Women was greatly enlarged ; but if in this short period it had done nothing but put its professional seal upon this one woman's work, it would deserve the gratitude of all who have since profited by her life and experience.

She went to New York and engaged with the pioneers, Drs. Elizabeth and Emily Blackwell, in the establishment of the New York Infirmary for Women and Children. Visiting Boston in 1856

¹ Reproduced from *The Woman's Journal*.

for the purpose of raising funds for the new undertaking, she became known to many persons interested in the medical education of women, and was offered a position as professor in the Female Medical College.

She would take the position only on condition that clinical instruction should be provided for, and she organised a hospital department for medical and obstetric cases. After three years she severed her connection with the medical school, and, the great value of clinical instruction having been proved, friends joined her in establishing our present "New England Hospital," for the spe-



MRS. EDNAH D. CHENEY.¹

cial purpose of affording such instruction to women college graduates. Her previous experience in hospital life was all-important in organising the new institution, and as director she took an active part in the business affairs as well as in the medical management of the hospital. Her large private medical practice gave her a wide acquaintance with influential people whose interest in the institution contributed to its permanent support. As attending phy-

¹ Mrs. Ednah D. Cheney, whose portrait we reproduce here, is one of the leading women of New England, an author who is widely known throughout the United States, a defender of women's rights in the proper sense of the term, a speaker of extraordinary force, and all in all an exceptional personality typical of New England womanhood.

sician she took her full share of all the daily duty of the hospital, while her instruction and counsel were of the greatest value to the internes who were preparing for return service.

As presiding officer, she still retained her influence in all the professional work, and she was always ready to afford young students her advice and assistance in their professional career.

A sound intellect and a large and sympathetic heart unselfishly devoted to the service of humanity, and especially to the welfare of her own sex, have made her service in Boston for thirty-seven years an incalculable blessing to thousands of women whom she has helped to a life of health, usefulness, and happiness.

REMINISCENCES.¹

Dr. Zakrzewska was a woman of remarkable ancestry. She was descended on one side from a gipsy queen. Her father was a Pole and had large possessions in Poland, which she might have claimed; but it would have been so expensive (involving the payment of heavy taxes, etc.) that she never did.

Her father was at Berlin, serving in the Prussian army, when a Polish insurrection broke out. For some expression of sympathy with it, he was suspended from the army, on a small fraction of his pay, but was not allowed to engage in any other work, as he was liable at any time to be recalled. This reduced the family to poverty. Marie's mother went into a government institution for the training of midwives, and had to live in a given quarter of the town, which was assigned to her as her field of work. She rented a house, meaning to take lodgers, but no lodgers came. Marie vividly remembered one Saturday evening when her mother came home and found the children all crying, frightened by a great thunderstorm. She had been able to bring home only one dollar to carry them over Sunday; and she sank into a chair and burst into tears. Little Marie, the oldest of the children, was about ten years old. She did her best to comfort her tired mother, and said that she would herself go out and buy the food for Sunday, laying out the small sum of money to the best advantage. Marie early became a caretaker. She used to study her lessons for school, knit, and rock the cradle, all at the same time.

Marie helped her mother in her work as a midwife. She began early to take an interest in medicine, and went into a hospital

¹ Mrs. Cheney communicates these reminiscences in an interview for publication in *The Woman's Journal*.

while still extremely young. One of the professors was very friendly. He told her that she might study medicine with him, and that he would get leave from the government to have her take a degree. But one day, when she came to the hospital, she found it hung with black, and learned that her friend, the professor, had suddenly died. It was after this that she went to America.

While she was studying in Cleveland, Mrs. Caroline M. Severance became one of her best friends.

After she went to New York, she had a very hard struggle to live. Her sister joined her, and for a time they supported them-



ZAKRZEWSKA BUILDING.

Original building of the group comprising the New England Hospital for Women and Children.¹

selves by knitting. But more prosperous days were in store for her.

She visited Philadelphia and Boston to get funds for the New York Infirmary for Women and Children, and the ladies in Boston raised half the rent. Frederick May was among the best helpers. Samuel E. Sewall was one of the trustees of the Female Medical School, and it was he who wanted her to come and help in it.

She took a great interest in humanity, and in people of all kinds. She instituted an eight-cent lunch for shop girls, and a

¹ Reproduced from a photograph taken by A. H. Folsom, for which we are indebted to Dr. S. M. Taylor, Superintendent of the Hospital.

varied lunch for school children, giving them something different each day, so as to avoid monotony. She was much interested in the Jews and in the Jewish school. She would take as much pains with a poor girl as with the richest lady, and the poor people were very fond of her.

It is not true, as has been said, that she had "few social interests outside her practice and her work at the hospital." She had many warm friends. She used to be fond of going to Mr. Sewall's and there having "a dance and a really jolly time." She was a member of the Woman Suffrage Association, the Moral Education Association, the New England Women's Club, the Roxburghe Club, and other societies. She had ceased to be attending physician at the hospital, but was still consulting physician. The main building of the hospital was named for her when she was seventy.

She was of a cheery disposition, though she had had much trouble in her life, besides the early struggles already described. Her mother sailed for America to join her, but died on the voyage. She also lost a very dear sister.

Dr. Zakrzewska never married. For many years she and her devoted friend, Miss Julia Sprague, have made their home together.

A NEARER VIEW OF COUNT LEO TOLSTOI.

BY MRS. ELIZABETH E. EVANS.

WHEN Frau Anna Seuron, formerly governess and trusted companion in the family of Count Leo Tolstoi, was requested by a German publisher to furnish details respecting the character and habits of the Russian Reformer, for the edification of the German reading public, she, duly mindful of the moral laws of hospitality, submitted the proposition to Count Tolstoi for decision. He told her to write about him as freely as she chose: he was sure that she would fulfil the task in a proper manner. Her condensed sketch of a daily and hourly observation of Tolstoi's walk and conversation for years is worth volumes of notes by interviewers and newsmongers of various types who intrude upon the famous recluse in order to secure instantaneous views of his life and surroundings.

Tolstoi is a born romancer, whose motto may well be: "Through Night to Light," since he, from his earliest years, was phenomenally conscious of the moral degradation around him and phenomenally eager to invoke the illumination of truth. His apparently autobiographical narrative, *Childhood*, is largely imaginative, as he was left an orphan at a very early age and never experienced the parental tenderness which he so feelingly describes.

Always thoughtful, in love for the first time when scarcely twelve years old, not remarkable for scholarship at the university, partaking of the follies of student life and the wild excesses of military experience, spending a few years of careless independence as a gay young bachelor upon his ancestral estates and finally saved by his marriage from a further waste of time and strength in the pursuit of pleasure—such was Count Tolstoi's preliminary equipment for a comprehension of the end and aim of human existence, such the brilliant and varied stock of reminiscences from which he was to draw his realistic portrayal of contemporary life

and evolve warnings and advice for the benefit of men and women of like passions with himself in Russia, and in the rest of the world. His talent as a writer developed early. In his eleventh year he composed a little poem which caused an aged friend of the family to prophesy that he would one day become an author, and his first public attempt was made when he was only twenty years old. He was then an ensign in the army, engaged in active service against the Tartars in the Caucasus. One night, as he lay half asleep, while his comrades were playing cards beside him, somebody picked up a newspaper and read aloud: "A little work, signed 'L. T.,' has just appeared, and is making a sensation in the literary world."

So he awoke to fame, and decided to devote himself to literature; but he made no sign, and his companions went to rest without suspecting that the "L. T." of the newspaper was close beside them.

From that time he began to realise his mission as a thinker and writer; although his earnest moods alternated with periods of reckless gaiety as before. His marriage steadied him. His wife was not noble by birth, and his choice seems to have been dictated solely by inclination. She was very young when he married her; scarcely more than a child herself when their first child was born, and the brood increased rapidly until it numbered eleven. The pair lived for nineteen years in retirement upon their estate, he busy with his intellectual creations, and employing his leisure hours in hunting, and in attending to the prosperity of his flocks and herds and fruitful fields, she fully occupied with the care of her increasing family and the government of her necessarily large household. The union appears to have been a fortunate one, to judge from the character of the writings which date from this period, especially in their delineations of feminine character, and of masculine devotion to woman as wife and mother. In the words of his biographer: "the dream of his first love, the remembrance of the temporary alliances which had amused his bachelor freedom, were thrown into an urn and burned to ashes," and she says elsewhere more plainly that he was true to his wife—testimony which implies high praise to both parties, especially in view of the prevailing habits of the upper classes in Russia.

As Tolstoi's artistic power developed and his philanthropic desires embraced an ever widening field of activity, his zeal for his local and personal interests diminished and, consequently, his affairs began to suffer loss. Agents and overseers and laboring

peasants took advantage of his indifference, enriching themselves at his expense, and the estate upon which he lived, as well as two other valuable farms, brought him only a small part of their profits. His increasing absorption in abstract ideas, to the exclusion of practical effort, was perceptible also in the condition of the villagers and peasants of his neighborhood. For a time he was deeply interested in the mental improvement of his dependents, and a school was opened in which members of his family gave regular lessons; also, an A. B. C. book for the people was prepared and published; but the proceeds were small, and the whole enterprise was allowed to dwindle and fall into disuse.

In the meantime the children of the family were growing up, and notwithstanding the presence of governesses and tutors, there was a lack in the system of education which only the advantages of a large city could supply. So the Countess insisted upon a winter residence in Moscow, and the Count finally agreed to the plan; although he would have preferred remaining all the year round in the country. A handsome house with a large garden was bought at a reasonable price, and thenceforth the family migrated to and from the city, according to the seasons.

It was at the winter home in Moscow that Frau Seuron first met Tolstoi and his household. She was not impressed by his gray flannel blouse; to her it looked arrogant, rather than modest; but the firm grasp of his powerful hand inspired confidence, while the keen glance of his small gray eyes showed that she had to deal with an uncommon character. She says that then, and often afterwards, his manner of scrutinising people reminded her of a photographic apparatus, and his writings suggested the same instrument; because only one person, or one idea, held the focus in his mental processes, and hence the power of the picture.

Admitted to the intimacy of the home circle, Tolstoi's words and deeds became the daily study of the observant governess, whose character was sufficiently independent to judge the Reformer's conduct upon its own merits and demerits. Her narrative divested of its fantastic setting and subjected to chronological order and to condensation of form, displays various salient aspects of Tolstoi's character which constitute a sufficient explanation of his course.

He is first and above all a man of moods; not because he is intentionally capricious; but because he has a mind which is continually growing, and growth implies change. Moreover, he had much to unlearn, as well as much to learn, in the thorough revolu-

tion of his habits and aims. The fault of his disciples is in mistaking his tentative theories for fixed principles, his crude suggestions for assured improvements. Frau Seuron, amazed by the contrast between precept and practice, declares that the whole movement is confusion, mystical dogma, disease, out of which, in the course of time, some valuable pearl of truth may be developed; but not in this century.

It is greatly to Tolstoi's credit that, in spite of his faults and inconsistencies, this unprejudiced and severe critic admired and revered him and was able to retain her faith in his entire honesty of purpose. His conduct was sometimes exasperating; but sincerity and earnestness were undeniably the basis of his character.

When alone with his family, he was sometimes a charming companion, gay, witty, laughing heartily at his own jokes, and delighting the children with stories of his own early adventures, or with fables composed on the spur of the moment for their sole edification. But there was dignity in his mirth, and he never appeared ridiculous, not even when in a hilarious mood he waltzed around the room in his flannel blouse, with his stocking showing through a hole in his shoe. Sometimes he was gloomy, unapproachable, cross from toothache, or depressed by the woes of the world outside. Much of his time was spent in the solitude of his plainly furnished study on the upper floor, where he wrote his books, and did not allow of any interruption or disturbance until his hours of work were over.

Frau Seuron joined the family in 1882, or thereabouts, and the connection lasted six years. Count Tolstoi was already famous as a writer of romances, and his ideas for the reformation of society were rapidly gaining ground; especially among the young men of his own class who were dissatisfied with the existing state of things and eager to discover some remedy for long-standing evils. He was frequently consulted by letter, and also by personal application. He neglected his correspondence. Letters were scarcely opened, rarely answered; they fell on the floor, were hidden under the dishes, carried off by the children. Polite overtures of acquaintance from distinguished scholars and literary celebrities were thrown aside and forgotten; communications from sympathetic critics, who were doing their utmost to awaken the world to a knowledge of and belief in his greatness, met with the same fate; the dreamer preferred to dream on undisturbed.

So with regard to the personal applicants. Persistent guests were smuggled into his presence when a favorable mood was upon

him, and seekers after truth were sometimes allowed to steal away from the gay hospitality below stairs to enjoy an earnest interview with the philosopher in the quiet of his upper chamber. That same retreat was his impregnable fortress when visitors were unwelcome. It is no wonder that his celebrity was often distasteful to him; for every summer his quiet country home was besieged by an army of strangers, coming in carriages and on horseback and on foot, each discontented mortal desiring to lay down his burden of satiety, or doubt, or remorse, and hoping to go away relieved and comforted. And Tolstoi listened to the complaints of the weary and heavy-laden and gave advice in keeping with the degree of illumination to which he had himself attained.

But not all who came went away satisfied. Among the seekers were curious and enthusiastic persons who were minded to put his theories into practice, and therefore considered it wise to obtain counsel and suggestion from his own life, and such as these were bewildered and discouraged by what they saw and heard. They expected to find an ascetic, denying himself the good things of which so many of his fellow-men are deprived, spending his time in humble work and hermit-like meditation,—and instead they found a luxurious home, a generous table, servants, equipages, in short, the usual surroundings of a wealthy and titled landed proprietor.

One of these inquirers, rich, noble, and an improvement upon the “young man” of the Gospel story, in that he was ready and willing to give up his “great possessions” for the common good, came in all humility to obtain advice from the wise teacher, believing fully all the stories he had heard about the man who had succeeded in restoring the patriarchal simplicity of life in the early Bible days, and expecting to see the Reformer sitting, like Abraham, in the door of his tent to welcome strangers. Accordingly, the traveller, attired with studious plainness, and carrying his travelling-bag on his arm, arrived at the gate, and avoiding the stately avenue leading to the mansion, wandered about the premises in the hope of finding a less conspicuous entrance. Once inside, he found comfortable rooms, a lively family circle, an elaborate dinner, with ice for dessert, ladies in fashionable attire, a social evening in the drawing-room, with piano-forte playing and singing, and the Count in his famous blouse evidently at home amidst these luxuries and apparently feeling no desire to discuss the burning questions which filled the visitor's mind. When the time came for retiring, the stranger was escorted to a chamber in

an adjoining cottage, furnished with only a hard bed, a table, a chair, and a wash-basin. Here, at last, was the simplicity he had expected to find; these surroundings harmonised with Tolstoi's command: "Renounce all the luxuries of life; take with thee only what is necessary, and go thy way in temperance and chastity." So he lay down on his narrow couch and fell asleep. But the night was long, and waking up in the bright moonlight, he opened a door in the wall close beside his bed, and there was a room fitted up with all the comforts and elegancies which he had been so glad to miss in the guest-chamber, and again he was discouraged. What did it matter if Tolstoi wore a blouse, and made his own shoes and drove a plough, when he had only to return home to find himself surrounded by all that makes life enjoyed by the rich and envied by the poor? So the young man arose with the dawn and packed his travelling-bag and departed, unseen by the still sleeping family, and went back to relate his experiences and deter his fellow-converts from a journey to the source of so much printed wisdom.

Also a young nobleman (son of a general high in favor with the Czar), rich, handsome, dissipated, became a convert to Tolstoi's creed and, suddenly turning his back upon all his advantages, went about in old clothes and worn-out shoes, selling tracts at the street-corners. He could not carry out his ideas in the family palace at St. Petersburg, because his widowed mother was mistress there, and she did not believe in Tolstoi; so he contented himself with filling his own water-pitcher, carrying it past the long lines of idle and obsequious servants in the hall, and feeling that he was doing God service in waiting upon himself. At his country-seat he had a better chance to develop his plans, and his endeavors showed an improvement upon the master's example. He introduced enlightened methods of husbandry; he provided for helpless orphans; he established schools and put them under the charge of teachers of his own way of thinking. He wanted to marry Tolstoi's eldest daughter; but her father dissuaded him from that idea, and finally he married one of the teachers in his schools, to whom he took a fancy, because one morning she came into his room before he was up, to get a book, and crossed the chamber and went to the book-shelves and hunted up the book and left the room, without so much as a glance at the occupant of the bed. Her modesty and independence pleased him so greatly that he made her his wife, and although the union was at first disapproved of by his aristocratic relatives, the event proved that he had chosen wisely. Her good sense restrained his fanaticism; children came

to strengthen the bond, and he gradually settled down to the conviction that riches are not necessarily a bar to happiness, nor a hindrance to self-improvement.

Other cases made more serious trouble. Once the Countess, while on a journey, met a lady of her own class who confided to her the anxiety from which she was suffering on account of the conduct of her son who, in conformity with Tolstoi's precepts, was giving away his property right and left, and would soon have nothing remaining for his own support. The Countess told her who she was, and the lady begged her to influence her husband to put a stop to the young man's folly. But Tolstoi only laughed when he heard the story.

Many young noblemen deserted their rightful places in society and married peasant women, or lived with them unmarried, descending to their level and finally drinking themselves to death. Others, more earnest, devoted themselves so ardently to menial work, for which they were not fitted, that they lost health and strength and perished by the way.

Nor was it alone the masculine aristocrats who were affected by the new mania. Many women sought in Tolstoi's doctrine relief from the emptiness of a life of pleasure, and it was no unusual sight to see nobly-born and delicately bred ladies going out in the early morning, attired in white negligé jackets and short skirts, to fill dung-carts and spread manure upon the dewy fields. In short, there were abundant instances of the various degrees of failure and disaster which would inevitably result from the untimely application, by inexperienced and incompetent persons, of crude theories to inconsistent practice.

It is easy to imagine the horror with which Tolstoi's doctrines were regarded by the members of aristocratic families who by this means had lost promising sons and brothers, or been socially disgraced by the eccentric behavior of sisters and daughters. Once a Prince, occupying an influential position at Court, wished to employ Frau Seuron's son as a tutor for his boys; but when he learned that the young man had lived several years in Tolstoi's house, he broke off the negotiations immediately.

This attitude on the part of the higher classes is not surprising, and many of their objections are well-founded; but in spite of the absurdity of some of Tolstoi's notions and the frequent inconsistency of his conduct, there is no doubt that he was from the beginning sympathetic towards his suffering fellow-men and sincere in his desire to abate the evils of society. "What to do?" "How

to begin?" was the cry of his secret thoughts, as well as of his published appeals. No doubt he suffered real agony of spirit as he sat alone and motionless, with bowed head and folded hands, in his favorite seat on the wall of his vast domain, brooding over the wrongs of the poor and the selfishness of the rich.

In Moscow he spent many an evening at the Fair, which is held three times a year in the open common near his city home. There, disguised in his sheepskin mantle, he wandered amidst the crowd and watched the sports and listened to the talk and stood before the gaudy theatre while the play went on, sometimes bringing back a hungry actor to supper, and finding full reward for his charity in the revelations of his grateful guest. What he saw and heard in such contact with the lowest classes of his countrymen filled him with a noble desire to better their condition, and in this spirit many of his sketches and short stories were written. One of these (*The Distillery*), was intended for the stage, as a warning against the prevailing intemperance. It was really acted at the Fair, and report said that the Count was one of the actors. However that may be, his endeavor to have the piece arranged in permanent form came to naught, in consequence of the exorbitant demands of the *impresario*. It was afterwards partially incorporated as an opera, in which form it still survives.

But Tolstoi's experience in this matter, and in other efforts to help the world in his own way, were such as to dishearten and repel him. He brooded more than ever over the evils of life; but he withdrew more and more from personal relations with his fellow-men. For a time he visited the dwellings of the very poor, the lodgings of outcasts, the haunts of vice and crime, and went back to his comfortable home heartsick and appalled. It seemed to him that the only way to help was by example, and he resolved to begin by acts so small that everybody could do likewise, and so, by united effort, the overwhelming burdens which have so long crushed humanity might be lifted and thrown off. Accordingly, day after day he bound a girdle about his loins and drew a barrel of water on a sled, from a fountain at the end of the garden to the kitchen door, and once, when the springs gave out, all Moscow might have seen the Count, dressed like a common laborer, going with the other water-carriers through the streets to fill his cask at the river side. In doing this menial work, when there were servants enough at hand to do it, Tolstoi undoubtedly wished to display his sincere humility and true brotherly love. It was not a Russian nobleman masquerading for notoriety or fame; it was a favored human being

willing to ignore the distinctions of his class and to fulfil the divine command: "In the sweat of thy brow shalt thou eat bread."

All honor to his courage and his humanity; even though the impulse was fleeting and the exhibition absurd!

The same lack of practical activity and persistent endeavor was still more evident in the condition of his country estate, which was behind the times in useful improvements, even for Russia. Once a hut in the village caught fire, and twenty-one houses were burned to ashes before the flames could be subdued. Such a calamity is common in Russia, upon neglected estates; but in this case the landlord professed to be the father of his people: why then did he not ensure safety by the purchase of a fire-engine? So thought the governess, as she looked on at the destruction of property.

One day she came across an old peasant-woman who was digging potatoes with a stick of wood, and asked her why she did not use a spade instead. The woman said there were only three spades in the whole village. When this state of things was reported to the Count he laughed and said it was all right; the peasants had thereby an opportunity to practice Christian charity in lending their tools! At that time there was in the village only one hammer, which wandered from hand to hand according to necessity, and the Count covered this difficulty with the careless remark that every peasant had an axe!

Near the great house stood a maple tree which had been struck by lightning, and on the only healthy remaining limb hung a bell which was rung for meals, and also to give alarm on other occasions. This was a gathering-place for poor people seeking advice or assistance, and here they often stood for hours, hoping that help would come. It came, generally; but not from the head of the family. The Countess dealt out medicine and lint; other members of the household gave clothing and money; but the Count remained invisible, or passed through the waiting group unrecognised, with a scythe over his shoulder, or an axe in his belt. His earlier endeavor to benefit the peasants of his estate had made a noise in the world and the public had never been informed that the project was only transitory.

One day two philanthropic strangers arrived to visit the school which had once really existed, and the hospital which was entirely a work of imagination. When they saw the tumble-down hut which had served as a schoolhouse, and failed to find any trace of

a hospital, they turned about and went their way, without even seeking an interview with the famous Reformer.

Tolstoi, the Rousseau of the nineteenth century, believed in nature and he hated the luxuries of civilisation in any form. Above all money was to him odious. He loathed both to receive as well as to pay out money. His charity toward others was an indulgence in personal gifts or services, but as soon as money was either needed or demanded his warmhearted sympathy was shriveled into cold indifference, which made him callous and even unjust.

An estate of his, the most distant one of all, had long been suffering under the mismanagement of a selfish overseer and dishonest peasants, until at last the evil became too enormous even for the patience of the Count, who was then at the height of his hatred of money, and of everything that money represents. Just here Frau Seuron came to the rescue by introducing to the Count a German overseer who had long been in charge of an important estate in another part of Russia and who was furnished with abundant testimonials as to his competency and honesty. He came three times to Moscow from his temporary abode more than fifteen miles away, to confer with the Count, who treated him as though the engagement were certain; although he avoided the mention of money matters. At last a final interview was appointed, and the man arrived punctually, leaving his wife and children at the hotel, he having given up his previous situation to another overseer, in the expectation of starting immediately with his family for his new home. But after everything had been satisfactorily arranged, the new overseer asked with becoming modesty for an advance of one hundred and fifty roubles (a little over one hundred dollars), to pay the expenses of the journey and of the first month's occupation; whereupon the Count gave him a look, expressive of the enmity which he sometimes seemed to feel towards his fellow-men, and left the room by the little door leading to his sanctum, where he was sure of being undisturbed. The poor overseer, whose plans were thus suddenly overturned, exclaimed: "God will provide; but the Count is on the wrong road to honor!" When the Count came down to dinner that day, he said to Frau Seuron: "I don't know how to explain to you my conduct this morning"—and she answered him only by a sarcastic smile. Afterwards he explained his action to others by saying that the man had made himself suspicious by asking for money: other overseers had known how to help themselves, and this one ought to be able to do it too. But he forgot that those other overseers had ruined his

affairs, so that out of a herd of sixty camels only two remained, and instead of an income of ten thousand roubles, he received no money at all from the estate. It was two years before that man could secure a situation for the support of his family. As for the Count, he confided the estate to a succession of untrustworthy overseers, and things went from bad to worse, the only safeguard against total ruin being the inexhaustible richness of the land.

In those days a stranger came to see Tolstoi and to offer him his immense fortune for benevolent purposes. The man was of a high family; but he had married a plain governess and was not happy in his marriage and wished to use his life to some purpose in assisting other people. Just at that time a wealthy friend of Frau Seuron wished to sell a valuable forest, and she offered Frau Seuron ten thousand roubles if she would find a purchaser for the land. So Frau Seuron, to whom the generous sum would have been a welcome assistance in the support of herself and her son, asked Count Tolstoi to mention the matter to his visitor. But the Count laughed, and said: "Are you trying to make money?" and did not say a word to the man who was so anxious to get rid of his fortune for the good of other people. And so the opportunity was lost.

One day Count Tolstoi came home deeply affected by a pitiful case of poverty which he had discovered during his walk. He had met a boy about fifteen years old who had only one arm and who was crying with cold. He went with the boy to see where he lived and was taken into a lodging-house where six persons occupied one room. The boy's mother was there, old and sick. The Count took the boy home with him and told his son Leo to look among his old shoes and bring a pair for the stranger. The shoes came; but they were thin and full of holes and too small for the boy's feet. Frau Seuron remarked that such a gift was not worth having, and the Count replied that he had told the boy to come again and he would give him fifty kopeks (about thirty-two cents), to pay for the lodging, as the landlord had threatened to turn mother and son into the street. The woman came instead of the boy, and the shoes were given to her; Frau Seuron also gave her a shawl; but the Count said the boy must come himself for the money. So the boy came, wearing the shoes, which evidently hurt his feet at every step he took. The Count was passing through the room to go to his study; he stopped, and put his hand into his pocket, as though searching for the promised coins. Just then a friend came to visit him. The Count bade him welcome in a joyful voice, and together they disappeared through the little door leading to the study.

Nothing more was said about the money. Frau Seuron gave the boy what she could spare, and he went away and never came back again. He died not long afterwards of consumption, in the hospital, as Frau Seuron learned from his mother, whom she met accidentally in the street.

Frau Seuron explains such contradictions in the conduct of Count Tolstoi, by declaring that so lofty a character must have its depths and precipices also. His sudden changes of temper and will were due in part to physical causes. He was thoroughly good only when he was perfectly well, and he was often a sufferer, especially from toothache, to which he was a martyr until every tooth was out of his head; for he had no faith in dentistry, and preferred to let nature take its course in the process of destruction. His unreasonable hatred of money, however, had something to do with his aversion to giving it, and his theory of mutual helpfulness seemed to him to lose its beauty as soon as one party demanded, and the other bestowed, alms. He could work with his peasants and talk with them as man to man; but if they jarred upon his sensibilities by asking inopportunately for help, his manner changed, he showed himself the despotic nobleman of ancient race dealing with immemorial serfdom, and the disappointed laborers shook their heads and retired in silent defeat.

The Count's contempt for civilisation went so far as to make him obtuse to the æsthetical and even hygienic needs of cleanliness.

There was a time when Count Tolstoi, formerly an elegant man of the world, neglected entirely the care of his person and appeared to revel in the degrading filth and disgusting odors which belong to the lowest department of farm labor. He would come to the table after hours of hard work at the dung-heap, his clothes reeking with the stench, and smile pityingly upon those of his family who were disturbed by the impure atmosphere. Sometimes he would discard stockings and wrap up his feet in linen rags, after the manner of the peasants, and wear the rags until they were a horror to all who came near him. His pocket handkerchief is characterised as "indescribable," and his way of using it and of putting it into his pocket, showed that he himself was disgusted and wished to touch it as little as possible. It seemed as though he were trying experiments with himself, to see what comforts are really necessary to existence, and what can be renounced.

His familiarity with dirt appeared to affect his moral standards as well. There were long discussions as to what is and is not

dirty; amongst other things, he gravely asserted, before a table full of young people, his own children and their guests, that to set apart a place for certain necessary offices of the human body is to encourage immoral luxury. Such perfectly natural acts should be performed without shame wherever and whenever nature dictates, as quietly and modestly as possible, of course, but without any long seeking after a secluded place to hide in. The Countess and the governess protested against such unsavory table-talk; but the children went into fits of laughter at the Count's droll ideas. Soon afterwards Frau Seuron saw one of these young people, a stately, elegantly-dressed boy, only ten years old, putting theory into practice in the avenue before the house, and when she, later, called him to account for the indecency, he answered, with the candor of good faith: "The Count says we mustn't make too much fuss over such matters!"

The governess was generous enough to perceive, in these and many other idiosyncrasies, an honest striving after some sound principle, a humane effort to solve some problem containing an element of good for the whole species; but she owns that filthy clothes and filthy habits are not in themselves sufficient to make a man famous, and it is no wonder that when such stories were repeated by less sympathetic listeners, the world in general set Tolstoi down as a lunatic, or, at least, a "crank."

His moods were strongly contrasted. If at one time he could endure without discomfort the stench of the dung-heap, at another he took delight in the subtle odors of French perfumery, and in the more delicate fragrance of natural flowers.

Frau Seuron says there are two Tolstois; one, the author, the farmer, the shoemaker, the nobleman, the head of the family; the other, himself. Sometimes he shows one characteristic, sometimes another; for he has the gift of being able to peel himself off in layers, like an onion. When he is really himself he acts with primitive simplicity, exactly as though he were alone, giving no heed to the presence of other people. His renown is often oppressive to him; such publicity is contrary to his inmost feelings and tastes.

He was always careless about his appearance, even in the city. His hats and caps had neither shape nor color, and he was quite indifferent as to whether they were suitable or becoming. Only his blouse must be long, as he considered it more chaste to wear it in that form. Closely-fitting trousers he did not approve of; he objected also to low-necked dresses for women. Like many another sensitive human being, he was often oppressed by the ap-

parent cruelty and injustice of killing animals for food, and once he made trial of the vegetarian system. For more than a year he followed the rule, yielding only now and then so far as to partake of bouillon. His health suffered from the change, and he was persuaded to include poultry in his bill of fare. Often, too, the roast beef from which the family had been served at supper was found to have been well eaten into during the night, and the Count was suspected of being the eater, although he never would acknowledge the deed.

This plan of living soon lost its force, and the Count returned gladly to the fleshpots, as many another vegetarian has been forced to do, by reason of well grounded fears of a permanent loss of vitality. A few years later he made another attempt. A Russian exile, who had lived a long time in America came to see him. The man was fifty years old, but looked much younger, and he ascribed his blooming appearance to his diet. For ten years he had lived on vegetables, and had eaten all his food without salt.

Not only the Count, but also the daughters of the house resolved to try this way of keeping young and beautiful; but in less than a year the girls grew thin and pale, and the whole company of converts went back to their former mode of living. Also, the Count tried once to give up tobacco. "Smoking is unhealthy," he said, "it is a luxury. The fields given up to the weed might better be planted with grain to feed the hungry." So cigars and cigarettes were laid aside, and the Count wandered up and down forlorn. But, finding that his health suffered from the abstinence, he resumed the habit and was comforted.

His biographer remarks in this connection that those who imagine the Count to be an ascetic are greatly mistaken. His physical and psychical characteristics are not those out of which a saint is made, and his seasons of self-mortification were irregular and few. It seemed to her that his whimsical industries, such as lighting his own fire, blacking his own boots, working as a shoemaker, digging in the field, driving the plough, carting manure, were so many ways of refreshing his mental energy through bodily exercise. He gave up riding after being obliged to sell his favorite horse; he gave up hunting after adopting vegetarian principles—he says too that he dared not go out alone with a gun, for fear that he should be tempted to shoot himself,—and so he turned to more plebeian methods of letting off steam, so to speak, for the health and safety of his spiritual as well as physical nature.

His dread of death was very strong. Once, a friend of his, a

spiritist, said that when he came to die, he should send for him, to let him see that dying is not hard. Three days afterwards the man lay on his death-bed, from the effects of a sudden cold, and he sent for Tolstoi; but the Count would not go, until after his friend was dead. He was naturally inclined to be superstitious, and this habit of mind, together with a lack of thorough education, interfered with the ability to form just conclusions respecting the social problems which he was trying to solve.

He never showed any desire that his children should be learned; on the contrary, he often expressed himself as opposed to study, and yet he seemed to expect that his children should understand everything. Their education was the work of their teachers and governesses; the family life was characterised by great individual liberty; each member came and went as inclination dictated, and the Count troubled himself least of all with the management of domestic affairs.

Meantime, the family was increasing in numbers and years and expenses, while the income was growing less with every season of mismanagement and neglect. Just here came in the practical energy of the mistress of the house. She undertook to gain pecuniary profit out of her husband's literary work. He rebelled at first against the plan; his theory being that money is an evil and the cause of evil; but his wife persisted: the children must be educated and provided for, and their own old age secured from want.

So the Countess, assisted by a lady friend (apparently the governess herself), addressed herself to the undertaking, and carried it out with praiseworthy resolution. The Count had to shut his eyes to what was going on, although he, as much as any other member of the family, was to profit by this reward of his intellectual labor. True, the transaction was in direct contradiction to Tolstoi's preaching; but the fault lay in his eccentric ideas, not in his wife's practical administration of affairs. The fact was that their property was going to ruin; while a perfectly legitimate and honorable source of wealth was neglected, because of an absurd scruple, and, like the sensible wife and prudent mother that she was, she demanded that a just share of the profits of her husband's work should be given to him, instead of going, as formerly, into the pockets of publishers and booksellers.

The Countess was in no degree responsible for the decrease of prosperity which made this action necessary. The failure of the estates were due to the Count's indifference and lack of authority:

whatever she controlled was secure and successful. Her family name was Behrs, and her grandparents were descended from Jews. Her ancestry asserted itself in her talent for business, and while the rest of the family spent and enjoyed without anxiety or calculation, she kept affairs in order and looked well to the ways of her household, according to the precepts of the Sage of Israel. It is the custom, more or less everywhere, and especially in Russia, to ridicule and despise the peculiar characteristics of the Jews, instead of recognising the noble qualities which constitute the true secret of the persistent prosperity of that race, in spite of the persecutions under which they continually labor. So Tolstoi could sarcastically remark that if he had been a professional performer on the clarinet, his wife would have spent her life in polishing the keys of his instrument. He might have added that but for her industry and thrift he would not have had money to buy a clarinet!

During the winter which followed the beginning of this enterprise the Count took especial pains to wear old clothes, going about in the streets of Moscow, and even paying visits in aristocratic houses, clad like a peasant, in a sheepskin jacket and a sheepskin cap, wearing high leather boots, and with his hands stuck into his pockets, or shoved into the sleeves of his jacket. In such a costume he went once to the Institute where Frau Seuron's son was a pupil, in order to escort the boy to his mother, who was ill. She, fearing some mistake, telegraphed to her son that the Count would arrive at a certain hour, and accordingly, the Director and the whole corps of teachers waited at the main entrance to receive the distinguished guest. But nobody came, excepting an old man in a sheepskin jacket, who was told to sit down on a bench in the hall, among the other people who had come on business. So he sat there, while the teachers passed up and down, wondering why the Count did not appear.

Not until after young Seuron approached the stranger and exchanged greetings with him in French, and offered his arm as they went out together, did it dawn upon the minds of the Faculty and attendants that the bearded man in sheepskin was Tolstoi himself! Great was the excitement in school, and soon the whole town was talking about the episode, while the Count added the story to several other similar incidents for the amusement of the home circle, deducing the conclusion that rank is not written on the face. "No, but on the back!" was Frau Seuron's playful rejoinder, by way of a hit at Tolstoi's peasant costume.

Frau Seuron gives due credit to Tolstoi for his exertions dur-

ing the year of famine. She says that of all the systems devised for the relief of the starving multitudes, his was the most practical and the most effective. The whole family were actively engaged in the work of mercy, and the executive talent of the Countess did much to make the enterprise a success. Besides, they had more means to work with than had the other societies; for Tolstoi's reputation as an author and a Reformer moved benevolent souls in all parts of the world to send contributions directly to him. His conduct in that emergency showed that with all his vagaries he possessed a fund of good common sense, and the same trait was displayed when, after his investigations among the poor of Moscow, he perceived and acknowledged that poverty cannot be permanently relieved by almsgiving; for the causes of poverty must be removed, in order to render a healthy prosperity possible.

A few years ago the principal comic paper in St. Petersburg published a caricature of Tolstoi letting fall a drop of ink from his pen into a barrel of tar. The drop of ink was labelled "Philosophy."

Tolstoi, Frau Seuron goes on to say, is by no means a thorough philosopher; but like most persons of good natural powers, his views are continually modified, according to increasing experience. He possesses a many-sided, but not a highly-cultivated, mind; hence his conclusions are necessarily empirical and not always borne out by facts.

Philosophy is the cradle of Renunciation, and people should not complain because Tolstoi has lain down in it so late. There is no such thing as a young philosopher: what in youth is capacity becomes virtue only with the progress of time.

This unsparing and yet eulogistic biographer trusts to time for the gradual removal of the faults and inconsistencies, whether in-born or acquired, which hinder the Reformer's individual progress and public success. She prophesies that his doctrines may cause strife and confusion for a century, and then the truth that is in them will be accepted in peace. "*Be sincere and honest and loving,*" is the sum and substance of his teaching, and that is wisdom which will endure.

Yes: it will endure; but that wisdom did not originate with Tolstoi, nor with any other reformer and leader of the race. It is as old as mankind; it is the lesson which age and experience teaches to every human being who lives and loves and suffers; the message has never come as news to any people; it answers to the best instincts of every living soul.

Tolstoi's religion is the creed of the New Testament, divested, as he imagines, of the superstitions and complications with which an ecclesiastical hierarchy has gradually encumbered it. But every form of belief which draws its inspiration from a supernatural source crystallises, sooner or later, into a Church, and requires external forms to gratify internal emotions. Tolstoi shows in all his writings that he is working in a circle—the same circle which has always bounded the religious impulses of mankind.

His attempts to apply his theories to the actual condition of human affairs prove his inability to effect a radical improvement of the social system. According to him, every man must help himself, and thereby help his brother: therefore every man must provide for his own wants with his own hands. And as such a plan is impracticable under the division of labor which obtains in large communities, people ought to go away from cities and distribute themselves over the face of the earth in companies so small that each member may have oversight of all the other members and be ready to give assistance when required. Such an arrangement would put a stop to the accumulation of capital and the oppressions of labor, besides doing away with the source of all these evils—money. The proposal of so entire a change in the prevailing modes of living suggests a decline of the degree of civilisation to which the race has at present attained, and the question naturally arises: What is to become of our industries and arts and sciences, if we need only a sheepskin for clothing and bed; if we are to live in communities so small as to forbid the accumulation of incentives to high achievement; if talent and genius are to be denied development, because of the pressure of daily needs and the necessity of the universal expenditure of time and strength in ignoble work?

Tolstoi does not deny the progress of the race in arts and sciences; but he asks whether the great mass of the people have been made better or happier thereby, implying that they have not: he asks whether such want and misery as now exist were ever known before, evidently expecting a negative reply.

If he would read history more thoroughly he would be forced to acknowledge that bad as things are in our day, they were much worse formerly. Disease was more prevalent and more fatal when water-closets, which Tolstoi denounces as "an immoral luxury," were unknown, and the people, living in small communities, made of their villages such heaps of filth that frequent migration was necessary for health and comfort. The spread of commerce through the application of steam as a motive power, has done more to

further the brotherhood of man than missionaries could ever have accomplished: electric light is a greater preventive of crime than all the sermons of all the Churches, and the oppressive burdens of the working classes will be lifted the sooner for the education which enables the laborer to recognise his wrongs and demand his rights.

Again, Tolstoi declares that war is an evil which ought to be abolished, and as nations do not seem disposed to ensure peace, it remains only for individuals to make war impossible by refusing to fight. If it be objected that citizens or subjects who enjoy the protection of a national government ought to be ready to defend that government if attacked, the answer is that the man must not accept any favors from the government and then he will be free to decline serving in time of trouble. The absurdity of these propositions is evident. No person living under a government can avoid being benefited by its protection. If his house catches fire and he refuses to notify the fire department, the firemen will come with their engines in spite of him, to save his property and that of his neighbors. He can neither live nor die unto himself as a member of society, and membership implies duties. At this very moment the world is ringing with Tolstoi's complaints, because of the cruel punishment inflicted upon certain Russian subjects who, in conformity with his precepts, have refused to become soldiers.

Tolstoi's principle that war ought to be abolished is entirely right; but his way of putting an end to it would increase the evil a thousandfold. If the Germans were to refuse to perform military duty, it would not be many hours before the French would cross the Rhine and set all Europe in a flame of war. If there should be a general defection in the Russian army, even that immense empire would not be safe a day from the inroads of covetous neighbors. With the increase of knowledge comes a growing disinclination to settle disputes by violence; already civilised governments counsel arbitration instead of arms; doubtless the time will come when the nations will not learn war any more; but at present the chief safe-guards of international amity are the increasing deadliness of military weapons, and the interdependence of alien peoples in commercial affairs.

Everything that exists is evolved, not made: Tolstoi does not recognise this axiom; hence his endeavor to hasten the accomplishment of a social perfection, the development of which must necessarily be gradual and slow.

AMITÂBHA.

A STORY OF BUDDHIST METAPHYSICS.

BY THE EDITOR.

THE ORDINATION.

SOON after the time of Açoka, the great Buddhist emperor of the third century before Christ, India became the theater of protracted invasions and wars. Vigorous tribes from the North conquered the region of the upper Panjab and founded several states, among which the Kingdom of Gandhâra became most powerful. Despoliations, epidemics, and famines visited the valley of the Ganges, but all these tribulations passed over the religious institutions without doing them any harm. Kings lost their crowns and the wealthy their riches, but the monks chanted their hymns in the selfsame way. Thus the storm breaks down mighty trees, but only bends the yielding reed.

By the virtues, especially the equanimity and thoughtfulness, of the Buddhist priests, the conquerors in their turn were spiritually conquered by the conquered, and they embraced the religion of enlightenment. They recognised the four noble truths taught by the Tathâgata: (1) the prevalence of suffering which is always in evidence in this world; (2) the origin of suffering as rising from the desire of selfishness; (3) the possibility of emancipation from suffering by abandoning all selfish clinging; and (4) the way of salvation from suffering by the noble eightfold path of moral conduct, consisting in right comprehension, right aspiration, right speech, right conduct, right living, right endeavor, right discipline, and the attainment of right bliss.

When the kingdom of Gandhâra had been established, commerce and trade began to thrive more than ever, while the vihâras, or Buddhist monasteries, continued to be the home of religious

exercises, offering an asylum to those who sought retirement from the turmoil of the world for the sake of finding peace of soul.

It was in one of these vihâras in the mountains near Purushapura, the present Peshawur, that Charaka, a descendant of the Northern invaders, had decided to join the brotherhood. He was as yet little acquainted with the spirit and purpose of the institution; but, being very serious and devoutly religious, the youth had decided, for the sake of attaining perfect enlightenment, to give up everything dear to him, his parents, his home, his brilliant prospect of a promising future, and the love that was secretly budding in his heart.

The vihâra which Charaka entered was excavated in the solid rock of an idyllic gorge. A streamlet gurgled by, affording to the hermits abundance of fresh water, and the monks could easily sustain their lives by the gifts of the villagers who lived near by, to which they added the harvest of fruit and vegetables which grew near their cave dwellings. In the midst of their small cells was a large chaitya, a hall or church, in which they assembled for daily services, for sermons, meditations, and other pious exercises.

The chaitya, like the cells, was hewn out of the living rock; a row of massive columns on either side divided the hall into a central nave and two aisles.

The ornaments that covered the faces of the rocky walls, though the product of home talent, being made by the untrained hands of monk artists, did not altogether lack a certain refinement and loftiness. The pictures exhibited scenes from the life of Buddha, his birth, his deeds, his miracles, illustrations of his parables, his sermons, and his final entry into Nirvâna.

A procession of monks, preceded by a leader who swung a censer, filed in through the large portal of the chaitya. Two by two they moved along the aisles and reverentially circumambulated the dagoba, at the end of the nave in the apse of the Hall, just in the place where idol worshippers would erect an altar to their gods. It was in imitation of a tumulus destined to receive some relic of the revered teacher, and the genius of the architect had artfully designed the construction of the cave so that the rays of the sun fell upon the dagoba and surrounded its mysterious presence with a halo of light.

The monks intoned a solemn chant, and its long-drawn cadences filled the hall with a spirit of sanctity, impressing the hearers as though Buddha himself had descended on its notes from his

blissful rest in Nirvāna to instruct, to convert, and to gladden his faithful disciples.

The monks chanted a hymn, of which the novice could catch some of the lines as they were sung ; and these were the words that rung in his ears :

"In the mountain hall we are taking our seats.
In solitude calming the mind ;
Still are our souls and in silence prepared
By degrees the truth to find."

When they had circumambulated the dagoba, they halted in front of it where the novice now discovered an image of the Buddha in the attitude of teaching, and the monks spoke in chorus :

"I am anxious to lead a life of purity to the end of my earthly career when my life will return to the precious trinity of the Buddha, the truth, and the brotherhood."

Then the chanting began again :

"Vast as the sea our heart shall be,
And full of compassion and love.
High shall soar for ever more
Our thought like a mountain dove.
We anxiously yearn from the master to learn,
Who found the path of salvation.
We follow the lead of Him who did read
The problem of origination."

A venerable old monk who performed the duties of abbot now stepped forth and asked the assembled brethren whether any one had a communication to make that deserved the attention of the assemblage, and after the question had been repeated three times Subhūti, one of the older monks, said :

"There is a young man with us who, having left the world, stayed with me some time for the sake of instruction and discipline. He is here and desires to be admitted to the brotherhood."

The abbot replied : "Let him come forward."

It was Charaka ; and when he stepped into the midst of the brethren, the abbot viewed his tall figure with a kindly, searching glance and asked : "What is your name and what your desire?"

Charaka knelt down and said with clasped hands : "My name is Charaka. I entreat the Brotherhood for initiation. May the Brotherhood receive me and raise me up to their height of spiritual perfection. Have compassion on me, reverend sirs, and grant my request."

¹ Cf. "Buddhist Chants and Processions," *Journal of the Buddhist Text Society of India*, Vol. III., Part II.

The abbot then asked the suppliant a series of questions as prescribed in the regulations of the brotherhood: whether he was free from contagious disease, whether he was a human being, a man, and of age, whether his own master and not a slave nor in the king's service; whether unencumbered with debts and whose disciple he was.

When all the questions had been answered satisfactorily, the abbot submitted the case to the brotherhood, saying: "Reverend sirs, the Brotherhood may hear me. This man Charaka, a disciple of the venerable Subhūti, desires to receive the ordination.¹ He is free from all obstacles to ordination. He has an alms-bowl and a yellow robe, and entreats the Brotherhood for ordination, with the reverend brother Subhūti as his teacher. Let those among the venerable brethren who are in favor of granting the ordination be silent. Let those who are opposed to it step forth and speak."

These words were three times repeated, and as there was no dissenting voice, the abbot declared with solemnity: "The Brotherhood indicates by its silence that it grants to Charaka the ordination, with the reverend brother Subhūti as his teacher."

Having completed the ceremony and having recited the rules of the order including the four great prohibitions, viz., that an ordained monk must abstain from carnal indulgence, from theft of any kind, from killing even the meanest creature, and from boasts of miraculous powers, the abbot requested the novice to pronounce the refuge formula, which Charaka repeated three times in a clear and ringing voice. Then the congregation again intoned a chant, and, having circumambulated the dagoba, left the assembly hall, marching in solemn procession along the aisles, each brother thereupon betaking himself to his cell.

THE NOVICE.

Charaka the novice lived with his brethren in peace, and his senior, the venerable Subhūti, was proud of his learned disciple, for he was patient, docile, modest, earnest, and intelligent, and proved all these good qualities by an abnormally rapid progress. He learned the Sūtras perfectly and soon knew them better than his teacher. He had a sonorous voice and it was a pleasure to hear him recite the sacred formulas or chant the verses proclaiming the glorious doctrine of the Blessed One. To all appearances the Brotherhood had made a wise acquisition; but if the venerable

¹In Pāli, Pabbajja.

Subhûti could have looked into the heart of Charaka he would have beheld a different state of things, for the soul of the novice was full of impatience, dissatisfaction, and excitement. Life was so different from what he had expected and his dearest hopes found no fulfilment.

Charaka had learned many beautiful sentiments from the mouth of his teacher ; some of them fascinated him by the melodious intonation of their rhythm, some by the philosophical depth of their meaning, some by their truth and lofty morality. How delighted was he with the lines :

" Earnestness is the path of Immortality,
Thoughtlessness the path of death.
Those who are in earnest do not die,
Those who are thoughtless, are as though they were dead."

How powerfully was he affected by the following stanza :

" Let a man overcome anger by love,
Let him overcome evil by good.
Let him overcome the greedy by liberality,
And the liar by Truth."¹

But sometimes he was startled and had difficulty in understanding the sense. He wanted peace, not tranquilisation ; he wanted Nirvâna, its bliss, and its fulness, not extinction. And yet sometimes it seemed as if the absolute obliteration of his activity were expected of him :

" Only if like a broken gong
Thou utterest no sound :
Then hast thou reached Nirvâna,
And the end of strife hast found."

Yet Charaka said to himself : " It is only the boisterous noise that must be suppressed, not work ; only evil intention, not life itself ; the weeds, not the wheat." For it is said :

" If anything is to be done, let a man do it,
Let him attack it vigorously."

Not life, but error and vice, must be attacked. Not existence is evil, but vanity, anger, and sloth :

" As the fields are damaged by weeds,
So the vain are ruined by conceit.
As a house is consumed by fire,
So the wrathful burn with passion.
As iron is eaten by rust,
So the lazy are destroyed by ignorance."

¹ Dhammapada, 21 and 223.

What ambition was beaming in the eyes of Charaka! The venerable Subhūti thought, there is but one danger for this noble novice: it is this, that the brethren may discover his brightness and spoil him by flattery. Instead of freeing himself from the fetters of the world, he may be entangled in the meshes of a spiritual vanity, which, being more subtle, is more perilous than the lust of the world and of its possessions. Then he recited to Charaka the lines:

"There is no path through the air.
A man is not sanctified by rituals.
The world delights in vanity,
But from vanity the Tathāgatas are free."¹

Charaka knew that there were fools among men considered saints, who claimed to walk through the air. He was not credulous, but when told that to attempt the performance of supernatural deeds was vanity, his ambition revolted against the idea of setting limits to human invention. Man might find paths through the air as well as over the water; and he submitted to the sentiment only because he regarded it as a form of discipline by which he would learn to rise higher. So he suppressed his ambition, thinking that if he only abode his time he would find himself richly rewarded by the acquisition of spiritual powers which would be a blessing forever, an imperishable treasure that could not be lost by the accidents of life and would not share the doom of compounds which in due time must be dissolved again. He was yearning for life, not for death, for a fulness of melody and a wealth of harmony, not for the stillness of the broken gong. He had seen the world and he knew life in all its phases. He disdained loud noise and coarse enjoyments but he had not left his home and wandered into homelessness to find the silence of the tomb. A chill came over him, and he shrank from the ideal of sainthood as though it were the path to mental suicide. "No, no!" he groaned, "I am not made to be a monk. Either I am too sinful for a holy life, or the holiness of the cloister is not the path of salvation."

THE GOD PROBLEM.

Buddhism had gained ascendancy in India without exterminating the more ancient creeds, and there were many devoutly religious people who had only a vague notion of the contrast in which it stood to other forms of faith.

The spiritual atmosphere in which Charaka had grown up con-

¹ Dhammapada, 234.

sisted of a mixture of all the thoughts, influences, and opinions then entertained in India; but while the northern gods that had been worshipped by the ancestors of the invaders in their former homes had faded from the mental vision of the present generation, the ancient deities of India had not gained full recognition. Vishnu, Shiva, and Indra appeared to them as the patrons of conquered races and were therefore deemed of inferior power. Among the better educated Hindu people philosophical ideas were spreading and Brahma was revered as the Supreme Being, the Great, the Omnipotent, the Omnipresent, as the All-Consciousness and All-Perfection, the Creator, the Fashioner, the Ruler of the Universe, and the All-Father of all beings. With this God-idea of an all-embracing personal deity Charaka had become familiar almost from childhood and he was greatly astonished not to hear a word about God, the Lord, or Brahma, in his religious instructions.

Buddha was spoken of as the teacher of gods and men; he was worshipped with a reverence which was peculiar to him; but the belief in the ancient gods was not disturbed. Their existence was neither denied nor affirmed.

So long as he was unacquainted with his new surroundings, Charaka did not dare to ask questions, but when he began to know his kind-hearted elder Subhûti and some others of the monks, he grew more assured, and one day while several brothers were seated at the portico of the assembly hall, he ventured to inquire as to the doctrine concerning God.

Life is taken seriously in a Buddhist monastery and the tone of conversation is always religious and considerate. Nevertheless there were never missing among the brethren men of a lighter temper, who saw the humor of things, who could smile and smiling point out the comical features of life so as to make their fellow brethren smile too, for real laughter was seldom, or never, heard in the precincts of the cloister. We find frequent traces of this humor in the wall paintings as well as the legends of saints, part of which are preserved even to-day. Now when Charaka spoke of God one of the brethren, Kevaddha by name, a healthy looking man of medium size and of a radiant face, drew near and asked, "What god do you mean,—Indra, the thunderer, the soma-intoxicated braggart-hero and ruler of the second heaven, whom the people call Sakra or Vāsava—or do you mean Shiva, the powerful and terrible One, decked with a necklace of skulls, the god full of awe and majesty? Perhaps you mean Vishnu, in any of his avatars, as a fish or a wild boar, or a white horse?"

Charaka shook his head, and Kevaddha continued: "May be you mean Krishna, the avatar of love, he who danced with all the shepherdesses at once, finding an appropriate incarnation in their favorite swains, while each girl imagined that she alone held the god in her arms?"

"My question refers to no one of the gods," replied the novice, "but to God," and the emphasis with which he marked the difference showed that he felt not like joking on a problem which was of grave importance to him.

"Ah, I see!" exclaimed Kevaddha. His lip curled with sarcasm and there was a twinkle of triumph in his eye, for the topic under discussion reminded him of a contest which he had had with a Brahman priest in which his antagonist had been completely worsted by his superior skill in pointing out the weak side of the proposition and holding it up to ridicule. "Ah, I see!" he exclaimed, "you do not mean any one of the several gods, but god in general. You are like the man who sent his servant to market to buy fruit and when the latter returned with bananas, mangoes, grapes, and an assortment of other fruit, he upbraided him, saying: 'I do not want bananas, nor mangoes, nor grapes, nor pears, nor prunes, nor apples, nor pomegranates, I want fruit! Fruit I want—fruit pure and undefiled, not a particular fruit, but fruit in general.'"

Said Charaka: "Are you a wrangler, famous in the art of dialectics and you know not the difference between God and gods? I love God but I hate the gods!"

"Is it possible," cried Kevaddha with a sarcastic chuckle, "you hate the gods and you love God? Can you hate all the single men, monks and laymen, traders, warriors, kings, noblemen, Brahmans, Kshatriyas, and Çudras, and love man in general? How is it that you can hate the gods and love God? Does not the general include the particular?"

"Be so good, reverend sir," answered the novice, who began to chafe under the attacks of the brisk monk, "to understand what I mean. The world in which we live is a world of order, and we know that there are laws to which we must submit. When I speak of God I mean him who made us, the Omnipotent Creator of the Universe, the Father of all Beings, the Standard of all Perfection, the Eternal Law of Life."

"Well, well," replied Kevaddha, who though boisterous was at the bottom of his heart good-natured. "I do not mean to offend. I try to drive a truth home to you in the guise of fun. The

truth is serious, though my mode of expression may be humorous. I understand now that you are devoted to the great All-God, Brahma as the Brahmans call him, the Lord, Creator and Ruler of the Universe. But did you ever consider two things, first that such an All-God conceived as a being that has name and form is the product of our own imagination as much as are all the other deities of the people; and secondly, if Brahma were as real as you are and as I am, he would be of no avail? Every one must find the path of salvation himself, and Brahma's wisdom is not your wisdom. Nor can Brahma who resides in the Brahma heaven teach you anything."

Charaka did not conceal his dissatisfaction with Kevaddha's notion of God and said: "The mere idea that there is a God gives me strength. He may be directly unapproachable or may surround us as the air or as the ether which penetrates our body. He may be different from what we surmise him to be; but he must exist as the cause of all that is good, and wise, and true, and beautiful. How shall I, in my endeavors to seek the truth, succeed if there be no eternal standard of truth?"

"Yes, I know," replied Kevaddha with undisguised condescension; "It will help a youth who pursues an ideal to think of it as a being, as a god, as the great god, as the greatest god of all. Children need toys and the immature need gods. Your case reminds me of a story which was told me when I in my younger years went out not unlike you in search of truth."

"Tell us the story!" exclaimed one of the younger brethren, and Kevaddha said: "If I were sure not to hurt the feelings of our young friend, the novice, I should be glad to tell the story. But seeing that he is a worshipper of Brahma, I had better let the matter drop!"

Charaka answered: "I am not a worshipper of Brahma, unless you understand by Brahma the First Cause of the All, the ultimate reason of existence, the Supreme Being, the Perceiver of all things, the Controller, the Lord, the Maker, the Fashioner, the Chief, the Victor, the Ruler, the Father of all beings who ever have been and are to be! If your story be instructive I am anxious to hear it myself, even though it should criticise my belief."

KEVADDHA'S STORY.

"There was a priest in Benares, a man of Brahmin caste, learned in all the wisdom of the Vedas, not of the common type of

priests but an honest searcher after truth. He longed for peace of heart, and was anxious to reach Nirvâna; yet he could not understand how it was possible in the flesh to attain perfect tranquillity, for life is restless and in none of the four states of aggregation can that calmness be found which is the condition of the blissful state. So, this priest thought by himself: 'Before I can make any progress, I must solve the question, "Where do the four states of aggregation: the solid state, the watery state, the fiery state, and the state of air, utterly cease?"'

"Having prepared his mind, the priest entered into a trance in which the path to the gods became revealed to him, and he drew near to where the four great kings of the gods were. And having drawn near, he addressed the four great kings as follows: 'My friends, where do the four states of aggregation: the solid state, the watery state, the fiery state, and the state of air, utterly cease?' When he had thus spoken, the four great kings answered and said: 'We gods, O priest, do not know where the four states of aggregation utterly cease. However, O priest, there are the gods of the higher heavens, who are more glorious and more excellent than we. They would know where the four states of aggregation utterly cease.'

"When the four great kings had thus spoken, the priest visited the gods of the higher heavens and approached their ruler, Ishvara. He propounded the same question and received the same answer. Ishvara, the Lord, advised the priest to go to Yâma. 'He is powerful and has charge over the souls of the dead. He is apt to be versed in problems that are profound and recondite and abstruse and occult. Go to Yâma; he may know where the four states of aggregation utterly cease.'

"The priest acted upon Ishvara's advice, and went to Yâma, but the result was the same. Yâma sent the priest to the satisfied gods, whose chief ruler is the Great Satisfied One. 'They are the gods who are pleased with whatever is. They are the gods of serenity and contentment. If there is any one who can answer your question, they will be able to tell you where the four states of aggregation utterly cease.'

"The priest went to the heaven of the satisfied gods, but here too he was disappointed. Their ruler, the Great Satisfied One, said: 'I, O priest, do not know where these four states of aggregation, the solid state, the watery state, the fiery state, and the state of air, utterly cease. However, O priest, there are the gods of the retinue of Brahma, who are more glorious and more excellent than

I. They would know where these four states of aggregation utterly cease.'

"Then, this same priest entered again upon a state of trance, in which his thoughts found the way to the Brahma world. There the priest drew near to where the gods of the retinue of Brahma were, and having drawn near, he spake to the gods of the retinue of Brahma as follows: 'My friends, where do these four states of aggregation, the solid state, the watery state, the fiery state, and the state of air, utterly cease?'

"When he had thus spoken, the gods of the retinue of Brahma answering spake as follows: 'We, O priest, cannot answer your question. However, there is Brahma, the great Brahma, the First Cause of the All, the Supreme Being, the All-Perfection, the All-Perceiving One, the Controller, the Lord of All, the Creator, the Fashioner, the Chief, the Victor, the Ruler, the All-Father, he who is more glorious, more excellent, than all celestial beings, he will know where the four states of aggregation, the solid state, the watery state, the fiery state, and the state of air, do utterly cease.'

"Said the priest: 'But where, my friends, is the great Brahma at the present moment?' And the gods answered: 'We do not know, O priest, where the great Brahma is, or in what direction the great Brahma can be found. But inasmuch, O priest, as he is omnipresent, you will see signs and notice a radiance and the appearance of an effulgence, and then Brahma will appear. This is the previous sign of the appearance of Brahma, that a radiance is noticed, or an effulgence appears.'

"The priest, having invoked Brahma's appearance with due reverence and according to the rules of the Vedas, in a short time Brahma appeared. Then the priest drew near to where Brahma was, and having drawn near, he spake to Brahma as follows: 'My friend, where do the four states of aggregation, the solid state, the watery state, the fiery state, and the state of air, utterly cease?'

"When he had thus spoken, the great Brahma opened his mouth and spake as follows: 'I, O priest, am Brahma, the great Brahma, the Supreme Being, the All-Perfection, the All-Perceiving One, the Controller, the Lord of All, the Creator, the Fashioner, the Chief, the Victor, the Ruler, the All-Father.'

"A second time the priest asked his question, and the great Brahma gave him the same answer, saying: 'I, O priest, am Brahma, the great Brahma, the Supreme Being, the All-Perfection;' and he did not cease until he had enumerated all the titles applied to him.

"Having patiently listened to Brahma, the priest repeated his question a third time, and added: 'I am not asking you, my friend, Are you Brahma, the great Brahma, the Supreme Being, the All-Perfection, the All-Perceiver, the All-Father, and whatever titles and accomplishments you may have in addition; but this, my friend, is what I ask you: 'Where do the four states of aggregation, the solid state, the watery state, the fiery state, and the state of air, utterly cease?'

"The great Brahma remained unmoved, and answered a third time, saying: 'I, O priest, am Brahma, the great Brahma, the Supreme Being, the All-Perfection, the All-Perceiver,' enumerating again all the titles applied to him.

"Now the priest rose and said: 'Are you truly a living being, or an automaton, that you can do nothing but repeat a string of words.'

"And now the great Brahma rose from his seat and approached the priest, and leading him aside to a place where he could not be overheard by any of the gods, spake to him as follows: 'The gods of my suite and all the worshippers of the world that honor me with sacrifice and adoration, believe that Brahma sees all things, knows all things, has penetrated all things; therefore, O priest, I answered you as I did in the presence of the gods. But I will tell you, O priest, in confidence, that I do not know where 'the four states of aggregation, the solid state, the watery state, the fiery state, and the state of air, utterly cease. It was a mistake, O priest, that you left the earth where the Blessed One resides, and came up to the heaven in quest of an answer which cannot be given you here. Turn back, O priest, and having drawn near to the Blessed One, the Enlightened Buddha, ask him your question, and as the Blessed One shall explain it to you, so believe.'

"Thereupon, the priest, as quickly as a strong man might stretch out his bent arm, disappeared from the Brahma heaven and appeared before the Blessed One; and he greeted the Blessed One and sat down respectfully at one side, and spake to the Blessed One as follows: 'Reverend Sir, where do the four states of aggregation, the solid state, the watery state, the fiery state, and the state of air, utterly cease?'

"When he had thus spoken the Blessed One answered as follows: 'Once upon a time, O priest, some sea-faring traders had a land-sighting bird when they sailed out into the sea; and when the ship was in mid-ocean they set free that land-sighting bird. This bird flies in an easterly direction, in a southerly direction, in a

westerly direction, and in a northerly direction, and to the intermediate quarters, and if it sees land anywhere it flies thither, but if it does not see land it returns to the ship. In exactly this way, O priest, when you had searched as far as the Buddha world and had found no answer to your question you returned to the place whence you came. The question, O priest, ought never to have been put thus : "Where do these four states of aggregation cease?" The question ought to be as follows :

"Oh ! Where can water, where can wind,
Where fire and earth no footing find ?
Where disappear all mine and thine,
Good, bad, long, short, and coarse and fine,
And where do name and form both cease
To find in nothingness release ?"

The answer, however, is this :

" 'Tis in the realm of radiance bright,
Invisible, eternal light,
And infinite, a state of mind,
There water, earth, and fire, and wind,
And elements of any kind,
Will nevermore a footing find ;
There disappear all mine and thine,
Good, bad, long, short, and coarse, and fine,
There too will name and form both cease,
To find in nothingness release."

"Then the priest understood that the world of matter is restless and remains restless, but peace of heart is a condition of mind which must be acquired by self-discipline, by wisdom, by devotion. The gods cannot help ; nor even can Brahma himself, the Great Brahma, the Supreme Being, the Lord and Creator. Sacrifice is useless and prayer and worship are of no avail. But if we desire to attain the highest state of bliss, which is Nirvâna, we must follow the Blessed One, the Teacher of gods and men ; and like him we must by our own effort, become lamps unto ourselves and resolutely walk upon the noble eightfold path."

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

THE CHRISMA AND THE LABARUM.

BY THE EDITOR.

THE religious societies of the first and second centuries of our era had marks which were somewhere impressed upon the bodies of the devotees, probably on the shoulders, and on festive occasions the mark was borne on the forehead. It is certain that the Christians, too, had their mark, which may at various times have been either a simple cross +, or the ineffable name יהוה, Yahveh, or the ΑΩ, or exceptionally some other symbol.



CHRIST EXORCISING WITH THE
CHRISTOGRAM.¹



CHRISTIAN GEM WITH
CHRISTOGRAM.

In the Revelation of St. John we read of a beast (xiii. 16)² who "caused all, both great and small, rich and poor, free and bond, to receive a mark in their right hand, or in their foreheads."

And in chap. vii. 4 the pious are protected by the seal of the living God. The angel holding the stamp cries to the four angels to whom it is given to hurt the earth and the sea: "Hurt not the earth, neither the sea, nor the trees, till we have sealed the servants of our God in the foreheads."

Judging from the catacombs of Rome, the favorite Christian emblem of the fourth century was the Chrisma, or Christogram,

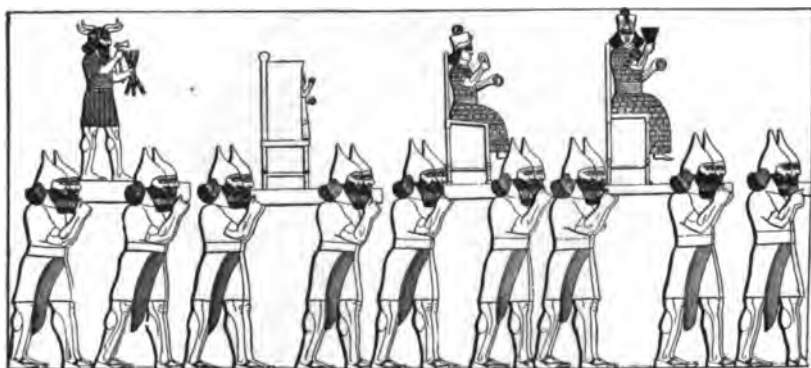
¹ Didron, *fc.*, II., p. 201.

² Again referred to in chap. xx. 4.

which is a cross in the shape of the Greek Ch (χ), surmounted by the Greek letter R, which has the shape of a Roman P, thus χ . This is the most common, but by no means the only, form of the Chrisma. There are other variations, thus $\times$ $\ast$ $\dagger$, among which the upright form $\dagger$ appears to be a reminiscence of the Egyptian key of life $\dagger$, especially as the head of the P frequently resembles an elongated circle.¹

Another form of the Christogram is the six-rayed star $\ast$ which is intended as an abbreviation of I. and X., i. e., Jesus Christus. It occurs for the first time (in its Christian significance) in the year 268, on a dated tombstone in the Catacombs. (Zoeckler, p. 139.)

Before the Christians thought of the star as a monogram of Jesus Christ, it served in pagan times as a symbol of various de-



PROCESSION OF THE GODS.

Bel, the god in the upper left-hand corner holds in his hand the fagot-shaped thunderbolt. (After Layard.)

scriptions. In Rome it was the coat of arms of Cæsar's family the *gens Julia*, in which significance it is called the "*Sidus Julium*." Bar Kochba, the pseudo-messiah, uses the same figure with knobs at the end of each ray on one of his coins. Further the star was the emblem of divinity in the ancient cuneiform writing, and in Egypt it occurs on tomb-slabs of the earliest dynasties.²

The Babylonian god Bel holds a thunderbolt in his hand, which is a six-cornered star, only compressed in the middle (χ), thus giving the impression of a labarum without the loop of the P on top of it.

¹ See for instance the image of Christ whose head is adorned by an Egyptian key of life.

² W. M. Flinders Petrie, *The Royal Tombs of the Earliest Dynasties* in the 21 Egypt Exploration Fund, 1901, Part II., pl. xxviii, fig. 53.

Another instance of a flag which reminds one of the labarum occurs on a bas-relief of the Bharhut stupa. Since the flag-staff covers the middle of the field we cannot tell whether the design consists of eight rays or only six. If the staff covered a vertical line, this flag would be an Indian anticipation of the British Union Jack.

The most ancient Union Jack in existence is (so far as I know) a neolithic ornament of prehistoric cave-dwellers, found in Franconia and now preserved in the Museum of Munich.

The Chrisma bears in some of its forms a remarkable resemblance to various pre-Christian symbols, especially to the ensigns of the Roman legions of Constantine, called the labarum.¹



AN ANCIENT INDIAN ENSIGN WITH FLAG ON A WAR ELEPHANT.²
(Medallion of Bharhut Stupa.)

That the Chrisma is a Christian interpretation of a pagan symbol becomes obvious from the fact that it was from the beginning actually called by this old pagan name, Labarum, a word of Celtic origin with an unknown etymology.

Constantine used the labarum before his conversion to Christianity, and he did not hesitate to combine it with pagan symbols. Among the coins of Constantine there is one exhibiting Mars leaning on a shield bearing the labarum with the legend *Marti Patri Conservatori*.³

¹ Pronounce "la'-būrum," with the accent on the first syllable.

² Alex. Cunningham, *The Stupa of Bharhut*, pl. xxxii, 4.

³ Another coin shows a cross with the legend *Marti Conservatori*. For an enumeration of more instances see S. D. Parson's *The New Christian Cross*, Chapter XI.

The best known coin of Constantine gives the glory not to Christ but to the army. The inscription reads: *Gloria exercitus*.

The legions of Constantine were stationed in Gaul and most of them were sun-worshippers. From the many Mithraic monuments of that age discovered in those parts near the Roman camps



LOCK OF HAIR OF HAR
PA KHRAD (i.e., Hor
the Child)

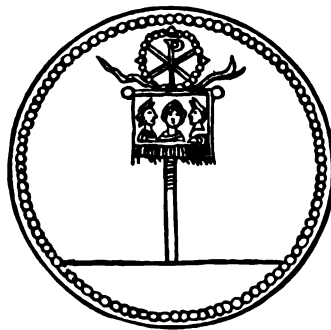


THE EIGHT-RAYED STAR
ON A CHARM OF THE
CAVE-DWELLERS OF
FRANCONIA. (Museum
of Munich.)

we must assume that Mithra worship was one of the most favorite forms of faith among them. We cannot say whether the labarum is originally Celtic or Mithraic. In either way it must have been a solar emblem and originally seems to have been simply the solar disc (☉) mounted upon a lying cross (×).



COIN OF CONSTANTINE.
(From Holland's *Cruciana*.)



THE LABARUM. (After Bosio's
La Trionfante e gloriosa croce.)

According to another supposition, which is less probable, the labarum may have been the Roman letter P in a crossed field, meaning "*Legio Princeps*," and have served as the emblem of the Emperor's life-guards.

We know that the soldiers of those days were quite supersti-

tious and believed in the efficacy of the symbols written on their ensigns. When experience proved that the legion which bore the letter P or the Mithraic emblem of the disc of the sun (☿) on its standard, again and again came out victorious, it was quite in keeping with the spirit of the age to inscribe the same letter on all the standards.



CONSTANTINE WITH LABARUM ON HELMET.

The Christians may not have known of the labarum when they began to use the Christma as a symbol of their faith. They may have adopted it from other quarters and the coincidence may have



COIN OF CONSTANTINE. (After Bosio.)

On the reverse the labarum guarded by two Roman soldiers, with the inscription *Gloria exercitus*, i. e., the glory of the army.¹

been incidental. But this much is sure, that, when Constantine became convinced of the magic power of the sign of his soldiers, he heard with satisfaction of its Christian significance and became

¹ Another coin with the same reverse (published by Gretzer and reproduced by Seymour) shows on the obverse the emperor seated, a Victory in his left hand bearing the inscription *PONTIFEX MAXIMUS POT. COIII*.

well disposed toward the creed that gave an additional meaning to the emblem of his cause.

The shape of the labarum is almost identical with the Egyptian symbol of Horus which is a six-rayed star, from the elongated upper ray of which hangs a curl, called the "lock of hair of Hor." The similarity is striking, and Professor Petrie thinks that in the Christian Era it was changed into the Chrisma.¹



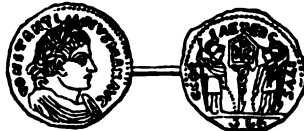
COIN OF CONSTANTINE.

A goddess of victory is crowning the Emperor. (From Walsh, *Ancient Coins, Medals, and Gems*.)

The Labarum is further identical with an Asiatic emblem which was chosen by Bactrian kings and also by the Ptolemies as a stamp for their coins.



MARTYRDOM GEM WITH
CHRISTOGRAM.²



COIN OF CONSTANTINE
WITH LABARUM.



SEAL WITH CHRISTOGRAM.
(British Museum.)

Professor Zoeckler, when speaking of the origin of the Labarum, says :³

"The origin and significance of the ancient Bactrian labarum cross is shrouded in darkness. It is undoubtedly of pre-Christian origin, but although it exhibits a striking similarity to the labarum of Constantine, it is not certain that it served as a prototype for the cross-decorated ensign of the first Christian emperor. There is no difference between the form of this sign as it appears on the coins of the Bactrian king Hippostratos (about 130 B. C.), and that which appears on the coins of Constantine the Great, except that in the latter the handle of the "P"

¹ See Professor Petrie's contribution to *Universal Religion*, p. 379.

² Smith and Cheetham.

³ *Das Kreuz Christi*, pp. 21-22 and pp. 132-134.

does not pass beyond the square, but remains within the oblique cross ☩, thus:



"A figure similar to this stamp of the Bactrian coins appears on the coins of the Egyptian Ptolemies and also on Attic Tetradrachms of a more recent date, thus



"The stamp of silver coins of Mithridates, of Pontus, is similar, thus: ✱¹

"This and other modifications of the pre-Christian labarum ✱, exhibiting the very same form, with the handle or the opening of the "P" passing above the square, are reproduced on the Roman coins of Constantine and his successors, down to Arcadius, for which reason some archaeologists feel justified in accepting the identity of the labarum of the Hellenic Diadochi with those of the Christianised Roman emperor."²

Professor Zoeckler deems "a direct imitation of the pre-Christian sign ✱ by the Christian emperor probable"; or, to say the least, "there is an obvious survival of former signs," which exerts a noticeable influence on the contemporaries of Constantine.



COIN OF PTOLEMY OF EGYPT. (From Gretser.)

Between the feet of the eagle a symbol appears which resembles the Christogram and the Labarum.

In another passage of the same book Professor Zoeckler says:

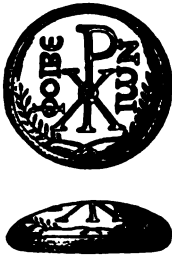
"It is difficult to say whether Constantine thought of the abbreviations of this form ✱ in its various modifications on Egyptian or on Bactrian or on Pontic coins of Asia Minor, or (a case which is less probable) on the Attic Tetradrachm, because it reminded him of the monogram of the Christian X, and the six-cornered star ✱, or the labarum ✱; but at any rate, a comparison of these and similar cruciform figures, as was the case with the swastikas which were used by Christians, and also of the handled-cross of the Egyptians, must have led him to the adoption of this monogram. Among all the signs of that kind known to him, when he passed them before his mind in review, not one certainly can have been a more pregnant embodiment of the Christian religion than the figure combining the initials of the name of Christ in a simple way with the sign of the cross. This thoughtful monogram of both Christ and the cross, this symbol with which he probably became acquainted through his conversations with Christians, naturally appealed to his

¹ Stockbauer, p. 87. Münter, Lenormant, and others.

² Zoeckler, *Das Kreuz Christi*, pp. 21-23.

love of mysticism, in its ambiguous significance and with its similarity to the mystic signs of the Orient; and, from the moment in which God luminously exhibited this figure in that famous vision to his mind's eye, as His holy emblem, it became to him the expression of his adhesion to the new religion."—*Ibid.*, 152-154.

Professor Zoeckler contradicts himself when he first recognises the pagan character, name, and origin of the labarum and then assumes that Constantine intended it as a Christian symbol. It is historically certain that Constantine believed in the magic power of the symbol. He was a pagan when he had the famous vision or dream and he remained a pagan long afterwards. He became acquainted with the symbol as the labarum, not as the Christogram, and he had it displayed on the standards and helmets of his soldiers and on Roman coins, together with pagan inscriptions. He became a convert to Christianity much later in life and was baptised only shortly before his death, so as to preserve as long as



CHRISTOGRAM GEM. With
name of owner. (King.)



COIN OF FLAVIUS VALERIUS CONSTANTINUS.¹

possible the convenient liberty of sinning of which he did not hesitate to make ample use. He never was a true Christian in the sense in which the word is now used. He only believed superstitiously in the efficacy of Christian ceremonies and sacraments.

Constantine accepted the labarum for his standard, first as a sign of heavenly sanction without any reference to its Christian significance, but merely because he believed it to be a potent charm, and had it emblazoned on the shields and helmets of his soldiers.

Lactantius, a contemporary of Emperor Constantine and a Christian, writes:²

"Constantine was directed in a dream to cause the heavenly sign to be delineated on the shields of his soldiers and so to proceed to battle. He did as he had been commanded, and he marked on their shields the letter X with a perpendicular

¹ The Emperor stands on the prow of a ship with a phoenix perched on a globe in his right hand and a standard exhibiting the labarum in his left hand. Walsh, No. 21.

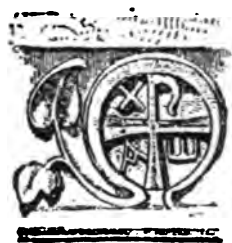
² *Anti-Nicene Christian Library*, xxii., ii., p. 203.

line drawn through it and turned round at the top, thus φ , being the cypher of Christ."

The comment, "being the cypher of Christ," is an addition of Lactantius, and not an allusion to Constantine's opinion.

Eusebius the Church historian has written a *Life of Constantine* in which the miraculous vision plays a significant part. If we had not positive historical evidence that Constantine remained a pagan, using pagan symbols and following pagan practices long after the battle of the Milvian bridge, we might believe that Constantine was converted to Christianity on the eve of the battle. According to his description, the heavenly sign was the trophy of the cross (*σταυροῦ τρόπαιον*), but he describes it as the labarum. Eusebius says:

"When the sun had a little passed mid-day, Constantine said he saw with his own eyes the sign of the cross (*σταυροῦ τρόπαιον*) displayed in splendid light, out-



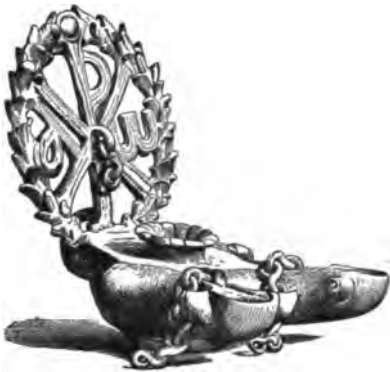
THE CHRISTOGRAM ON SYRIAN HOUSE-FRONTS.

shining the sun in the heavens, and upon it an inscription plainly written, *conq̄ vixit*, 'By this conquer.' Great astonishment seized him, and his whole army which accompanied him, and was a spectator of this prodigy. He asserted that he was yet in doubt why this display was made to him, and he thought much of it till night. Then, in his sleep, the Christ of God appeared to him with the sign shown him in the heaven, and commanded him to use a standard of the pattern seen in heaven, for protection in joining battle with the enemy.

"Rising early the next morning, he told the vision to his friends. He called for workmen in gold and precious stones, and ordered them to make an image like it, which image I have seen with my eyes. For the emperor condescended, God graciously granting this, himself to show it me. It was of this form:—A spear, rather long and erect, was covered all over with gold, having a transverse yard in the form of a cross. On the top (of the spear) was a crown of precious stones, woven round with fine gold. Upon this were the salutary marks of the name of the Saviour, expressed by only two letters—the first two letters of the Greek name, Christ, P (*rho*, *R*), in the middle of the figure, and X (*chi*) curiously inserted,—

which plainly signifies the whole name Christ, . . . which letters the emperor always afterward wore in his helmet."¹

Eusebius, even in his days of credulity, deems the story sufficiently improbable to render it necessary that the emperor should make his statement on oath, which may have been given honestly, not as Eusebius tells the story, but as the emperor told it, allowing Eusebius to interpret the facts in his own way. As he sees *plainly* the name of Christ and the cross of Christ in the labarum, so the deity that appears to Constantine in a dream is unhesitatingly called Christ by Eusebius. The whole story of the supernatural phenomena by which Constantine's cause gained the victory is told in a pagan way by Nazarius, a pagan author.²



LAMP WITH CHRISTOGRAM AND α FROM THE CATACOMBS. (After Lübke.)



THE CHRISTOGRAM AS A SANCTIFICATION OF MATRIMONY. Gilt glass. (Kraus, I., p. 166.)

Edward Gibbon in his famous *History of Christianity* condenses the pagan account of the miracle as follows :

"Nine years after the Roman victory, Nazarius describes an army of divine warriors, who seemed to fall from the sky: he marks their beauty, their spirit, their gigantic forms, the stream of light which beamed from their celestial armor, their patience in suffering themselves to be heard as well as seen by mortals; and their declaration that they were sent, that they flew, to the assistance of the great Constantine. For the truth of this prodigy, the pagan orator appeals to the whole Gallic nation, in whose presence he was then speaking; and seems to hope that the ancient apparitions³ would now obtain credit from this recent and public event."

¹ *Bar. Ann.*, A.D. 312, sec. 19; and *Eus., Life of Constantine*, b. i., sec. 28 to 31.

² *Nazarius, Inter Panegyri. Vet.*, X., 14, 15.

³ The apparitions of Castor and Pollux, particularly to announce the Macedonian victory, are attested by historians and public monuments. See *Cicero de Natura Deorum*, ii. 2, iii. 5, 6. *Florus*, ii. 12. *Valerius Maximus*, i. i. c. 8. No. 1. Yet the most recent of these miracles is omitted, and indirectly denied, by Livy (xlv. i).

Although the labarum is not a cross, we notice how anxious Eusebius is to speak of it as a cross, and the artists of the Roman Church add concreteness to the vivid imagination of Eusebius, by replacing the labarum by a cross.¹

When paganism broke down before victorious Christianity, the old religious symbols were not discarded but changed their meaning. The symbols that lent themselves readily to Christian interpretation survived the general bankruptcy of paganism, while the others disappeared from sight and were forgotten. The cross became the chief symbol of Christianity, but it retained frequently the pagan form of an equilateral cross, and the cruciform flower of Gothic architecture has no resemblance to a real cross of any shape. In the same way the labarum, originally a pagan symbol, was Christianised as the Christogram and became a favorite Christian emblem.

* * *

A few words may be added regarding other cruciform symbols:

The emblem of Venus is a cross bearing a disc $\odot$, which, owing to an after-thought of the Greek mythologists, is now commonly regarded as the looking-glass of the goddess; but how the handle of a looking-glass can have the shape of a cross remains unexplained. It is probable, however, that we are here confronted with an emblem that, in its original significance, is kin to the prototype of the labarum. The cross signifies the world, and the disc is the sun, representing the light and life-giving divinity that hovers above and governs its destinies.

The inversion of the symbol of Venus ($\otimes$), denoting the earth, is a later invention and as such does not date back to pre-Christian times. It signifies the earth surmounted by the cross of Christ.

While the astronomical symbol of the earth is of relatively recent date, it is not without traces of pagan origin, for its form contains an allusion to the globe as an emblem of royal power, which since the days of Theodosius who ascended the throne in 379 A. D. has been mounted with a cross.

The globe as a religious symbol was originally an apple. It is the apple which Venus holds in her hand as the emblem of the fruit of life. The apples of the Hesperides, which possess the same significance as the apples of the Northern goddess Iduna, afford immortality.

¹ For details see Gibbon's *History of Christianity*, Peter Eckler's edition, p. 311.

In Germany the emblem of royalty, the golden globe surmounted by a cross, is still called the apple of empire or *Reichs-appel*.

The Bible does not give us any information as to what kind of fruit tempted Eve ; but the apple being the symbol of regeneration, St. Augustine, probably following the common acceptation of his time, identified the fruit of the tree of life with the apple.

The staff of Hermes showing two serpents intertwined was originally also a Sabaistic symbol which occurs frequently on the oldest monuments of mankind, especially in Assyria. It is a combination of sun and moon, the crescent being placed above the solar disc, thus ☿. The staff of Hermes gradually disappeared, because there was no way of giving it a Christian interpretation.

MISCELLANEOUS.

BISHOP FALLOWS'S TRIBUTE TO DR. BARROWS.

The following tribute was paid to the memory of the late Dr. Barrows by Bishop Fallows of Chicago, in a sermon at St. Paul's Church :

"The loss of this distinguished servant of Christ is to me a personal loss. We were brought into intimate relationship with each other mainly through the world's congresses and the Society of Christian Endeavor. The originator of these historic congresses was C. C. Bonney. He called together seven persons as the first committee to assist him in their organisation and development.

"Among this number were Dr. Barrows and myself. We were asked to select the congresses with which we desired to be particularly identified, as chairmen or presidents. Dr. Barrows chose religion and myself education. The whole world knows how ably Dr. Barrows, under the general direction of President Bonney, managed that wonderful gathering of the representatives of the varied faiths of mankind. And, although in some quarters grave doubts have been expressed as to the good effects upon Christianity of this commingling of the exponents of the numerous creeds whose salient features were presented, I firmly believe it has been to the advantage of Christian truth.

"Dr. Barrows was an earnest student in many directions. He laid under contribution the realms of history, sociology, science, and theology. He was a master of language, using words in a most felicitous manner in his fervid and ornate productions."

HOKUSAI. JAPANESE ARTIST.

Books on Japanese art have become fashionable of late, and we can only hail with pleasure the endeavor to reach out to other nations for the purpose of understanding and appreciating their way of looking at things and representing them in art. The taste of Eastern Asia is so different from ours that to connoisseurs not familiar with their style of painting, Japanese and Chinese pictures are apt to appear childish or unskilled. There is an almost utter neglect of perspective, and yet their paintings possess a charm which is difficult to imitate in our own more rigorously correct style.

Mr. C. J. Holmes's book on *Hokusai*¹ will prove a considerable help in making us more familiar with Japanese taste; and yet we ought to be on our guard not

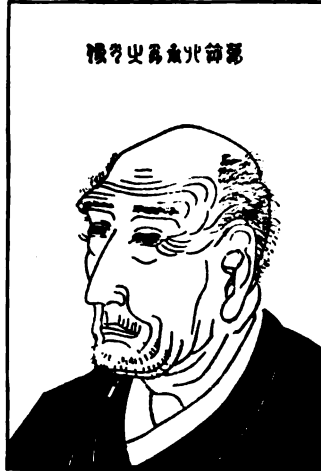
¹*Hokusai*. By C. J. Holmes. New York: Longmans, Green & Co. London: At the Sign of the Unicorn. Pages, viii, 48. With 80 Plates. Price, \$1.00 net.

to take Hokusai as a representative of the whole of the artistic ideals of his country. Hokusai typifies the poorer classes of Japan, not the aristocracy, and he remained unknown until at his advanced age he had become famous in spite of his poverty and peculiar habits of life, which excluded him from the wealthier and more fashionable classes of society. He is interesting not only as a Japanese artist, but as a character of his own. No doubt he is an artist by God's grace. There are features of his mode of life for which precedents may be found in the history of the Western nation for he is a genius of a well defined type. Yet he stands forth both as a man and an artist, and considering all in all, his fate and work and ideals are peculiarly his own.

His family name is Katsu-shika, his given name being Tokimasa, while Hokusai is one of his most common artist pseudonyms, by which he has become generally known. Hokusai means "north house," and may have been assumed by him either from one of his favorite residences, or perhaps because he was born in a cottage bearing that name; Germans might translate it by *Nordhof*. His other artist signatures indicate either a poetical disposition or philosophical inclinations, for instance: Shunro, "the son of spring"; or Taito, "carrying the dipper" (viz., the constellation also called Ursa Major or the waggon); or Hokkey, "valley of the north"; or Hokuba, "horse of the north." Of a religio-philosophical nature are other of his signatures, such as Manrojin, which may be translated, "the religious old man," viz., "the old man of the swastika" (卐); or, Yitsu, "living out oneness"; or Sori, "he who takes reason for his foundation."

The pictures of Hokusai which Mr. Holmes reproduces are well chosen, but they might be more numerous, and further we miss his portrait, a want which we herewith supply. It is a simple outline picture, the original of which is in colors, drawn by his daughter and reproduced from a French biography of the artist.

P. C.



HOKUSAI.

PROFESSOR CHARLES WILLIAM PEARSON.

We have received from different parties communications concerning Professor Pearson's attitude, and we regret being unable on account of lack of space to publish them.

It is a matter of course that Professor Pearson's attitude is open to criticism from every position except his own. In our own opinion, he does not see the solution of the problem which is the cause of his theological difficulties. But his case is significant and created a sensation because it is a symptom of the times, and as such it is instructive, interesting, and noteworthy. It is for this reason that we published the essay which forced him to resign his position as professor of English literature at the Northwestern University.

As to the personality of Professor Pearson, we ought to bear in mind that in

his intention he was very far from causing a sensation by his heresies. he simply followed his conscience.

The editor of *The Open Court* has met Professor Pearson only once, and that many years ago when he was still in the odor of orthodoxy. He knows him to be the author of a thrilling epic in enthusiastic glorification of the Methodist faith, and has not seen him since he came before the public owing to the waning of his belief. It is quite sure, however, that in spite of his heretical attitude, Professor Pearson remains as religious and as devout as he ever was; and it gives us pleasure to notice in a little periodical entitled *Good Will*, published by the Church of Good Will of Streator, a paragraph concerning the personality of Professor Pearson which seems to be a faithful description of the impression he naturally gives. It is as follows: "During the [Unitarian] conference, it was our pleasure to meet the gentle and modest man whose utterances provoked so furious a storm in the Methodist world lately. Never was so boisterous a tempest from so mild a source, we thought. Mr. Pearson is a simple, quiet, unobtrusive man; retiring in manners, unaffected in demeanor, and with a Quaker-like simplicity of speech; not in the least spectacular, assertive, or combative; the last man one would pick out to do a sensational act or court newspaper notoriety. But he is direct, sincere, a lover of truth, and when the time came to speak plainly he could not deny himself the luxury of self-expression—and so became a victim of the wrath of men, perhaps equally honest, but not equally well informed, broad-minded, or sweet-spirited as himself. He has an idea that if a message of love and sacrifice were preached by a man who exemplified these virtues in his life, men would be drawn to it as they were in the time of Jesus. He talked about it sincerely and earnestly, but we shook our head. Egoism is too strong in the Western heart."

THE STORM.

BY CHARLES CARROLL BONNEY.

There was an awful majesty, in that wild fearful storm,
And a dim and floating shroud was wrapped around old Tempest's form;
The thunder spoke a language dread, and mystical, and grand,
Which shook the sky-crown'd mountain shrines, that circle prairie land.
And lightning torches lit the sky, with fierce and blinding glare,
Revealing shapes of dreadful form, in cloud-gloom, and the air;
The wind-king's hosts were on the hills, and aged moss-grown trees
Were broken as a boy would break a reed across his knees;
A pall of blackness hid the stars in chill and ghostly gloom,
While rain-drops fell upon the earth, like tears upon a tomb;
And all that long and cheerless night the tempest's wail and roar,
Were a horrid dirge-like anthem to the dwellers on that shore.
And when gleam and boom were wildest, in the battle of the storm,
And gloomy clouds were wreathing into every ghostly form,
Then I thought of human empire, and the struggles of the brave—
For the sacred right to freedom, which have ended in the grave.
And when the thick gloom parted, and starlight floated down,
And moonbeams silvered broken clouds,—a smile upon a frown,
Then I thought of Freedom's triumph, in the coming of that day,
When the human race shall all be free from despotism's sway.

MR. BONNEY ON UNIFORMITY IN JUDICIAL PRACTICE.

The Hon. Charles Carroll Bonney contributes to the present number of the *American Law Review* (Vol. XXXVI., No. 3, pp. 401 et seq.) an article on "A Uniform Judicial Practice" from which, on account of its far-reaching importance, we extract the following sentences: Mr. Bonney says that "one of the most serious obstacles to a satisfactory administration of justice throughout the United States, has always been the multiform modes of proceeding which prevail in the various courts. . . . But while the national government enormously increases the difficulties of the administration of justice in actions at law, by providing that all proceedings in the Federal courts in such actions shall conform to the like proceedings in the State courts, the practice and pleadings in cases in equity in the Federal courts have been left to the control of the Supreme Court of the United States through a set of rules prescribing the procedure in each case."

Now, Mr. Bonney proposes "to substitute the admirable system of pleading and practice which prevails in the national courts in equity for the vexatious and costly procedure of the common law courts, in actions at law. The ease with which the change could be effected should encourage a speedy attempt to realise it. It is only necessary, in the first instance, for Congress to enact a short statute providing that, from and after the date of its passage and approval, all civil suits, actions and proceedings, including all actions at common law, may, and after the expiration of one year from said date, shall be conducted according to the forms of pleading and practice in equity in the courts of the United States, as such rules now exist or may hereafter be established or modified by the Supreme Court of the nation. For a year the proposed change of procedure would be optional, and after that compulsory, in the Federal courts, and would depend solely upon its merits for adoption in the several States."

In his concluding remarks, Mr. Bonney says: "If it shall ever come to pass that a uniform judicial practice shall prevail throughout the Union, in the State as well as the Federal Courts, it will be a matter of surprise that it required so long to effect a reform productive of immense benefits to all concerned, and free from any disadvantages worthy to be named."

LITERARY ACTIVITY IN CEYLON.

We are in receipt of three works of mediæval Buddhist literature, edited in Ceylon. The first is the *Anuruddha-çataka*, by Anuruddha Mahā Thero, of Anurādhapura, the ancient capital of Ceylon, who lived in the twelfth Christian century. The book is edited by the Thero Sīlakkhandho of Ceylon, and published by the Buddhist Text Society at Calcutta in 1899.

The second work is the famous *Jinālamkāra*, a twelfth-century poem on Buddha, written by Buddhārakkhito, Chief Elder (i. e., Mahā Thero) of Ceylon. It is now translated from Pāli into Singhalese by W. Dīpankaro and B. Dhammapālo, pupils of the Elder Sīlakkhandho just mentioned. This publication appeared at Galle, 1900.

The third work is the *Vidagdha Mukha Maṇḍana*, a Sanskrit poem of about the seventh century, by Ṣṛī Dharmadāso of Kanauj, the once famous literary city in the valley of the Ganges. It was written during the Buddhist period of India, when the Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chwang visited the land. It is now translated into

Singhalese by the Elder Sīlakhandho, and published at Colombo, 1902. It is interesting to the student of all things Hindū on account of some passages in it being in certain dialects which are mentioned in Buddhist literature and are akin to Pāli.

The publication of these books speaks well for the zeal and earnestness of these learned monks, the more so as we do not doubt that the enterprise involves a pecuniary sacrifice.

ALBERT J. EDMUNDS.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTES.

THE UDĀNA, OR THE SOLEMN UTTERANCES OF THE BUDDHA. Translated from the Pāli by *Major-General D. M. Strong, C. B.* London: Luzac & Co. 1902. Pages, viii, 128. Price, 6 shillings net.

The *Uddāna*, or collection of utterances of Buddha, can now be had in English form. The work forms a part of the Khuddaka-Nikāya in the Pāli Tipitaka, and consists of a number of short rhythmic utterances "breathed forth" by Buddha when his heart was full of religious or moral reflections. The book also tells us when, where, and how Buddha came to utter those solemn stanzas. Like the *Dhammapada*, it is a very short text. The translator, General D. M. Strong, gives in the Introduction a summary statement of Buddhist doctrines to help uninitiated readers to understand the text.

The following is a specimen of the "solemn utterances" of Buddha so vigorously translated by General Strong:

"To the giver merit is increased.
When the senses are controlled, anger arises not.
The Wise forsake evil.
By the destruction of desire, sin, and infatuation
A man attains to Nirvāna."

T. S.

THE FAITH OF 'AN AGNOSTIC; Or First Essays in Rationalism. By *George Forester*. London: Watts & Co. 1902. Pages, 278. Price, 5 shillings.

Taking as his motto the dedication prefixed by Daudet to his celebrated romance: "To my sons when they are twenty years old," Mr. Forester would fain dedicate these first essays on rationalism to his children "when they are old enough to think,—nay, to all children who are old enough to think." He thus extends his gift to children in thought as well as to children in years,—to those grown children of whom there are so many in the world."

After some thirty years of thought and half a century of life, the author finds he has "little faith left save that faith which 'lives in honest doubt.'" The guidance of his reason has brought him inexorably to the agnostic position, which position is not, he maintains, a merely negative position, but which is merely the ardent and profound conviction that thought and reason must be free, that inquiry must be fearless, and that all false teaching must be prejudicial to the best interests of mankind, which condemns all compromising with the truth.

Our readers are already well acquainted, from the numerous discussions which have been carried on in our columns, with the main tenets of the agnostic position, and we have only to say that these tenets have found in Mr. Forester an able and enthusiastic expounder. His is a book that can hardly be read by "children in years," to say the best of it, as it requires a knowledge of general literature and critical and scientific inquiry which can hardly be expected of one that has not

reached some maturity. We are also constrained to remark that much of the literature which Mr. Forester recommends, although of the orthodox agnostic order, and while in a few instances classical, might upon the whole have been supplemented with a list of more modern works and of works drawing their information from first, and not second-hand, sources.

GRUNDRISS EINER GESCHICHTE DER NATURWISSENSCHAFTEN, ZUGLEICH EINE EINFÜHRUNG IN DAS STUDIUM DER GRUNDLEGENDEN NATURWISSENSCHAFTLICHEN LITERATUR. Von Dr. Friedrich Dannemann. I. Band. Erläuterte Abschnitte aus den Werken hervorragender Naturforscher aller Völker und Zeiten. Zweite Auflage. Mit 57 Abbildungen, zum grössten Teil in Wiedergabe nach den Originalwerken, und einer Spektraltafel. Leipzig: Verlag von Wilhelm Engelmann. 1902. Pages, xiv, 422. Price, bound, 9 marks.

We are glad to announce the appearance of a second edition of Volume I. of Dr. Friedrich Dannemann's *History of the Natural and Physical Sciences*, of which we gave a full notice on its first appearance in the October 1896 number of *The Monist*. The work is written in German, and the present first volume contains model reading extracts from the famous inquirers of all ages, from Aristotle to Pasteur and Hertz. Here we may read in the simple and fresh language of men like Archimedes, Copernicus, Galileo, Kepler, Pascal, Newton, Kant, Cuvier, Darwin, and Helmholtz, the story of how the great edifice of science was erected stone by stone. The book is one that cannot be too warmly recommended to teachers of science, and will be especially valuable to English readers, not only on account of the rich material in it from German sources, but also for its German translations of the other foreign literature. The editor has added ten new chapters to the edition.

μ.

Kaccchayana's famous *Pāli Grammar* is now given to the public for the first time with an English translation. There are several Pāli grammars written by other eminent Indian pandits, but that of Kaccchayana has firmly maintained its merit as the standard work on the subject. The present editor and translator, Professor Satis Chandra Vidyabhusana, of Calcutta, is an able scholar and has done much to recover old Sanskrit texts of Buddhism. The Pāli portion of the present work is printed in Devānāgarī characters and is supplied with copious notes. The English part reads easily and greatly assists the reader to a clear understanding of the original. The editor has added some lengthy introductory remarks on the history of Pāli and Sanskrit grammar. A comparative list of the Burmese, Siamese, and Singhalese alphabets, along with their English and Sanskrit equivalents, which is prefixed to this book, adds to its utility. Mr. Dharmapāla in his preface to the book appropriately states the necessity of studying the Pāli grammar in connection with the perusal of Buddhist literature. (Published by the Maha-Bodhi Society, Calcutta, India. 1901. Pages, xliii, 383. Price, Rs. 3.)

Records of the Past is a periodical published by the Records of the Past Exploration Society, at 215 Third St., S. E., Washington, D. C. The Rev. Henry Mason Baum, D. C. L., is the editor and Mr. Frederick Bennett Wright is the assistant editor and treasurer. The magazine is devoted to archæology in the best sense of the term, making a specialty of Hebrew, Assyriological, Egyptological, and kindred antiquities, but including in its scope also the folklore of our Indians and other primitive peoples. The current number contains an interesting article

on "The Ming Tombs," by Frederick Bennett Wright, another on "Excavations at Tell El-Hesi, the Site of the Ancient Lachish," also the correspondence between Abdi-Hiba, an ancient Egyptian vassal prince of Jerusalem, and the king of Egypt, which is an interesting letter throwing much light on the conditions in the Orient at the time before the founding of the Israelitic nation. Further, the number contains an explanation of "Ancient Relics of the Aborigines of the Hawaiian Islands," by Dr. Lorenzo Gordon Yates. The last article is a review of Cushing's "Zuni Folk Tales," by Dr. F. W. Hodge, with a very good portrait of the late Mr. Cushing. The price of the periodical is \$2.00 per year, or \$5.00 in advance for three years' subscription. Any one interested in Biblical archaeology and folklore will find much valuable information in this new periodical.

Prof. Léo Errera, of the University of Brussels, has been publishing in the *Revue de l'Université de Bruxelles* a series of essays on *Philosophical Botany*. His conclusions regarding spontaneous generation are interesting. He believes that spontaneous generation is an inevitable postulate of biological science. Whatever failures there may have been in the past, the future is full of hope. "From the point of view of chemical synthesis," he says, "the question of spontaneous generation is not yet ripe; from the dynamical point of view we have probably not yet entered the region of labile equilibrium, but are still in the domain of metastability, where there is no prospect of attaining results. Nevertheless, if spontaneous generation has not yet been realised in our laboratories, there is nothing to prove that it will not be realised in the future." Brussels: H. Lamertin. 1900. Pages, 25.)

Dr. Isabel Maddison has compiled for the benefit of the Graduate Club at Bryn Mawr College a very useful *Handbook of British, Continental, and Canadian Universities*. This book defines the position of the different foreign universities in regard to the admission of women to their courses, and gives the particulars as to lectures, degrees, entrance requirements, etc., of these institutions. While the little volume is primarily intended for women, it will be just as valuable for men. The terms of admission of foreign students generally, the division of the year into terms, or semesters, the fees, the subjects of lectures, the degrees conferred, the names of the professors and officials, are the data given. (Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Penn. Price, post-paid, \$1.00.)

The subject of "The Psychology of Conjuring Deceptions" has been treated by Norman Triplett and printed by the *American Journal of Psychology* of Worcester, Mass. This same topic was interestingly treated some years ago in *The Open Court* (Vol. VII.), by Professor Dessoir, now of the University of Berlin. While Mr. Triplett's essay is necessarily of a somewhat technical character, his subject-matter is nevertheless so intrinsically interesting as to render his pamphlet easy reading for all. (Reprinted from the *American Journal of Psychology*, Vol. XI., July, 1900. Pages, 72.)

M. Alfred Jaulmes has written a brief and very readable sketch of the history of Satanism, sorcery, and superstition of the Middle Ages. The young and pious author has consulted the best modern authorities on general and mediæval history and sketched from the impressions which he has drawn from these works a picture of the demoniacal conditions which obtained in the Middle Ages. (Montauban: Imprimerie Typo-Lithographique J. Granié. 1900. Pages, 110.)

The University of Chicago Press has recently published a new text-book for the study of the French language, entitled *Cours Complète de Langue Française*. The author of the volume is Prof. Maxime Ingres of the Department of Romance Languages and Literatures in the University of Chicago. Professor Ingres is an advocate of the theory that one must read and talk French in order to learn the language, and his book, therefore, is written entirely in French. His selections of exercises and readings are marked by much wisdom and taste, and the directions for study are practical to a degree. In his introductory remarks Professor Ingres pleads warmly for the study of the modern languages in preference to the ancient. As an instructor the author has won a wide reputation and he is meeting with eminent success not only in connection with his work in the University, but in connection with the Chicago branch of the Alliance Française as well. The book contains 314 pages and is designed for the use of individual students as well as a text-book for classes and academies, colleges and universities, and in private clubs. (Cloth, net, \$1.50 ; postpaid, \$1.62.)

A. C. McClurg & Co., of Chicago, have recently issued two attractive little volumes which will be of assistance to serious readers. The first consists of a series of selections made by Walter Lee Brown from the *Meditations of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus*, the noblest and wisest of emperors and one of the noblest and wisest of men. The wealth of ethical and philosophical thought in the *Meditations of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus* is little known to the public at large, and this little book, which may easily be carried in the pocket, will form for many a welcome vade-mecum. The other book mentioned consists of a selection of passages from the writings of ten famous authors, on the choice and use of books. These authors are: Helps, Carlyle, D'Israeli, Emerson, Schopenhauer, Ruskin, Hare, Morley, Lowell, and Harrison. Their counsel is well known, and it is good that it has now been made accessible in collective form. If the reading public would adopt the advice here given, our average culture would be of an entirely different type from what it now is.

As the head of Hull House Miss Jane Addams has, for a number of years, been well known to all persons who are interested in the work of institutions and societies for the bettering of social conditions in crowded foreign districts in our great cities. In her recent book on *Democracy and Social Ethics*, Miss Addams divides her work into six chapters, which are studies of various types and groups who are being impelled by the newer conception of democracy to an acceptance of social obligations involving in each instance a new line of conduct. No attempt is made to reach a conclusion nor to offer advice beyond the assumption that the cure for the ills of democracy is more democracy, but the quite unlooked-for result of the studies would seem to indicate that while the strain and perplexity of the studies is felt most keenly by the educated and self-conscious members of the community, the tentative and actual attempts at adjustment are largely coming through those who are simpler and less analytical. (New York: The Macmillan Co. 1902. Pages, 281. Price, \$1.25.)

Dorothy Vernon of Haddon Hall is the title of the last historical romance of Charles Major, the author of *When Knighthood was in Flower*. The illustrations are by Howard Chandler Christy and are of his usual excellence. (New York: The Macmillan Company.)

The latest issue of the series of French philosophical biographies entitled *Les grands philosophes* published by Félix Alcan of Paris, is a *Life of Benedict Spinoza*, by Paul-Louis Couchoud. The author has sought to treat his subject after the manner of Taine; he claims that there is no exclusive action of one philosopher upon another but that the philosophical environment is more largely determinative of his doctrines. He thus examines minutely the Rabbinical and Italianising environment of Amsterdam, the theological and Cartesian environment of Leyden, and the stoic and republican environment of the Hague, in all of which Spinoza lived and had his being. The author then takes up Spinoza's works in their chronological order; he studies the theory of substance in its formation and development, the influence of Descartes, the religious doctrines and political opinions of Spinoza, and finally gives a complete analysis of the *Ethics*. (Pages, xii, 305. Price, 5 francs.)

A treatise on *The Philosophy of Fichte* and his relations with contemporary knowledge reaches us from the pen of M. Xavier Léon, the talented editor of the *Revue de Métaphysique*. Since M. Léon's interests are broad and are intimately connected with the scientific spirit of the day, we may expect an adequate and conscientious treatment of Fichte's philosophy from his hand. Fichte played an important rôle not only in the philosophy but also in the political history of Germany, and interest in him is not entirely confined to metaphysics. While M. Léon's analysis of Fichte's metaphysical system is thoroughgoing, he has not omitted to emphasise the important secular features of his character. (Paris: Félix Alcan. 1902. Pages, xvii, 524. Price, 10 francs.)

The issue of *The Biblot* for March is: *The Story of the Unknown Church and Lindenberg Pool*, by William Morris. That for April is the *Pervigilium Veneris*, or *Vigil of Venus*, a celebrated anonymous Latin poem written perhaps in the third century of our era. It was probably the product of a brief but brilliant celebration of the old pagan religion which found popular expression about the year 300 A. D., "just before the pantheon passed from the hearts of the people for ever." It is the last echo of a dying creed. The Latin text and four translations of it by Stanley (1651), Parnell (1720), Prowett (1843), and Hayward (1901) are given. (Price, each number, 5 cents.)

The attention of the student of metaphysical ethics may be directed to a work by Dr. Alfred Hodder entitled: *The Adversaries of the Sceptic, or The Specious Present. A New Inquiry Into Human Knowledge*. The work aims "at controverting certain current, or rather dominant, theories in regard to relations, judgment, reasoning, perception, and the unit of Ethics, and to substitute others in their stead." The author's criticisms, however, are not entirely destructive. He has also made the endeavor to present positive views. (London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co., Ltd. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1901. Pages, 339. Price, \$1.50.)

Lt.-Col. A. W. Smart, R. E., has translated into English from the French, M. Desdoutis's *System of Kant*. The pamphlet appears in the Brahnavadin Series. (Madras, India. 1901. Price, 2 Rs.)



**REVERSE OF THE GRAND MITHRAIC BAS-RELIEF OF
HEDDERNHEIM, GERMANY.**

(See the Frontispiece to the *June Open Court*.)

Frontispiece to the August Open Court.

THE OPEN COURT

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

**Devoted to the Science of Religion, the Religion of Science, and
the Extension of the Religious Parliament Idea.**

VOL. XVI. (NO. 8.)

AUGUST, 1902.

NO. 555

Copyright by The Open Court Publishing Co., 1902.

MITHRA AND THE IMPERIAL POWER OF ROME.¹

BY PROFESSOR FRANZ CUMONT.

THANKS to the relatively late epoch of their propagation, the Mysteries of Mithra escaped the persecutions that had been the destiny of the other Oriental cults that had preceded them in Rome, especially that of Isis. Among the astrologers or "Chaldæans" who had been expelled from Italy at various times under the first emperors, there may possibly have been some that rendered homage to the Persian gods; but these wandering soothsayers who, in spite of the pronouncements of the senate, which were as impotent as they were severe, invariably made their appearance again in the capital, no more preached a definite religion than they constituted a regular clergy. When, toward the end of the first century, Mithraism began to spread throughout the Occident, the haughty reserve or outspoken hostility which had anciently characterised the attitude of the Roman policy toward foreign missionaries began to give way to a spirit of benevolent tolerance, where not of undisguised favor. Nero had already expressed a desire to be initiated into the ceremonies of Mazdaism by the Magi whom King Tiridates of Armenia had brought with him to Rome, and this last-mentioned prince had worshipped in his person an emanation of Mithra himself.

Unfortunately, we have no direct information regarding the legal status of the associations of the *Cultores Solis invicti Mithra*. No text tells us whether the existence of these brotherhoods was at first simply tolerated, or whether, having been recognised by the

¹ Extracted by the author from his *Textes et Monuments figurés relatifs aux Mystères de Mithra* (Brussels: H. Lamertin). Translated by T. J. McCormack.

State, they acquired at the outset the right of owning property and of transacting business. In any event, it is unlikely that a religion that had always counted so many adherents in the administration and the army should have been left by the sovereign for any length of time in an anomalous condition. Perhaps, in order to acquire legal standing, these religious societies were organised as burial associations, and acquired thus the privileges accorded to this species of corporations. It would appear, however, that they had resorted to a still more efficacious expedient. From the moment of the discovery of traces of the Persian cult in Italy, we find it intimately associated with that of the *Magna Mater* (Great Mother) of Pessinus, which had been solemnly adopted by the Roman people three centuries before. Further, the sanguinary ceremony of the *taurobolium*, or baptism in the blood of a bull, which had, under the influence of the Mazdean belief, been adopted into the liturgy of the Phrygian goddess, was encouraged, probably from the time of Marcus Aurelius, by grants of civil immunities. True, we are still in doubt whether this association of the two deities was officially confirmed by the senate or the prince. Had this been done, the foreign god would at once have acquired the rights of Italian citizenship and would have been accorded the same privileges with Cybele or the Bellona of Comana. But even lacking all formal declaration on the part of the public powers, there is every reason to believe that Mithra, like Attis, whom he had been made to resemble, was linked in worship with the Great Mother and participated to the full in the official protection which the latter enjoyed. Yet its clergy appear never to have received a regular donation from the treasury, although the imperial *fiscus* and the municipal coffers were in exceptional cases opened for its benefit.

Toward the end of the second century, the more or less circumspect complaisance with which the Cæsars had looked upon the Iranian Mysteries was suddenly transformed into effective support. Commodus was admitted among their adepts and participated in their secret ceremonies, and the discovery of numerous votive inscriptions, either for the welfare of this prince or bearing the date of his reign, gives us some inkling of the impetus which this imperial conversion imparted to the Mithraic propaganda. After the last of the Antonines had thus broken with the ancient prejudice, the protection of his successors appears to have been definitively assured to the new religion. From the first years of the third century onward it had its chaplain in the palace of the Augusti, and its votaries are seen to offer vows and sacrifices for

the protection of Severus and Philippus. Aurelian, who instituted the official cult of the *Sol invictus*, could have only sentiments of sympathy with the god that was regarded as identical with the one whom he caused his pontiffs to worship. In the year 307 A. D., Diocletian, Galerius, and Licinius, at their conference in Carnuntum, dedicated with one accord a temple to Mithra *fautori imperii sui*, and the last pagan that occupied the throne of the Cæsars, Julian the Apostate, was an ardent votary of this tutelary god, whom he caused to be worshipped in Constantinople.

Such unremitting favor on the part of monarchs of so divergent types and casts of mind cannot have been the result of a passing vogue or of individual fancies. It must have had deeper causes. If the rulers of the empire show for two hundred years so great a predilection for this foreign religion, born among the enemies whom the Romans never ceased to combat, they were evidently compelled to do so by some reason of state. In point of fact, they found in its doctrines a support for their personal policy and a staunch advocacy of the autocratic pretensions which they were so energetically endeavoring to establish.

We know the slow evolution which gradually transformed the principate that Augustus had founded into a monarchy existing by the grace of God. The emperor, whose authority was theoretically derived from the nation, was at the outset simply the first magistrate of Rome. By virtue of his office solely, as the heir of the tribunes and as supreme pontiff, he was already inviolable and invested with a sacred character; but, just as his power, which was originally limited by law, ended after a succession of usurpations in complete absolutism, so also by a parallel development the prince, the plenipotentiary of the nation, became the representative of God on earth, nay, even God himself (*dominus et deus*). Immediately after the battle of Actium, we see arising a movement which is diametrically opposed to the original democratic fiction of Cæsarism. The Asiatic cities forthwith made haste to erect temples in honor of Augustus and to render homage to him in a special cult. The monarchical memories of these peoples had never faded. They had no understanding for the subtle distinctions by which the Italians were endeavoring to overreach themselves. For them, a sovereign was always a king (*βασιλεύς*) and a god (*θεός*). This transformation of the imperial power was a triumph of the Oriental genius over the Roman mind,—the triumph of the religious idea over the conception of law.

Several historians have studied in detail the organisation of

this worship of the emperors and have shed light on its political importance. But they have not discerned so clearly perhaps the nature of its theological foundation. It is not sufficient to point out that at a certain epoch the princes not only received divine honors after their death, but were also made the recipients of this homage during their reign. It must be explained why this deification of a living person, how this new species of apotheosis, which was quite contrary to common sense and to sound Roman tradition, was in the end almost universally adopted. The sullen resistance of public opinion was overcome when the religions of Asia vanquished the masses of the population. These religions propagated in Italy dogmas which tended to raise the monarchs above the level of humankind, and if they won the favor of the Cæsars, and particularly of those who aspired to absolute power, it is because they supplied a dogmatic justification of their despotism. In place of the old principle of popular sovereignty was substituted a reasoned faith grounded on supernatural influence. We shall now essay to show what part Mithraism played in this significant transformation, concerning which our historical sources only imperfectly inform us.

Certain plausible appearances have led people to suppose that the Romans drew all ideas of this class from Egypt. Egypt, whose institutions in so many directions inspired the administrative reforms of the empire, was also in a position to furnish it with a consummate model of a theocratic government. According to the ancient beliefs of that country, not only did the royal race derive its origin from the sun-god Râ, but the soul of each sovereign was a double detached from the sun-god Horus. All the Pharaohs were thus successive incarnations of the great day-star. They were not only the representatives of divinities, but living gods worshipped on the same footing with those that traversed the skies, and their insignia resembled those of these divinities.

The Achæmenides, who became masters of the valley of the Nile, and after them also the Ptolemies, inherited the homage which had been paid to the ancient Egyptian kings, and it is certain that Augustus and his successors, who scrupulously respected all the religious usages of the country as well as its political constitution, there suffered themselves to be made the recipients of the same character that a tradition of thirty centuries had accorded to the potentates of Egypt.

From Alexandria, where even the Greeks themselves accepted it, this theocratic doctrine was propagated to the farthest confines

of the empire. The priests of Isis were its most popular missionaries in Italy. The proselytes whom they had made in the highest classes of society became imbued with it; the emperors, whose secret or avowed ambitions this attribute flattered, soon encouraged it openly. Still, although their policy would have been favored by a diffusion of the Egyptian doctrines, they were yet impotent to impose this tenet at once and unrestrictedly. From the first century on they had suffered themselves to be called *deus noster* by their domestic servants and their ministers, who were already half Oriental, but they had not the courage at that period to introduce their name into their official titles. Certain of the Cæsars, a Caligula or a Nero, could dream of playing on the stage of the world the rôle which the Ptolemies played in their smaller kingdom. They could persuade themselves that different gods had taken life in their own persons; but enlightened Romans were invariably incensed at their extravagances. The Latin spirit rebelled against the monstrous fiction created by the Oriental imagination. The apotheosis of a reigning prince encountered obstinate adversaries even in a much later time, among the last of the pagans. For the general acceptance of the doctrine a far less crude theory than that of the Alexandrian epiphany was needed. And it was the religion of Mithra that furnished this doctrine.

The Persians, like the Egyptians, prostrated themselves before their sovereigns, but they nevertheless did not regard them as gods. When they rendered homage to the "demon" of their king, as they did at Rome to the "genius" of Cæsar (*genius Cæsaris*), they only worshipped the divine element that resided in every man and formed part of his soul. The majesty of the monarchs was sacred solely because it descended to them from Ahura Mazda, whose divine wish had placed them on their throne. They ruled "by the grace" of the creator of heaven and earth. The Iranians pictured this "grace" as a sort of supernatural fire, as a dazzling aureole, or nimbus of "glory," which belonged especially to the gods, but which also shed its radiance upon princes and consecrated their power. The *Hvarenô*, as the Avesta calls it, illuminated legitimate sovereigns and withdrew its light from usurpers as from impious persons who should soon lose their crowns and their lives. On the other hand, those who were deserving of obtaining and preserving it received as their reward unceasing prosperity, great fame, and perpetual victory over their enemies.

This peculiar conception of the Persians had no counterpart in the other mythologies, and the foreign nations of antiquity

likened the Mazdean "Glory," not very correctly, to Fortune. The Semites identified it with their *Gaddā*, the Grecians translated his name by Τύχη, or Tyche. The different dynasties that succeeded the fall of the Achæmenides and endeavored to trace back their genealogy to some member of the ancient reigning house, naturally rendered homage to this special Tyche whose protection was at once the consequence and the demonstration of their legitimacy. We see the *Hvarenô* honored alike, and for the same motives, by the kings of Cappadocia, Pontus, and Bactriana; and the Seleucids who long ruled over Iran were also regarded as the *protégés* of Fortune, who had been sent by the supreme god. In his burial inscription, Antiochus of Commagene appears to have gone so far as to identify himself with the goddess. The Mazdean ideas concerning monarchical power thus spread into Occidental Asia at the same time with Mithraism. But, like this latter, it was interwoven with Semitic doctrines. The belief that fatality gave and took away the crown again made its appearance even among the Achæmenides. Now, according to the Chaldæans, destiny is necessarily determined by the revolution of the starry heavens, and the brilliant celestial body that appears to command all its comrades was considered as the royal star *par excellence*. Thus, the invincible Sun (Ἥλιος), identified with Mithra, was during the Alexandrian period generally considered as the dispenser of the *Hvarenô* that gives victory. The monarch upon whom this divine grace descended was lifted above ordinary mortals and revered by his subjects as a peer of the gods. After the downfall of the Asiatic principalities, the veneration of which their dynasties had been the object was transferred to the Roman emperors. The Orientals forthwith saluted in the persons of these rulers the elect of God, to whom the Fortune of kings had given omnipotent power. According as the Syrian religions, and especially the Mysteries of Mithra, were propagated in Rome, the ancient Mazdean theory, more or less tainted with Semitism, found increasing numbers of champions in the official Roman world. We see it making its appearance there, at first timidly but afterwards more and more boldly, in the sacred institutions and the official titles of the emperors, the meaning of which it alone enables us to fathom.

Since the republican epoch the Fortune of the Roman people had been worshipped under different names at Rome. This ancient national cult soon became impregnated with the beliefs of the Orient, where not only every country but every city worshipped its own divine destiny. When Plutarch tells us that Tyche forsook

the Assyrians and the Persians, crossed Egypt and Syria, and took her abode on the Palatine Hill, his metaphor is true in quite a different sense from that which he had in mind. Also the emperors, imitating their Asiatic predecessors, easily succeeded in causing to be worshipped by the side of this goddess of the state, that other goddess who was the special protectress of their own person. The *Fortuna Augusti* had appeared on the coins since Vespasian, and as formerly the subjects of the Diadochi so now those of the Cæsars swore by the Fortune of their princes. The superstitious devotion of these rulers to their patron goddess was so great that in the second century at least they constantly had before them, even during sleep or on voyages, a golden statue of the goddess which on their death they transmitted to their successor and which they invoked under the name of *Fortuna regia*, a translation of *τύχη βασιλέως*. In fact, when this safeguard abandoned them they were doomed to death or at least to reverses and calamities; so long as they preserved it, they knew only success and prosperity.

After the reign of Commodus, from which dates the triumph at Rome of the Oriental cults and especially of the Mithraic Mysteries, we see the emperors officially taking the titles of *pius*, *felix*, and *invictus*, which appellations from the third century on regularly formed part of the imperial protocols. These epithets were inspired by the special fatalism which Rome had borrowed from the Orient. The monarch is *pius* (pious) because his devotion alone can secure the continuance of the special favor which heaven has bestowed on him; he is *felix*, happy, or rather fortunate (*εὐτυχής*), for the definite reason that he is illuminated by the divine *Grace*; and finally he is "invincible" because the defeat of the enemies of the empire is the most signal indication that his tutelary "Grace" has not ceased to attend him. Legitimate authority is not given by heredity or by a vote of the senate, but by the gods; and it is manifested in the shape of victory.

All this conforms to the ancient Mazdean ideas, and the employment of the last of the three adjectives mentioned further betrays the influence of the astrological theories which were mingled with Parseeism. *Invictus*, *Ἀνίκητος*, is, as we have seen, the ordinary attribute of the sidereal gods imported from the Orient, and especially so of the Sun. The emperors evidently chose this appellation to emphasise their resemblance to the celestial divinity, the idea of whom it immediately evoked. The doctrine that the fate of states, like that of individuals, was inseparably conjoined with the course of the stars, was accompanied with the corollary

that the chief of the planetary bodies was arbiter of the Fortune of kings. It was he that raised them to their thrones, or deposed them from them; it was he that assured them their triumphs and afflicted upon them their disasters. The sun is regarded as the companion (*comes*) of the emperor and as his personal savior (*conservator*). We have seen that Diocletian revered in Mithra the *sauator imperii sui*, or patron guardian of his empire.

In assuming the surname of *invictus* (invincible), the Cæsars formally pronounced the intimate alliance which they had contracted with the Sun, and they tended more and more to emphasise their likeness to him. The same reason induced them to assume the still more ambitious epithet of "eternal," which, having long been employed in ordinary usage, was in the third century finally introduced into the official formularies. This epithet, like the first, is borne especially by the solar divinities of the Orient, the worship of whom spread in Italy at the beginning of our era. Applied to the sovereigns, it reveals more clearly than the first-named epithet the conviction that from their intimate companionship with the Sun they were united to him by an actual identity of nature.

This conviction is also manifested in the usages of the court. The celestial fire which shines eternally among the stars, always victorious over darkness, had as its emblem the inextinguishable fire that burned in the palace of the Cæsars and which was carried before them in the official ceremonies. This lamp, constantly illuminated, had also served the Persian kings as an image of the perpetuity of their power; and it passed with the mystical ideas of which it was the expression to the Diadochi, and from them on to the Romans.

Also, the radiate crown which, in imitation of the Seleucids and the Ptolemies the emperors had adopted since Nero as the symbol of their sovereignty, is fresh evidence of these politico-religious tendencies. Symbolical of the splendor of the Sun and of the rays which it gave forth, it appeared to render the monarch the simulacrum of the planet-god whose brilliancy dazzles the eyes.

What was the sacred relation established between the radiant disc which illuminated the heavens and the human image which represented it on earth? The loyalist zeal of the Orientals knew no bounds in its apotheosis. The Sassanid kings, as the Pharaohs before them, proclaimed themselves "brothers of the sun and the moon"; and the Cæsars were almost similarly regarded in Asia as the successive Avatars of Helios. Certain autocrats approved of being likened to this divinity and caused statues to be erected that

showed them adorned with his attributes. They suffered themselves even to be worshipped as emanations of Mithra. But these insensate pretensions were repudiated by the sober sense of the Latin peoples. As above remarked, the Occident studiously eschewed such absolute affirmations; they were content with metaphors; they were fond of comparing the sovereign who governed the inhabited world and whom nothing that occurred in it could escape, to the celestial luminary that enlightened the universe and controlled its destinies. They preferred to use obscure expressions which admitted of all kinds of interpretations. They conceded that the prince was united with the immortals by some relation of kinship, but they were chary of precisely defining its character. Nevertheless, the conception that the Sun had the emperor under his protection and that supernatural effluvia descended from the one to the other, gradually led to the notion of their consubstantiality.

Now, the psychology taught in the Mysteries furnished a rational explanation of this consubstantiality and supplied it almost with a scientific foundation. According to these doctrines the souls pre-existed in the empyrean, and when they descended to earth to animate the bodies in which they were henceforward to be enclosed, they traversed the spheres of the planets and received from each some of its planetary qualities. For all the astrologers, the Sun, as before remarked, was the royal planet, and it was consequently he that gave to his chosen ones the virtues of sovereignty and called them to kingly dominion.

It will be seen immediately how these theories favored the pretensions of the Cæsars. They were lords of the world by right of birth (*deus et dominus natus*), because of having been destined to the throne by the stars from their very advent into the world. They were divine, for there were in them some of the elements of the Sun of which they were in a measure the passing incarnation. Descended from the starry heavens, they returned there after their death to pass eternity in the company of the gods, their equals. The common mortal pictured the emperor after his death, like Mithra at the end of his career, as borne heavenward by Helios in his resplendent chariot.

Thus, the dogmatology of the Persian Mysteries combined two theories of different origin, both of which tended to lift princes above the level of humankind. On the one side, the ancient Mazdean conception of *Hvarenô* had become the "Fortune of the King," illuminating him with celestial grace and bringing him vic-

tory. On the other hand, the idea that the soul of the monarch at the moment when destiny caused his descent to the terrestrial spheres, received from the Sun his dominating power, gave rise to the contention that he shared in the divinity of that planet, and was its representative on earth.

These beliefs may appear to us to-day as absurd, or even as monstrous, but they nevertheless controlled for centuries millions of men of the most different types and nationalities, and united them under the banner of the same monarchical faith. If the educated classes, who always preserved through literary tradition some remnant of the ancient republican spirit, cherished a measure of skepticism in this regard, the popular sentiment certainly accepted these theocratic chimeras, and suffered themselves to be governed by them as long as paganism lasted. It may even be said that these conceptions survived the smashing of the idols, and that the veneration of the masses as well as the ceremonial of the court never ceased to consider the person of the sovereign as endued with essence superhuman. Aurelian had essayed to establish an official religion broad enough to embrace all the cults of his dominions and which would have served, as it had among the Persians, both as the justification and the prop of imperial absolutism. His hopes, however, were blasted by the recalcitrance of the Christians. Yet the alliance of the throne with the altar, of which the Cæsars of the third century had dreamed, was realised under another form, and by a strange mutation of fortune the Church itself was called upon to support the edifice whose foundations it had shattered. The work for which the priests of Serapis, of Baal, and of Mithra had paved the way was achieved without them and in opposition to them. Nevertheless, they had been the first to preach in Occidental parts the doctrine of the divine right of kings, and had thus become the initiators of a movement of which the echoes were destined to resound even "to the last syllable of recorded time."

HIAWATHA AND THE ONONDAGA INDIANS.

BY CHARLES L. HENNING.

AMONG the master-pieces of American literature, the Song of Hiawatha by Longfellow holds a first place. Although published about fifty years ago, its charming verses still delight every noble heart and set before our children the example of a man who taught his people the "golden rule" and himself lived the noble life which he wished his tribesmen to live.

When Longfellow published his poem in 1855, he said of it: "This Indian Edda, if I may so call it, is founded on a tradition prevalent among the North American Indians, of a personage of miraculous birth, who was sent among them to clear their rivers, forests, and fishing grounds, and to teach them the arts of peace. He was known among different tribes by the several names of Michabou, Chiabo, Manabogho, Tarcuyawayon, and Hiawatha. The scene of the poem is among the Ojibways on the southern shore of Lake Superior, in the "region between the pictured Rocks and the Grand Sable."

The benefits which Hiawatha conferred on his people were of course only of a material order; but they were such as were capable of being thoroughly appreciated by the simple tribes to which they were rendered.

The example of Hiawatha as a reformer and benefactor stands, however, not alone in history; there are many others of that kind, and we find in nearly every history at the very beginning the figure of a man—more or less ideal—who taught the first principles of civilisation to his fellowmen.

Let me mention here Oannes, the well-known figure in primitive Babylonian history. We learn from the tradition that at the beginning of history a superhuman being of strange appearance came out of the waters of the Erythræan Sea to teach the people letters, science, and art, the rules for founding cities and construct-

ing temples, the principles of law and geometry, and so forth. At sunset Oannes disappeared in the water but came again in the morning. This lasted until the Babylonians became civilised.

It is not quite impossible that the fable of Oannes is based upon historical fact.

A similar example of a civiliser is found in the history of the primitive inhabitants of Arakan. "Once upon a time," writes Rajah Surey Bunkshee in a letter quoted by Lord Teignmouth in his *Life of Sir William Jones*,—"one Boudah Outhar, otherwise Sery Boot Tankwor, came down in the country of Arakan, and instructed the people and the beasts of the fields in the principles of religion and rectitude."

Many more examples could be quoted, but it is not my intention to enter into details here, nor do I desire to analyse the poem of Longfellow from a scientific point of view: this task having been fulfilled by abler scholars. I merely wish to show here the rôle which Hiawatha played in the history of his people, and to treat of the great work which has made his name famous for all generations: the foundation of the Confederacy of the Five Nations, commonly called the Iroquois.

During a trip which I made in August 1898 to the Onondaga Indian reservation near Syracuse, N. Y., I was so fortunate as to obtain from Chief Daniel La Fort a story of Hiawatha, which had not been told in its present form to a pale-face before.¹ Daniel La Fort is not only the head chief of the Onondaga Indians but also the chief of the Six Nations; he is a very talented and kind-hearted man, and has lived with his brother Thomas on the reservation for many years.

Before repeating the story of Hiawatha, as told to me by La Fort, I will review briefly the history of the Hiawatha story as it has been regarded by scientific research.

It is a matter of fact that the name of Hiawatha was entirely unknown in ethnology fifty years ago. In the *Sketches of Ancient History of the Six Nations* by Daniel Cusick, which appeared in 1825, the name of Hiawatha is not mentioned, and the superhuman being Tahiwagi ("Holder of the Heavens") is considered as the founder of the Confederacy. The "Holder of the Heavens" was one of the numerous mythological figures of the Iroquois pantheon, and the Jesuit missionaries used to call him "the great god of the

¹ I lectured on the subject before Section H of the American Association for the Advancement of Science at the Boston Meeting, Thursday, August 25, 1898. The essay, however, is here published for the first time.

Iroquois." The fact, that Daniel Cusick speaks in his *Sketches* of "six" nations (the Tuscaroras as the sixth nation joined the Confederacy in 1715) makes it evident that the story he relates in his book must be of recent date, and for that reason cannot contain the true history of the Confederacy. Besides it is so intermingled with impossibilities that it may be regarded as having only an anti-quarian interest.

Horatio Hale, the late anthropologist, in his excellent *Iroquois Book of Rites*, says of Cusick's book: "His confused and imperfect style, the English of a half educated foreigner, his simple faith in the wildest legends, and his absurd chronology, have caused the real worth of his book as a chronicle of native tradition to be overlooked." (Page 12.)

In Lewis Morgan's *The League of the Iroquois*, published in 1851, we find the following statement: "Tradition has preserved the name of Dagaenowedae (Deganahwida) as the founder of the League and the first lawgiver of the Hodenoshioni (People of the Longhouse). It likewise points to the northern shore of the Ganui-taah, or Onondaga Lake, as the place where the first council-fire was kindled, around which the chiefs and wise men of the several nations were gathered and where, after a debate of many days, its establishment was effected" (p. 61). The name of Hiawatha is not mentioned in the book.

Later, in 1877, in his famous work *Ancient Society*, Morgan mentions Hiawatha as the traditional founder of the League, but he does not give the history of the tradition (p. 127).

The latter we find in Schoolcraft's *The Myth of Hiawatha*, published in 1856, from which we learn that Hiawatha was an Ojibway Indian; but the founder is made a person of miraculous birth, and from this source Longfellow's poem has come.

Another student of ethnology, I. N. B. Hewitt, who has devoted his entire life to the study of the Iroquois (he himself is a half-blood Tuscarora), narrates in the *American Anthropologist*, Vol. V., p. 131, the following concerning the Confederacy: "To Hiawatha a supreme preëminence is not given, and he is placed merely on an equality with the leading spirits who took part in the formation of the confederacy. Deganahwida was the true founder of the League." There is another story of the foundation of the League in Horatio Hale's book, mentioned above. He states there in the second chapter that the terrible war-chief Tadodaho, whose head and body were entangled with snakes, founded the League in connection with Hiawatha.

Such is the history of scientific research with reference to Hiawatha !

I now pass over to the story which I obtained from Daniel La Fort ; I repeat it in his own words, his brother Thomas serving as interpreter.

La Fort said :

"A little over three hundred years ago, one of our forefathers, who was an Onondaga, and whose name was Hia-wa-tha, met the Mohawks for the purpose of getting married. He raised quite a family, but his wife became sick and died, and he became a widower. Soon after her death he began to travel.

"The law at the time when Hiawatha lived, did not allow a person to appear before the people for the space of a year after the death of his wife, and forced the person to live at a place where he could not be seen by anybody.

"Since Hiawatha was now a widower, he obeyed this law, and lived in seclusion for a whole year.

"Furthermore, it was the law at that time that the people in authority in the nation should come to the mourning person at the end of the term and say : 'Let us rejoice together in some way.' But it was not so when Hiawatha's time had expired. He also had expected that the people would come to him and say : 'We will rejoice together,' but nobody came. He was patiently waiting at his hiding-place and said to himself : 'The people do not regard me as the useful man that I always was among the nation.' Then he made up his mind that he would appear in other places ; he started entirely alone and came to the Oneidas (their original name was Rock Indians). He saw there a group sitting close by a tree and asked them : 'What are you doing here?' They said to him : 'We are hiding behind the body of the tree, so that the wind will not strike us.' And he said to them : 'I shall call you a large body of trees (ni-ha-di-ān-da-go'na).'

"Travelling farther, he saw a group of people lying on the ground, and asked them the same question : 'What are you doing here?' 'We are hiding against the wind on the hill side,' they answered. Then he said : 'Well, I shall call you the hilly people (i. e., Onondaga).'

"Then he went to the Cayuga lake and saw there another settlement of Indians. He asked them the same question : 'What are you doing here?' They answered : 'We live close by the lake.' Then he said : 'I shall call you Cayuga Lake Indians.' Then he went down to Geneva, where the Seneca Indians lived and asked

them the same question. They answered, that they kept the door of the West; they had a kind of fort where they could take refuge from their enemies, and they had a place on the western side where they could go out and in.

"Then he said: 'I shall call you doorkeepers.' And he said: 'It shall be the same at the eastern part of the region, where the Mohawks guard the entrance of the East.' So the Senecas became the doorkeepers of the West, and the Mohawks those of the East.

"This was his second visit among the Mohawks, because he first lived among them when he took his wife.

"And he left the Mohawks again and went away in a canoe; as he was paddling his canoe along, he saw people close by the waters and asked them: 'What are you doing here?' They replied: 'Our business is hunting the wolf;' and he actually saw many wolves lying on the ground. Then he said: 'I shall call you the wolf clan.'

"This was the first time that the name 'clan' was given, and it is not known to which tribe that name was given.

"Then he said: 'Whenever you build a wigwam, all of the wolf clan shall stay together and set up a pole, high enough that one can see the image of a wolf on the top of the pole, and so the people will know to what clan you belong, and as long as you exist you shall be called a wolf clan.'

"And Hiawatha went farther—it is not known how far—and he saw other people working together, peeling barks with turtles. 'What are you doing here?' he asked them. 'We are peeling the barks with the turtle,' they replied. 'Then I shall call you a turtle clan,' Hiawatha said to the people, 'and whenever you build a wigwam, all of the turtle clan shall stay together and they shall set up a pole, high enough that one can see the image of the turtle at the top of the pole, so that the other people may know to what clan you belong, and as long as you exist you shall be called a turtle clan.'

"And then he went quite a distance farther, where he saw a stream of water and people making a dam there. He again asked them the same question, and they replied: 'We are hunting for beaver.' 'I shall call you a beaver clan,' Hiawatha said, 'and whenever you build a wigwam, all of the beaver clan shall stay together, and they shall set up a pole, high enough that one may see the image of the beaver at the top of the pole so that other people may know to what clan you belong, and as long as you exist you shall be called a beaver clan.'

"Then he was travelling through the Onondaga creek and was going farther south to Talla Lake. There was no white settlement among the Indians, and he saw a group of men and saw a bear lying in the midst of them; they had killed him. 'What are you doing here?' he said. They answered: 'Our real business is the hunting of bears.' 'Then I shall call you a bear clan, and as long as you exist you will also be called a bear clan. And whenever you build a wigwam,' etc....

"Then he went farther south, where he heard people making a great noise, which came from deer bones hanging around their legs; when they moved, the bones made a rattling noise. 'What are you doing here?' Hiawatha asked. 'We are playing with bones,' they answered. 'I shall therefore call you rattling deer bones and secondly I shall call you a deer clan, and so you shall always be called as long as you exist. And whenever you build a wigwam,' etc....

"Then he went farther south, and he heard a considerable noise on his way. There was a large pool of water and different kinds of grass growing in the water, and he saw people coming out of it, and he asked them: 'What are you doing here?' 'We are running through the water, and in rushing through it we cause it to make a considerable noise.' Then he said: 'I shall call you the eel clan, and you shall have this name as long as you exist. And whenever you build a wigwam,' etc....

"And he went farther south, following the line of the Onondaga creek; far away he saw people running along a sandy place and at the same time saw snipes running to and fro, and he asked them: 'What are you doing here?' They said: 'We are playing with the snipes, because they are so very numerous here.' 'Well,' he said, 'I shall call you the snipe clan, and as long as you exist, you shall always be called so, and whenever,' etc....

"Having travelled some distance, when he was close by the creek, he heard a considerable noise and loud talking. 'What are you doing here?' he said. 'We are chasing the small spotted turtle.' 'So I shall call you the small spotted turtle clan, and you shall be called so as long as you exist, and whenever you build a wigwam,' etc.... "And then he said to the people: 'I have finished my work in forming the different clans; you will not see me immediately again, because I have to form a law of government for the different clans.' And then he went farther and gathered the small shells on the banks of the river, and made strings of different lengths and widths, and built himself a wigwam and retired into it.

“And the people stood outside and looked at it, and saw Hiawatha sitting within and heard him talking to himself, and saw how he read the different strings, of which he had made one for each clan. And the wampums he was making were purposed to be the different laws for the different clans.

“And the people that stood outside went back to their tribes and told to the principal men what they had seen and heard. People at that time had not yet chiefs, but only ‘principal men.’

“And these principal men said: ‘We must invite that man to provide a council.’ And they suggested that a general council should be held, and informed the people that Hiawatha should tell what he proposed to do.

“And the principal men selected certain men to invite him by a verbal invitation to attend the general council; and they went back to their places after they had invited him, and they expected he would come at the time they had designated. This was the first verbal invitation.

“And when the time of the meeting arrived, the people came together to attend the council. They waited and waited for his coming, but he did not come. They talked to one another: ‘There must be something amiss, that he did not come.’

“And they sent a spy out to his wigwam to listen to what Hiawatha should say. And the man stood outside and heard what he was saying in his wigwam. ‘These people,’ Hiawatha said, ‘are not wise enough in inviting me to attend the council. They invited me only by a verbal invitation. It is not sufficient for me to accept their invitation, because it was only a verbal one. They had nothing *to show* that I was invited; if they had been wise enough, they would have made strings of shells, and also a small stick on which to fasten the string of shells, and on this stick they ought to have made marks to tell me on which day the meeting should take place.’

“And the man who had listened to what Hiawatha said, went back to the people and told them what he had heard: That they had brought nothing to show when they had invited him to attend the council. And therefore the people did as the man told, and they made a mark on a little stick to show that the meeting should take place at such and such a time.

“And they selected a man to invite him; and when he came to Hiawatha he said: ‘This is the way I ought to be invited. I shall come now to attend the council.’ When the time arrived for the general council to take place, there were a great many people

assembled together. Then Hiawatha arrived at the council and said: 'I am now here to attend your council, and what is the proposition that you have invited me for?' One of the members of the council, selected as their speaker, stood up and said: 'We have heard that you were working at some very important business, and we are very anxious to know what it is about.' Hiawatha said: 'It is true, I am working to establish, if possible, some kind of organisation for your people and for the other tribes, so as to unite all the five nations.' Then the speaker said: 'That is true; we are at present in a state of terror; we are unsafe and are fighting against each other. This must be stopped.' Hiawatha said then: 'If you will accept my proposition, go back with me whence I came, and I shall try to unite the minds of the five different nations and to bring them together.'

"And they accepted his proposal, to go back with him.

"And because the Onondagas were the first who proposed that a general council should be held, so it was concluded that at the place where the Onondagas lived the great council of the five nations should convene.

"And the five different nations, the Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senecas, were convened together to hold a general council at the place where the Onondagas lived.

"But in this council they were not able to create a government for the five nations; and they concluded that another council should be held close by the Onondaga Lake.

"The conclusion of the council at Onondaga Lake was this: that the five nations should be considered as one confederacy, but also in this council they did not make a government for these five nations. And therefore they concluded that another and last general council of the five united nations should be held to finish the entire work of the constitution.

"This last general council was held where to-day stands the city of Syracuse, at the place between the corner of Warren street and Tennessee street.

"At this last council they made it a rule to have chiefs, a certain number for each clan; the Mohawks 9, the Oneidas 9, the Onondagas 14, the Cayugas 9, the Senecas 8. These numbers have been maintained up to this time.

"And at that time they made the wampums of bones instead of shells, 'because they would be more durable,' they said."

(TO BE CONCLUDED.)

THE APOSTATE OF THE TALMUD.

BY BERNARD M. KAPLAN, M. A.

THE strangest and most peculiar character of the great Hebrew Classic, the Talmud, is certainly Elisha Ben Abuya, surnamed Acher (Another). He was Rabbi and renegade, sage and sinner, patriot and pervert, all in one, an odd combination, indeed. That Rab Ashi, the compiler of the Babylonian Talmud, did not eliminate the unsavory name of Acher from the illustrious pages of that great work indicates quite clearly that the Talmud was edited not merely as a code of laws and as a supplement to the Bible, but rather as a national encyclopædia which mirrors the ancient Jewish life in all its phases and manifestations. Of these some are cheerful and some gloomy, some sublime and some ordinary, some ideal and some material, but all, none the less, interesting and at times highly instructive.

The Talmud relates that one Sabbath day Elisha Ben Abuya accosted a woman of ill repute. "Are you not Elisha Ben Abuya?" she asked in surprise. Elisha made no reply. He plucked a plant from the garden bed and handed it to her. "Ah!" she remarked, "that cannot be Elisha Ben Abuya; that must be Acher." And, indeed, he was no longer Elisha Ben Abuya, the honored sage and respected Rabbi. No! he was another, the notorious Acher. He renounced the faith of his fathers, denounced his former colleagues and informed against them to the cruel and unrelenting Roman spies, who like bloodhounds followed the tracks of the teachers of the Law in woods and caves and had them executed at the command of Hadrian as enemies of idolatry, vice, and despotism. He ridiculed the Law with the sarcasm and contempt of an Eisenmenger and, in consequence, trampled upon morality. He was indeed Acher, Another.

Curiously enough, Acher was not persecuted nor in any way molested by his zealous contemporaries. His vast fund of Jewish

lore, though looked upon with suspicion by some, was much admired generally, notwithstanding the fact that the possessor of it was dreaded by all as the bitter enemy of the Law and its teachers. Such were the respect and admiration for learning in those remarkable and romantic days of the development of the Talmud. Acher even had a very celebrated and pious Rabbi as his admiring Boswell and constant companion.

With his ears pricked up, Rabbi Meir listened eagerly to the Words of Wisdom which often rushed to the surface of Acher's lips from the hidden recesses of his brain, where they had been stowed away in the happier days of his youth before the heavy stones of Roman persecution on the one hand, and Gnosticism on the other obstructed their natural flow. Acher's very apostasy is related by the sages in an almost subdued tone of reverence and awe. The various incidents of his life, as described in the Talmud, are surrounded by such wild and picturesque growths of metaphor and allegory that one has to brush aside many a shrub, and many a blade of grass, before reaching the crystal waters of the well.

I.

Elisha was born in Jerusalem, of wealthy and highly respected parents, towards the end of the first century of the Common Era. Abuya, the happy father, was so prominent and so popular that the initiation of his child into the Abrahamic Covenant was celebrated as a great religious and social event by all the leading and learned men of Jerusalem. The destruction of the Temple was still fresh in the memories of the people and brought tears to the eyes of every Jew as though the firebrands were still smouldering. The happy occasion of the B'rith, however, called for rejoicing and thanksgiving. A new recruit was born to fight idolatry and superstition; a new standard-bearer of the true faith,—the faith of the Patriarchs and the Prophets.

Abuya invited all the great and wise men of the city; and great, indeed, must have been their number, for two houses were necessary to accommodate them all. The day was spent in feasting and in intellectual intercourse; for to feast without discoursing on the Law, is like "partaking of the sacrifices of dead idols." So intense was the delight of the occasion, so overpowering the joy, that Abuya fell into a state of rapturous emotion. He saw columns of fire like the traditional flames of Sinai, encircling the house in which the wise and the learned were discoursing on the

beauty of holiness, and the holiness of the Law. Never before did he realise to the fullest extent the meaning of the words of Rabbi Eliezer: "Warm thyself by the fire of the wise," as on this happy occasion, when he sat in the full glow of so many wise men of whom Eliezer himself was one. "If such be the charm of the Law," vowed Abuya, "I shall dedicate my child to its study." . . . "Because his intentions were not directed heavenward, his wish was not realised," are the concluding words of the glowing report of that remarkable B'rith as related in the Talmud. In vain did the pious Rabbis repeat the customary felicitations, "Even as he has entered into the covenant, so may he grow up to a knowledge of the Law, to a holy wedlock, and to good deeds." In vain! In vain were all their wishes and prayers for the child: the father's intentions were not directed heavenward.

II.

The guests dispersed quietly and soberly. As they neared the ruins of the Temple, the memory of the smouldering firebrands again brought tears to their eyes. Their zeal for the Law and for the land was kindled afresh; none of the sanguinary and drastic measures of the Romans could quench it. It was a long time since they had rejoiced in a body. They hung their heads in sad silence as they pondered over the causes of the prevailing depression and gloom. Were there no longer men in Israel possessed of genuine Maccabean courage, who would wrest the land from the enemy and rekindle the Jewish spirit and the "Perpetual Lamp?" A deep sigh of apparent shame echoed from their brooding breasts as they repeated the words of the Weeping Prophet, "Is there no balm in Gilead; is there no physician there? Why then is not the health of the daughter of my people recovered?"

Pausing before the Western Wall, they prostrated themselves to the ground and spontaneously vowed the national vow with the firm determination to fulfil it. "If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand forget her cunning. If I do not remember thee, let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth; if I prefer not Jerusalem above my chief joy." If they were too old to do more than stop an arrow, they resolved, at least, to encourage and stir up the young to enter into a new struggle for the glory of God and the good of the nation.

III.

The Bar-Kochba rebellion was a terrible and desperate struggle for liberty and independence. The revolt was long and stub-

born. A handful of people, young and old, resisted Hadrian for nearly three years with true Maccabean valor. This time, however, might and numbers prevailed. The last Hebrew stronghold, Bither, fell, and with it was crushed every hope of ever regaining the land by force. Israel's power was discovered to lie not in body but in spirit. The appalling martyrdom which attended this "war of extermination," as the Talmud styles it, proved it conclusively.

Hadrian was now determined to extinguish the last spark of Jewish patriotism. Like Epiphanes, the Syrian tyrant, he traced the secret springs of the Jewish national spirit to Israel's religious customs and the Law. He sought to sever by fire and sword the Gordian knot which tied the Jew to the Holy Land. Were it not for the romanticism and the idealism, which form a halo about this troublous period, the tale of the Jewish martyrdom under the Roman persecution would be too appalling to relate in a more humane age. Suffice it to say that the Spanish Inquisition was not more cruel. No more need be said; no more can be said.

IV.

Whether Elisha took an active part in the Bar-Kochba uprising or not, his contemporaries do not say. There was no Josephus then to record details. One thing, however, is certain; the indescribable tortures and persecutions which followed the unhappy struggle had a decidedly dark influence on Elisha's mind. He saw the greatest, the wisest, and the purest men of his faith pierced by lances, cast into fire, or torn into pieces by Romans and beasts; and for what? For maintaining schools for the study of the Jewish religion, and for observing the Law,—deeds which, to the apostate's sense of justice, should have drawn a reward from heaven and admiration from fellow-men. But what the admiration, and what the reward? While proclaiming with all the fervor of his soul the Unity of God, the lovable and saintly Akiba was literally torn into pieces. Judah Ben Baba, in order to elude the vigilance of the Roman spies, gathered the surviving disciples of Akiba in a secluded valley to ordain them as teachers of the Law, that they might continue the task of their martyred master. No sooner had he laid his feeble hands on the first aspirant for spiritual knighthood than a force of the benighted persecutors appeared in the valley. When they withdrew, the aged teacher lay pierced to the heart, with his noble countenance mutilated beyond recognition, with his white flowing beard bespattered with blood, surrounded by the lifeless bodies of his young followers, like so many spring flowers adorn-

ing an old grave. No mourners were allowed to follow the remains of that grand old teacher to the Beth Olom, no mark of honor was permitted to be shown, not a word of eulogy to be uttered. A namesake of Elisha was sentenced to have his skull crushed, because he had put on Phylacteries. To use the language of a contemporary, "the Jews were flogged for shaking the Lulab on the Feast of Tabernacles; crucified for eating Matzoth on Passover, and executed for reading the Law." Elisha saw the tongue of Chuzpit, the eloquent and learned Rabbi, dragged in the mouth of a swine. The sight filled him with horror. He turned away in disgust and cried, "Shall the mouth that was filled with the pearls of the Law lick the ground? Shall the tongue that interpreted the holy Law be dragged in the filthy mouth of a swine? Is that indeed the tongue of the Meturgemon that busied itself with religious truth? Alas! It is that tongue! That is the Law, and this is its reward! There is no reward and no resurrection!"—"He went and sinned," concludes the Talmud.

Oh, thou Renegade! Apostate! Pervert! What wouldst thou have said hadst thou lived at a much later age and seen, not the tongue of Chuzpit in the mouth of the swine, but the tongue of the swine in the mouth of Chuzpit?

v.

The excuse that Boccaccio assigns for the conversion of Abraham of Paris might have afforded the grounds for Elisha's apostasy. No doubt, the prosperity and glory of the Romans on the one hand, and the Jewish persecutions on the other, shook Elisha's faith in the God of his fathers; but what led him to immorality, and why did he turn informer against his people?

Spinoza ignored Judaism, but never opposed the Jew; Heine renounced the faith of his fathers, but never ceased to admire "the dough from which Gods are made." Acher possessed neither the philosophic calmness of Spinoza nor the poetic instincts of Heine; but was he so impervious to the appreciation of the sublime and the heroic as not to admire a people that subjected itself to the greatest sufferings for the sake of an ideal? That people certainly did not merit the hostility of one who so well knew its inner life and aspirations.

The immorality of Acher must be traced to the Gnosticism of the time, which surely exercised a powerful influence on his active intellect and his ardent passions, no longer bridled by the moral guidance of the Hebrew Law. Gnosticism, the last flicker of dy-

ing Paganism, flashed a gleam which afforded temporary light and warmth to the groping, shivering skeptics of the expiring ancient world. It was an eclectic religion for the aristocratic classes. The discontented and restless spirits of Judaism, Christianity, and Paganism, had formulated doctrines and beliefs which were both sublime and grotesque. Only the most subtle minds were deemed capable of initiation into and the appreciation of its deep mysteries and mysticisms.

Gnosticism not only accommodated the one sided intellects of its aristocratic followers, but it also afforded a moral sanction for the immoralities of its effeminate Oriental votaries. The Oriental followers of the new accommodating and elastic faith, who viewed the associate god Demiurgos as the rival of the Supreme Being, abandoned themselves to the grossest sensualities in order to show their utter disregard for the rule and power of Demiurgos. They believed that just as the Supreme Being, the Pure Abstraction, was not in touch with the material world—as Gnosticism taught—so their souls were not affected by the acts of their bodies.

The followers of Gnosticism were active in the promulgation of their doctrines both by mouth and pen. The Talmudic teachers generally refer to their writings as "*sifre minim*," the works of heretics and delators, and speak of them with the contempt which they deserve. Some of the Talmudists, like Elisha, were, however, attracted to their fascinating and tempting doctrines, perhaps at first as a matter of curiosity. Rabbi Akiba alone, guided by the thread of his faith, emerged safely from the Gnostic labyrinth. Not even numbers were proof against the overwhelming charm of the siren voices of Gnosticism.

Four Rabbis, Ben Azzai, Ben Zoma, Akiba, and Acher, relates the Talmud allegorically, entered Pardes, the garden of mystic speculation. Ben Azzai "cast a glance upward," and died in the bloom of life. Ben Zoma was "struck in the mind," as Rashi puts it. Akiba "entered in peace and departed in peace." Acher "cut down the plants." Some phenomena appeared to him to be conflicting and irreconcilable. "Possibly there are two Powers in Heaven," was Acher's line of speculation, according to the Talmud. His step from the metaphysical side of Gnosticism to the moral, or rather immoral, phase of it was rapid and pronounced.

VI.

Why did Acher persecute his former co-religionists? No direct explanation is given in the Talmud, as far as I know, of the

unusual attitude of the apostate towards the people of his own flesh and blood.

Dr. H. Oppenheim, the learned Rabbi of Thorn, Prussia, thought that at the bottom of Elisha's strange consciousness lay a deeply rooted plan of doing away forever with the awful miseries, persecutions, and tortures of the Jews by destroying their faith and their identity, in the same way as the ingenious and resourceful apostate Solomon Levi, of Burgos, like the bear in the fable, aimed at killing the tormenting fly, though the skull of the beloved master be crushed with it.

Acher certainly did not seek to ingratiate himself in the eyes of Hadrian by acting as informer against the Jewish teachers; nor did he bear an inner hatred for his former co-religionists with whom he continued to associate to the end of his life. Considering the indescribable persecutions which the Jews suffered for the sake of their faith, one might almost feel inclined to forgive Acher of Jerusalem and Acher of Burgos for preferring spiritual suicide for their race to perpetual torture and misery. And, indeed, when the few surviving scholars met in the garret of Lydda to consider the future of Israel, did not the pious and saintly Ishmael himself suggest absolute cessation from conjugal life, in other words, national suicide, as a plausible remedy against the never ending evils and misfortunes of the Jewish race? Is it to be wondered then that the Gnostic Elisha should have thought of spiritual suicide as the most effectual remedy against the never-ceasing persecutions of Israel? It was not, indeed, the Law of Israel that Elisha scorned, but rather the lawlessness of the Romans that he dreaded. "Be a tailor or a carpenter," was his advice to the students of the Law on his occasional visits to the Jewish academies. Acher would have had the children of Israel either nurtured by the wolf that nursed the founders of Rome, or destroyed even as were the children on the road to Beth-El at the instigation of his great namesake, the prophet.

VII.

The noble part that the illustrious Rabbi Meir played in the life of Elisha forms the silver lining to the dark cloud of Acher's career. Meir, a pious Rabbi, and one of the most lovable characters in the Talmud, remained the bosom friend of the much dreaded Acher to the very last. Eager to benefit by his vast erudition, and still more anxious for his "return," this celebrated sage clung to Acher like an ivy which both supports and is in turn supported.

One Sabbath day Acher was riding on horseback, and Rabbi Meir was following alongside, as the Talmud says, "to learn Torah from his mouth." When they had covered a Tchum (a distance of 2000 feet from the city limits beyond which a Jew is not supposed to walk on the Sabbath), Acher exclaimed: "Meir, turn back! By the steps of my animal I notice that here is the Tchum limit."—"You, too, turn back," retorted Rabbi Meir suggestively. "I told you long ago that I had heard a mysterious voice, 'Return, O ye backsliding children; all except Acher,'" was his pensive reply.

One day when Rabbi Meir paid his usual visit to Acher's house, he found him dying. With tears in his eyes the Rabbi called upon him to repent. "Would they receive me?" asked the dying man with bated breath. Rabbi Meir quoted from the Psalm: "Thou turnest man to destruction; and sayest, Return, ye children of men." Tears trickled down Acher's wan cheek. He turned his head towards his beloved friend and pupil; but his eyes only stared, and he spoke no more. "He has returned! He has returned!" cried Rabbi Meir, as he saw his master breathe his last.

VIII.

Rabbi Meir paid periodic visits to Acher's resting place. At one time it was reported to him that smoke had been seen ascending from the apostate's grave. Rabbi Meir hastened to the spot and spread his flowing robe over the grave. "Repose, repose here in the night," he said. "In the dawn of bliss the grace and love of God will save thee. I shall be thy redeemer."

JESUS IN THE TALMUD.

BY ALBERT J. EDMUNDS.

RABBI Michael Rodkinson is bringing out a second edition of some of the volumes of his English Talmud. We would seize upon this opportunity to urge upon him the desirability of omitting or suppressing nothing. In Vol. II. of his first edition of Tract Shabbath, p. 243 (N. Y., 1896), there is missing an important reference to the Christian Gospels. We are told that Rabbi Meir (middle of the second century) called them "the Roll of Wickedness," and Rabbi Yochanan "the Roll of Iniquity,"—this last being a pun upon the Greek *Evangelion*—עֵץ בִּרְיִין. My authority is Hershon's *Talmudical Commentary on Genesis*, edited by Wolkensberg, which is full of passages relating to the New Testament as well as the Old. Immediately preceding the text in question, Rodkinson translates a passage concerning two third-century doctors arguing about the books used at the *Be Abhidon* (which Hershon renders "House of Perdition," with a gloss saying that it was "a place of public discussion between believing and unbelieving Jews"). Certain doctors also, we are told, visited or avoided the House of Perdition and the House of Nitzarphi (or Nitzrephe). Hershon suggests that the latter means Nazarenes, but Rodkinson does not translate it, saying that these names are much discussed. In all kindness, and purely in the interest of knowledge, we would venture to ask him to state, in his next edition, what the various interpretations are. The days are gone by when facts are to be feared. In this Republic, so full of learned Hebrews, is there not one who would gather together all the references to Jesus in the two Talmuds?¹ I have made such a collection from French and English translations, but would not be so presumptuous as to present it to the world without a knowledge of Hebrew. The reader,

¹ Bernhard Pick published just such a collection in 1887, but the book is out of print.

however, may like to know where some of these texts are to be found (in addition to Hershon, already quoted). First, there is the good old *Hora Hebraica et Talmudica* of John Lightfoot (Cambridge and London, 1658-1678, often republished). Then there is the chapter on Mishnical and Talmudical Writers in Nathaniel Lardner's *Jewish and Heathen Testimonies* (London, 1764, republished in his collected works, both in the eighteenth century and the nineteenth). There are several Talmudic passages about Jesus in Erwin Preuschen's *Antilegomena* (Giessen, 1901). Wünsche's book on Gospels and Talmud, however, is more devoted to the illustration of the Gospel allusions to Jewish customs and doctrines than to explicit accounts of Jesus. Horne, in his great Introduction to the Scriptures, so frequently reprinted and never useless, though antiquated, briefly alludes to the subject, but without sufficient fulness or precision.

What ought to be done is to translate Wünsche's book, and add to it all the passages overlooked by him.

There is just one text to which I should like to call attention, because of its curious account of an exposition by Jesus. This passage, though not very friendly to the Master, has about it the ring of veracity. For my part, it always brings me face to face with Him in a most vivid manner, and, even as a Christian, I prize it highly. Unfortunately it contains an allusion to a sanitary apparatus which has caused an editor like Lardner to mutilate it; but squeamishness is no part of science, and we want this text also honestly translated. The passage is from the Tract Avoda-zarah (on foreign religions), and relates a story about Rabbi Eliezer (first century) being arrested as a Christian. He denied the charge, but went home almost inconsolable. His pupil Akiba (afterwards the great organiser of Judaism against Christianity) rallied him by pointing out that his arrest had been a punishment for a secret leaning that he once had toward Christianity. The crest-fallen doctor replied that it probably was, for he once was walking through the market-place of Sepphoris, when he was accosted by James, the disciple of Jesus the Nazarene. James said to him: "It is written in your law: 'Thou shalt not bring the hire of an harlot or the price of a dog into the house of the Lord thy God.'" He then asked him whether it would be right to use such money for building a house of convenience for the High Priest? Eliezer was silent, whereupon James continued: 'I have been thus taught by Jesus the Nazarene: 'Of the hire of an harlot hath she gathered them, and unto the hire of an harlot shall they re-

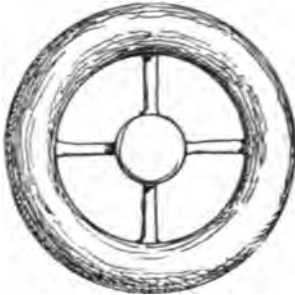
turn' [Micah i. 7], i. e., let it be applied in a way similar to that in which it was obtained."

It seems to me that this mystical explanation of Scripture is quite in keeping with the Lord's habitual exegesis. See, for example, Mark xii. 26, 27; 36, 37.

THE WHEEL AND THE CROSS.

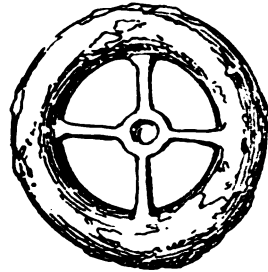
BY THE EDITOR.

THE cross is nearly related to the wheel symbolising the sun, for the oldest sun-wheels possess four spokes only. Many sun-wheel charms worn by the ancient Gauls have been found in France,



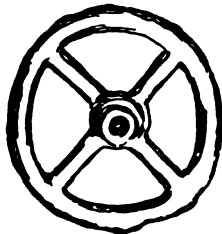
BRONZE WHEEL.

Found at Colchester, now in the British Museum. (Same size as original.)

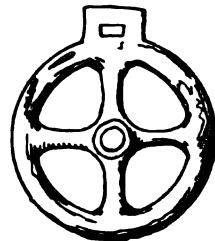


BRONZE WHEEL.

Found in Hounslow, now in the British Museum.



WHEEL AMULET OF LEAD.
Hissarlik.¹



WHEEL AMULET OF BRONZE, MYCENÆ.²

while others have been discovered in the British Isles. Mycene and Hissarlik too have yielded specimens of the same kind. They are made of gold, silver, bronze, or lead, of the size of an English

¹ See Schliemann's *Ilios*, fig. 1253, p. 365.

² See Schliemann's *Mycenæ*, p. 74.

penny; and though the spokes vary in number, the four-spoked wheels are quite common. One of them, taken from the remains of



COINS OF LUCTERIUS THE CARDUCAN, A GALLIC PRINCE WHO FOUGHT AGAINST CÆSAR.¹ (After Gaidoz. From Simpson, *loc. cit.*, p. 238.)



WHEEL WITH CHARMS. Found in Swiss Lake Dwellings.²



GOLDEN WHEEL AMULET OF MYCENÆ. From Schliemann, M. fig. 316, p. 203.



THE BUDDHIST CHAKRA. Borobudur, Pleyte.



INSCRIPTION AT RIMET EL LUHF, THE PROVINCE OF HAMAN.³

a Swiss Lake Dwelling, shows a number of amulets attached to the wheel. Finally we may mention one of Christian origin, for

¹ On this ancient coin of pagan Gaul the cross surrounded by a circle figures as prominently as on the coins of later Christian kings and emperors.

² From Victor Gross, *The Protokeltas*, pl. xxiii, fig. 33. Cf. W. Simpson, *loc. cit.*, p. 235.

³ Palestine Exploration Fund, 1895, communicated by Rev. W. Ewing.

it is found among the inscriptions of Hauran, where it is associated with the A(Ω) and an awkwardly drawn Christogram.

The Hindu sun-wheel, called *chakra*, is also frequently represented as having four spokes. It is used even to-day in Hindu temples and passed from Brahmanism into Buddhism as an emblem of religious significance.



THE BODHISATVA VISITING THE TEMPLE.¹ Sculpture of Borobudur.
(From Pleyte's *Buddha-Legende*, p. 57.)

Capital punishment was commonly regarded as a sacrifice, and the mode of execution depended upon the god to be conciliated. Both crucifixion and the breaking on the wheel were sacrifices offered to the sun god, and that the god could be the sacrifice offered to himself is a notion that prevailed not only in India and Mexico, but also in ancient Germany.



MĀYA DĒVI VISITING SHUDDHODANA.² Sculpture of Borobudur.
(From Pleyte's *Buddha-Legende*, p. 17).

The idea of the identity of the deity in contraries is well delineated by Emerson who echoes the spirit of Brahmanism in his famous hymn on Brahma :

¹ On the approach of Prince Siddhartha, the statues of the gods come off their pedestals and prostrate themselves before Bodhisatva, the Buddha to be. The pinnacle of the temple is decorated with a *chakra* or sun-wheel which here has the ancient and traditional shape of a cross in a circle (⊕).

² The scene represents the king at the moment of granting the queen's request to preserve her chastity. One of the body-guards carries a cross as a coat-of-arms on his shield. The same emblem appears on the shields of Shakya warriors on other sculptures. Cf. *loc. cit.*, pp. 33 and 37.

"If the red slayer think he slays,
Or if the slain think he is slain,
They know not well the subtle ways
I keep, and pass, and turn again.

— — — — —

"They reckon ill who leave me out;
When me they fly I am the wings;
I am the doubter and the doubt,
And I the hymn the Brahmin sings."

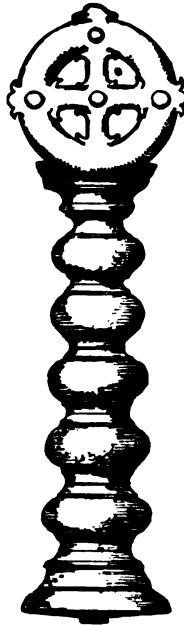


THE WHEEL OF THE LAW ON THE SANCHE TOPE.
(From Simpson, *loc. cit.*, p. 41.)

The idea is pantheistic, but it is based upon experience, or rather upon the primitive man's observation of nature. The god of life manifests himself in the exuberant growth of vegetation; he is vegetation. Then he dies in winter, but rises to new life in spring. The fruits of the field are part of his being, and so he offers himself to mankind as food, to nourish them and make them partake of the life that constitutes his being. He is the sacrificer and the sacrifice and also the god to whom the sacrifice is made.

Such is the idea pervading the myth of Thamuz and Adonis, and such the argument of the Mexicans when they immolated their god-incarnation upon the altar of the very same god.

In Norse mythology the world is conceived as a tree called Yggdrasil, the tree of Yggr, i. e., Odhin, and on it Odhin offers



CHAKRA OF
BRASS.¹



COLOSSAL STATUE OF THE
WHEEL-GOD OF GAUL.²

himself as a sacrifice. We read in the *Elder Edda* of the Father of the gods:

I knew that I hung
In the wind-rocked tree
Nine whole nights,
Wounded with a spear ;
And to Odhin offered
Myself to myself,
On that tree
Of which no one knows
From what root it springs.

¹ After Alex. Rea, *South Indian Antiquities, New Imp. Series*. Madras, 1894, p. 42, pl. xxxiii. This chakra was found at Ghautasala, Madras Presidency.

² Found at Séguret, Vaucluse. Now in the Museum at Avignon. After Gaidoz from Simpson, *loc. cit.*, p. 245.

Were the idea not a blossom of polytheism, which blooms shortly before it develops into pantheism, we would be inclined to regard these verses of the *Edda* as a Christian interpolation, so typically Christian is the underlying thought of God's offering himself on the tree unto himself as a sacrifice.

S. Baring Gould mentions the barbarous mode of execution on the wheel in his *Strange Survivals* where he says:

"On the Continent, in Germany, and in France, breaking on the wheel was a customary mode of execution. The victim was stretched on the wheel, and with a bar of iron his limbs were



IXION ON THE FIERY WHEEL.

broken, and then a blow was dealt him across the breast. After that the wheel was set up on a tall pole with the dead man on it, and left to become a prey to the ravens. This was a survival of human sacrifices to the sun-god, as hanging is a survival to the wind-god."

Ixion,¹ according to the Homeric legend, a wretched sufferer on the wheel in Tartarus, is probably an ancient sun-god who with the ascendancy of Zeus was degraded into a demon of the under-

¹ Benseler derives the name Ixion from *ixón*, which is related to *ioxón*, and should mean "the lusty one."

world, and it is noteworthy that his wheel in the antique illustrations still retains the shape of a cross in a circle.

We may here venture a suggestion as to the way in which the idea originated of Ixion becoming a victim of Zeus's wrath. Originally the sun was worshipped as the benefactor. He was the great luminary in the sky, he was the sun-god, he was the sun-wheel. The sun was then supposed to be the god on the wheel, but a distinction began to be made between the god and sun; the god was



TWO ARCHAIC STATUES OF THE WHEEL-GOD OF GAUL.¹
(After Gaidoz, from Simpson, *loc. cit.*, p. 243.)

worshipped as an invisible divine presence, while the wheel was identified with the sun rolling through the sky at God's command.

¹Commenting on the two statues of the wheel-god Mr. William Simpson says (*Buddhist Praying Wheel*, p. 242-243): "The Department of Allier is very nearly in the middle of France, and that region, it appears, was noted at an early age for its pottery, as it supplied the most of the country with its productions, which were numerous, and included sacred as well as profane articles. Amongst the former of these were gods, and the Wheel-God appears to have been included in the works of these workers in terra-cotta. M. Esmonnot of Moulins formed a collection of fragments of these, which are now in the St. Germain Museum. M. Bertrand of Moulins has also made a collection, and has been able to join some of his fragments together, so as to make the complete figures here reproduced. The art is of the crudest kind, but it shows an old man with a beard; his left hand rests on the head of a creature with a human face, a female with breasts, but apparently with animal extremities. With his left hand he supports a wheel on his shoulder."

The prophets of this higher conception repudiated the old view. To them the personality on the wheel was a false god, and together with the wheel he was subject to the invisible God of light and truth. Now, if we assume that the notion of a personality on the wheel persisted in being painted or believed in, and the fact was still remembered that he was once a rival of the true God, a rebel, a traitor, we can understand how the myth originated that Zeus, the true god, had Ixion (which is a cognomen of a prehistoric sun-god) fastened to the sun-wheel on account of some awful crime or act of treason he was supposed to have committed.



ALTAR OF THE GALLIC
WHEEL-GOD.¹
(Maison Carrée, Nismes.)



ALTAR SCULPTURE OF
THE GALLIC WHEEL-
GOD. Found at The-
ley, district Ottweiler,
preserved in the Mu-
seum at Treves. The
other three sides
show Hygeia, Mi-
nerva, and Hercules.¹



BRONZE FIGURE OF THE
GALLIC WHEEL-GOD.
Of about four inches.
Found at Châtelet,
Haute Marne, pre-
served in the Louvre.¹

Judging from the innumerable statues of a solar deity carrying as his symbol a wheel, which have been found in France, we must assume that the wheel god, by the Romans identified with Zeus, was the main deity of the Gallic Celts.² But the worship of the wheel god—or rather the sun god whose symbol was the wheel—cannot have been limited to Gaul, for the wheel of the same or almost the same shape was worshipped among all the Aryan nations from India to the British Isles.

¹ After Gaidoz, from Simpson, pp. 244, 245, and 252.

² For details compare the interesting work of M. Gaidoz, *Le dieu Gaulois du soleil et le symbolisme de la roue*, which has been much consulted and utilised by William Simpson in his book *The Buddhist Prayer Wheel*. Macmillan & Co., 1896.

AMITABHA.

A STORY OF BUDDHIST METAPHYSICS.

BY THE EDITOR.

[CONTINUED.]

THE CONFESSION.

THE young novice spent his days in study and his nights in doubt. He followed with interest the recitations of his instructor on the philosophy of the Enlightened One; he enjoyed the birth-stories of Bodhisattva and the parables of the master with their moral applications, but when he retired in the evening or was otherwise left to his own thoughts he began to ponder on the uselessness of the hermit's life and longed to return to the world with its temptations and struggles, its victories and defeats, its pleasures and pains, its hopes and fears. He enjoyed the solitude of the forest, but he began to think that the restlessness of the world could offer him more peace of mind than the inactivity of a monkish life.

When Charaka had familiarised himself with all the Sutras and wise sayings which were known to the brethren of the monastery, the time began to hang heavy on his hands, and he felt that the religious discourses were becoming tedious.

Weeks elapsed, and Charaka despaired of either becoming accustomed to monkish life or of understanding the deeper meaning of their renunciation of the world, and his conscience began to trouble him; for the more the elder brethren respected him for his knowledge and gentleness, and the more they praised him, the less worthy he deemed himself of their recognition.

The day of confession¹ approached again. He had spent the hours in fasting and self-discipline, but all this availed nothing. He was weary and felt a sadness of heart beyond description.

¹ In Pāli, Uposatha.

In the evening all the brethren were gathered together in the chaitya, the large hall where they held their devotional meetings. The aisles lay in mystic darkness, and the pictures on the heavy columns and on the ceiling were half concealed. They appeared and disappeared from time to time in the flicker of the torches that were employed to light the room. The monks sat in silent expectation, their faces showing a quietude and calmness which proved that they were unconcerned about their own fate, ready to live or to die, as their doom might be, only bent on the one aim of reaching Nirvâna.

The senior monk arose and addressed the assembly. "Reverend sirs," he said, "let the order hear me. To-day is full moon, and the day of the unburdening of our hearts. If the order is ready, let the order consecrate this day to the recital of the confession. This is our first duty, and so let us listen to the declaration of purity."

The brethren responded, saying: "We are here to listen and will consider the questions punctiliously."

The speaker continued: "Whoever has committed a transgression, let him speak, those who are free from the consciousness of guilt, let them be silent."

At this moment a tall figure rose slowly and hesitatingly from the ground at the further end of the hall. He did not speak but stood there quietly, towering for some time in the dusky recess between two pillars as though he were the apparition of a guilty conscience. The presiding brother at last broke the silence and addressed the brethren, saying: "A monk who has committed a fault, and remembers it, if he endeavors to be pure, should confess his fault. When a fault is confessed, it will lie lightly on him."

Still the shadowy figure stood motionless, which seemed to increase the gloom in the hall.

"One of the brethren has risen, indicating thereby that he desires to speak," continued the abbot. "A monk who does not confess a fault after the question has been put three times is guilty of an intentional lie, and the Blessed One teaches that an intentional lie cuts a man off from sanctification."

The gloomy figure now lifted his head and with suppressed emotion began to speak. "Venerable father," he said, "and ye reverend sirs, may I speak out and unburden my heart?". The voice was that of the novice, and a slight commotion passed through the assemblage. Having been encouraged to speak freely and without reserve, Charaka began :

"Venerable father, and ye reverend sirs: I feel guilty of having infringed on one of the great prohibitions. I am as a palm tree, the top of which has been destroyed. I am broken in spirit and full of contrition. I am anxious to be a disciple of the Shakyamuni, but I am not worthy to be a monk, I never have been and never shall be." Here his voice faltered, and he sobbed like a child.

The brethren were horror-stricken; they thought at once that the youth was contaminated by some secret crime; he was too young to be free from passion, too beautiful to be beyond temptation, too quick-witted not to be ambitious. True, they loved him, but they felt now that their very affection for him was a danger, and there was no one in the assembly who did not feel the youth's self-accusation as partly directed against himself. But the abbot overcame the sentiment that arose so quickly, and encouraged the penitent brother to make a full confession. "Do not despair," he said, "thou art young; it is natural that thy heart should still cherish dreams of love, and that alluring reminiscences should still haunt thy mind."

"I entered the brotherhood with false hopes and wrong aspirations," replied the novice. "I am longing for wisdom and supernatural powers; I am ambitious to do and to dare, and I hoped to acquire a deeper knowledge through self-discipline and holiness. I am free from any actual transgression, but my holiness is mockery; my piety is not genuine; I am a hypocrite and I find that I am betraying you, venerable father, and all the monks of this venerable community. But it grieveth me most that I am false to myself; I am not worthy to wear the yellow robe."

"Thou art not expected to be perfect," replied the abbot, "thou art walking on the path, and hast not as yet reached the goal. Thy fault is impatience with thyself and not hypocrisy."

"Do not palliate my fault, venerable father," said Charaka. "There is something wrong in my heart and in my mind. If I am not a hypocrite, then I am a heretic; and a heretic walks on the wrong road in a wrong direction, and can never reach the goal. Do not minimise, do not extenuate, do not qualify and mitigate my faults, for I feel their grievousness and am anxious to be led out of the darkness into the light. I long for life and the unfoldment of life. I want to comprehend the deepest truths; I want to know and to taste the highest bliss; I want to accomplish the greatest deeds."

"Then thou art worldly; thou longest for power, for fame, for

honor, for pleasures," suggested the abbot inquiringly; "thou art not yet free from the illusion of selfhood. It is not the truth, then, that thou wantest, but thyself, to be an owner of the truth; it is self-enhancement, not service; vanity, not helpfulness."

"That may be, reverend father," replied the novice; "thy wisdom shall judge me; though I do not feel myself burdened by selfishness. No, I do not love myself. I would gladly sacrifice myself for any noble cause, for truth, for justice, for procuring bliss for others. Nor do I crave worldly pleasures, but I do not feel any need of shirking them. Pleasures like pains are the stuff that life is made of, and I do not hate life. I enjoy the unfoldment of life with all its aspirations, not for my sake, but for life's sake. I do not love myself, I love God. That is my fault, and that is the root from which grow all my errors, heresies, hypocrisies, and the false position in which I now am."

The good abbot did not know what to say. He looked at the poor novice and pitied him for his pangs of conscience. Every one present felt that the man suffered, that there was something wrong with him; but no one could exactly say what it was. His ambition was not sinful but noble. And that he loved God was certainly not a crime. At last the abbot addressed Subhûti, Charaka's senior and teacher, and asked him: "Have you, reverend brother, noticed in this novice's behavior or views anything strange or exceptional?"

Subhûti replied that he had not.

The abbot continued to inquire about Charaka's previous religious relations and the significance of his love of God.

"I do not know, reverend sir," was the elder monk's answer. "He is not a Brahman, but a descendant of a noble family of the northern conquerors that came to India and founded the kingdom of Gandhâra. Yet he knows Brahman writings and is familiar with the philosophy of the Yavanas¹ of the distant West. I discoursed with him and understand that by God he means all that is right and good and true in the world and without whom there can be no enlightenment."

"Very well," proclaimed the abbot, "there is no sin in loving God, for what you describe as God is our Lord Shakyamuni, the Enlightened One, the Buddha, the Tathâgata;" but he added not without a suggestion of reproof: "You might dignify the Lord Buddha with a higher title than God. Gods, if they exist, are not Buddha's equals. When Bodhisattva was a child, the gods pros-

¹ The Greeks.

trated themselves before him, for they recognised the Tathâgata's superiority even before he had attained to complete Buddhahood. The divinity of the gods is less than the noble life of a Bodhi-sattva."

Having thus discussed the case of the novice Charaka, the abbot addressed himself to the Brotherhood, asking the reverend sirs what they would deem right in the present case. Was the brother at all guilty of the fault of which he accused himself and if so what should he do to restore his good standing and set himself aright in the Brotherhood?

Then Subhûti arose and said: "Charaka is a man of deep comprehension and of an earnest temper. The difficulty which he encounters is not for us to judge him on or to advise him about. But there is a philosopher living in the kingdom of Magadha, by the name of Açvaghosha. If there is anyone in the world that can set an erring brother right, it is Açvaghosha, whose wisdom is so great that since Buddha entered Nirvâna there has been no man on earth who might have surpassed him either in knowledge or judgment." So Subhûti proposed to write a letter of introduction to Açvaghosha commending the brother Charaka to his care and suggesting to him to dispel his doubts and to establish him again firmly in the faith in which the truth shines forth more brilliantly than in any other religion.

The abbot agreed with Subhûti and the general opinion among the brethren was in favor of sending Charaka to the kingdom of Magadha to the philosopher Açvaghosha to have his doubts dispelled and his heart established again in the faith of the Buddha, the Blessed One, the teacher of truth.

Before they could carry out their plan the session was interrupted by a messenger from the royal court of Gandhâra, who inquired for a novice by the name of Charaka,—a man well versed in medicine and other learned arts. A dreadful epidemic had spread in the country, and the old king had died while two of his sons were afflicted with the disease and now lay at the point of death. The oldest son and heir to the throne was in the field defending his country against the Parthians, and some mountaineers of the East, nominally subject to the kingdom of Magadha but practically independent, had utilised the opportunity afforded by these circumstances to descend into the fertile valleys of Gandhâra and to pillage the country.

The regard in which Charaka had been held in the Brotherhood during his novitiate had not suffered through his confession

and was even heightened. It had been known in the cloister that the young novice was of a noble family, but he had made nothing of it and so the intimate connection with the royal family of the country created an uncommon sensation among his venerable brethren. Now, a special awe attached to his person since it was known that the young king knew of Charaka, and needing his wisdom, sent a special messenger to call him back to the capital.

In spite of the interruption the ceremony of confession was continued and closed in the traditional way; all the questions regarding transgressions that might have been committed were asked and in some cases sins were punctiliously reported by those who felt a need of unburdening their conscience. Penances were imposed which were willingly and submissively assumed. When everything had been attended to, the abbot turned again to Charaka saying, "If you had concealed your secret longings, you would have been guilty of hypocrisy, but now since you have openly laid bare the state of your mind, there is no longer any falsehood in you. Therefore I find no fault with your conduct; should you find that you cannot remain a monk, you must know that there is no law that obliges you to remain in the Brotherhood against your will."

The abbot then granted Charaka permission to obey the King's call, saying, "You are free to leave the order in peace and goodwill, but I enjoin you to make a vow that you will not leave your doubts unsettled, but that as soon as you have attended to the pressing duties which will engage your attention at the capital you will make a pilgrimage to the philosopher Açvaghosha, who lives in the kingdom of Magadha. He will be a better adviser than I, and he shall decide whether or not you are fit to be a monk of our Lord the Buddha."

GANDHARA.

As the night was far advanced, the royal messenger allowed his horses a short rest in the Vihâra, and set out with Charaka at an early hour the following morning. The two travellers could not, however, make rapid progress, for the atmosphere was murky, and the fogs of the rainy season obscured the way. They passed a picket of Gandhâra soldiers who were on the lookout for the hostile mountaineers. The mounted messenger showed them his passport, and the two men reached the capital only when the shades of evening were settling upon the valley. The gates were carefully guarded by armed men. The sentinel led the two horsemen to the

officer at the gate, who seemed satisfied with the report that Charaka had nowhere encountered enemies; but the home news was very bad, for one of the princes had died and Chandana (commonly called Kanishka), the third and youngest son of the king, was thought to be critically ill.

The night was darker than usual, and the town made a gloomy impression. The inhabitants were restless and seemed to be prepared for a dire calamity.

Charaka was at once conducted to the royal palace. He passed through a line of long streets which seemed narrow and dismal. The people whom they met on their way, being wrapped in a veil of mist, resembled even at a short distance dim dusky specters, like guilty ghosts condemned for some crime to haunt the scene of their former lives. At last they reached the palace, and Charaka was ushered into the dimly-lighted bedroom of prince Kanishka. Charaka stood motionless and watched the heavy breathing of the patient. He then put his hand gently upon the feverish forehead and in a low voice demanded water to cool the burning temples of the sick man. Turning to the attendants, he met the questioning eye of a tall and beautiful woman, an almost imperious figure. He knew her well; it was princess Kamalavatî, the king's daughter and a younger half-sister of the prince.

"His condition is very bad," whispered Charaka in reply to the unuttered question that was written in her face, "but not yet hopeless. Where are the nurses who assist you in ministering unto the patient?"

Two female attendants appeared, and the physician withdrew with them into an adjoining room where he listened to their reports. "The king and his second son have died of the same disease, and the situation is very critical," said Charaka; "but we may avoid the mistakes made in the former cases and adjust the diet strictly to the condition of the patient."

Charaka and Kanishka were of the same age. They had for some time been educated together and were intimate friends. But when the prince joined the royal army, Charaka studied the sciences under the direction of Jīvaka, the late court physician of Gandhâra, and knowing how highly the latter had praised the young man as his best disciple, the prince had unbounded confidence in the medical skill of his boyhood companion. He had suggested calling him when his father, the king, fell sick, but his advice had remained unheeded, and now being himself ill, he was impatient to have the benefit of his assistance.

Charaka gave his instructions to the princess and the other attendants and then sat down quietly by the bedside of the patient. When Kanishka awoke from his restless slumber, he extended his hand and tried to speak, but the physician hushed him, saying: "Keep quiet, and your life will be saved."

"I will be quiet," whispered Kanishka, not without great effort, "but save my life,—for the sake of my country, not for my own sake." After a pause he continued: "Tell my sister to call Matura, our brave and faithful Matura, to my bedside."

Matura, the scion of a noble Gandhâra family, had served his country on several occasions and was at present at the capital. He came and waited patiently till Charaka gave him permission to see the patient.

In this interview the prince explained to Matura the political situation since his father's death. His royal brother, now in the field against the Parthians, was at present the legitimate king. "During his absence," said Kanishka, "the duty devolves on me, as the vicegerent of the crown, to keep the mountaineers out of the kingdom, and I call upon you to serve me as chancellor in this critical situation. Raise troops to expel the marauders, but at the same time exhaust diplomatic methods by appealing to the honor and dignity of the kingdom of Magadha of whom these robber tribes are nominal subjects."

Thus Matura took charge of state affairs and Charaka and Kamalavati united in attending to the treatment of the sick prince. They had weary nights and hours of deep despondency when they despaired of the recovery of their beloved patient, but the crisis came and Kanishka survived it. He regained strength, first slowly, very slowly, then more rapidly, until he felt that he was past all danger.

The rainy season had given the people of Gandhâra a respite from the suffering caused by the hostilities of their enemies. The king, Kanishka's elder brother, continued to wage war against the Parthians and concentrated his forces for striking a decisive blow. But while the best troops of the country had thus still to be employed against a formidable foe, the mountaineers renewed their raids, and the king of Magadha, too weak to interfere with his stubborn vassals, pleaded their cause declaring that they had grievances against the Kingdom of Gandhâra and could therefore not be restrained. The prince accordingly declared war on the Kingdom of Magadha. He raised an army, and the young men of the

peasantry, who had suffered much from this state of unrest, gladly allowed themselves to be enlisted in the army.

During the preparations for the expedition against Magadha there came tidings from the Parthian frontier that the troops of Gandhâra had gained a decisive victory which, however, was dearly bought, for the king himself who had been foremost among the combatants, died a glorious death on the field of battle. The crown now passed to Kanishka who deemed it his first duty to overcome the enemies of his nation. Leaving the trusted generals of his brother in command of the victorious army in Parthia, he placed himself at the head of the troops destined to march against Magadha. Charaka was requested to accompany him in the field, and Matura remained behind as chancellor of the state.

Charaka loved the princess without knowing it. She had been kindly disposed toward him from childhood; but her interest was heightened to admiration since she had observed him at the bedside of her brother. How noble he was, how thoughtful, how unselfish; and at the same time how wise in spite of his youth. When the two parted she said: "Take care of my brother, be to him as a guardian angel; and," added the princess smiling, "be good to yourself,—for my sake."

Charaka stood bewildered. He felt his cheeks flushing, and did not know what to think or say. All at once he became conscious of the fact that a powerful yearning had gradually grown up in his heart, and a tender and as yet undefined relation had become established between himself and the princess. He was not sure, however, whether it was right for him to accept and press the beautiful woman's hand that was offered him in unaffected friendliness and with maidenly innocence. He stood before her like a schoolboy censured for a serious breach of the school regulations. He stammered; his head drooped; and at last covering his eyes with his hand, he began to sob like a child with a guilty conscience.

At this moment Kanishka approached to bid his sister good-bye; and after a few words of mutual good wishes Charaka and Kamalavatî parted.

While the king and his physician were riding side by side, their home behind them, their enemy in front, Kanishka inquired about the trouble which had stirred Charaka to tears. And Charaka said: "It is all my fault. When your sister bade me farewell, I became aware of a budding love toward her in my soul, and I feel that she reciprocates my sentiment. I know it is sinful, and I will

not yield to temptation, but I am weak, and that brought tears to my eyes. I feel ashamed of myself."

"Do you deem love wrong?" inquired the king.

"Is not celibacy the state of holiness," replied Charaka, "and is not marriage a mere concession to worldliness, being instituted for the sake of preventing worse confusion?"

"You ought to know more about it than I," continued Kanishka, "for you devoted yourself to religion by joining the brotherhood, while I am a layman, and my religious notions are not grounded on deeper knowledge."

"Alas!" sighed Charaka, "I am not fit to be a monk. The abbot at the Vihâra could not help me and advised me to have my doubts allayed and the problems of my soul settled by Aṣvaghosha of Magadha, the great philosopher and saint who is said to understand the doctrine of the Blessed One, the Buddha."

"What is the problem that oppresses you?" inquired King Kanishka. "Is your soul burdened with sin?"

"I am not guilty of a sinful deed, but I feel that my soul is sinful in its aspirations. My heart is full of passion, and I have an ambitious mind. I would perform great deeds, noble and miraculous, and would solve the problem of life; I would fathom the mysteries of being and comprehend the law of existence, its source and its purpose. There is an undefined yearning in my breast, a desire to do and to dare, to be useful to others, to live to the utmost of my faculties, and to be rooted in the mysterious ground from which springs all the life that unfolds itself in the world. I came into being, and I shall pass out of existence. I believe that I existed before I was born, and that I shall exist after my death. But these other incarnations of mine are after all other than myself, other at least than my present existence. I understand very well that I am a reproduction of the life impulses that preceded me, and that I shall continue in subsequent reproductions of my Karma. But I feel my present self to be the form of this life which will pass away, and I yearn for a union with that eternal substratum of all life which will never pass away."

Kanishka said: "While I was ill I had occasion to meditate on the problem of life and life's relation to death. Once I was dreaming; and in the dream I was not Prince Kanishka, but a king, not King of Gandhâra, but of some unknown country, and I was leading my men in battle; and it happened, as in the case of my brother, that I was victorious, and the hostile army before me turned in wild flight, but in the moment of victory a dying enemy

shot an arrow at me which pierced my heart, and I knew my end was come. There was a pang of death, but it was not an unpleasant sensation, for my last thought was: 'Death in battle is better than to live defeated.'¹ I awoke. A gentle perspiration covered my forehead, and I felt as though I had passed through a crisis in which I had gained a new lease of life. My dream had been so vivid that when I awoke I had the impression that I and all the visions that surrounded me had been annihilated; yet after a while, when my mind was again fully adjusted, the dream appeared empty to me, a mere phantasma and illusion. Will it not be similar, if at the moment of death we make our final entrance into Nirvâna? Nirvâna appears to us in our present existence as a negative state but our present existence is phenomenal, while Nirvâna is the abiding state."

Charaka replied: "I should think there is much truth in your words. But the Tathâgata teaches that by attaining enlightenment, we shall enter Nirvâna even in this present life; and if we do so, it seems to me that our main advantage lies in the comprehension of the transiency of all bodily existence and the permanence of our spiritual nature. Death has lost its terrors to him who sees the immortal state. He knows that in death he shuffles off the mortal. But here my difficulty begins. I long for Nirvâna only as a means to enrich this present life.

"The Tathâgata teaches that life is suffering, and he is right. I do not doubt it. He has further discovered the way of emancipation, which is the eightfold noble path of righteousness. Now, I love life in spite of its suffering, and I am charmed with love. Love is life-giving, heart-gladdening, courage-inspiring! Oh, I love love, real worldly love! I admire heroism, the wild heroism of the battle-field! I long for wisdom, not the wisdom of the monks, but practical science which teaches us the why and wherefore of things and imparts to us the wizard's power over nature. Now, with all this I love righteousness; I feel the superiority of religious calmness, and the blissfulness of Nirvana. I do not cling to self, but desire to apply myself: I want a field of activity. All these conflicting thoughts produce in me the longing for a solution: there it lies before me as an ideal which I cannot grasp, and I call it God. Oh, that I could speak to the Tathâgata face to face; that I could go to him for enlightenment, that I could learn the truth so as to walk on the right path and find peace of soul in the tribulations of life. Since the Lord Buddha is no longer walking with us in the

¹ Padhâna sutta, 16. S. B. E., X., p. 71.

flesh, there is only one man in the world who can help me in my distress, and that is the great disciple of the Blessed Master, the philosopher and saint Aṣvaghosha of Magadha."

"Aṣvaghosha of Magadha!" replied the King. "Very well! We are waging war with the King of Magadha. Let the prize of combat be the possession of Aṣvaghosha!"

MAGADHA.

War is always deplorable, but sometimes it cannot be avoided. And if that be the case, far from shunning it, a ruler, responsible for the welfare of his people, should carry it on resolutely and courageously with the one aim in view of bringing it speedily to a happy conclusion.

Such was Kanishka's maxim, and he acted accordingly. Having gathered as strong an army as he could muster, he surprised the mountaineers by coming upon them suddenly with superior forces from both sides. They made a desperate resistance, but he overthrew them and, leaving garrisons in some places of strategic importance, carried the war farther into the heart of the Kingdom of Magadha. He descended into the valley of the Ganges, and hurrying by forced marches through the vassal kingdoms of Delhi and Sravasti, the Gandhâra army marched in four columns toward the capital of the country.

Subâhu, King of Magadha, met his adversary in the field near Pâtaliputra with an army that had been rapidly assembled, but he could not stay the invader's victorious progress. In several engagements his troops were scattered to the four winds, his elephants captured, and he was obliged to retire to the fortress of Pâtaliputra. There he was besieged, and when he saw that no hope of escape was left he decided to make no further resistance and sent a messenger to King Kanishka, asking him for terms of peace.

The victor demanded an indemnity of three hundred million gold pieces, a sum which the whole Kingdom of Magadha could not produce.

When the besieged king asked for less severe terms, Kanishka replied: "If thou art anxious to procure peace, come out to me in person, and I will listen to your proposition. I wish to see you. Let us meet face to face, and we will consider our difficulties."

Subâhu, knowing the uselessness of further resistance, came out with his minister and accompanied by his retinue. He was

conducted into the presence of Kanishka, who requested him to be seated.

The King of Magadha complied with the request of his victorious rival with the air of a high-minded man, the guest of his equal. Kanishka frowned upon him. He observed the self-possession of his conquered foe with a feeling of resentment, which, however, was somewhat alloyed with admiration.

After a pause he addressed the royal petitioner as follows: "Why didst thou not render justice to me when I asked for it?"

"My intentions were good," replied Subâhu, "I wanted to preserve peace. The mountaineers are restless, but they are religious and full of faith. Their chieftains assured me the people had only retaliated wrongs that they had suffered themselves. Trying to be fair and just to my vassals, I roused the worse evil of war, and in preserving the peace at home I conjured up the specter of hostility from abroad. He who would avoid trouble sometimes breeds greater misfortune."

"In other words," interrupted King Kanishka sternly, "your weakness prevented you from punishing the evil-doers under your jurisdiction, and being incapable of governing your kingdom, you lost your power and the right to rule."

"Sir," replied the humiliated monarch with calm composure, "thou art the victor and thou canst deal with me at thy pleasure, but if the fortunes of the day had turned against thee, thou mightest stand now before me in the same degraded position in which thou now seest me. But the difference is this: I have a clean conscience; I proved peaceful; I never gave offence to anybody,—consciously. Thou hast carried the war into my country. Thou art the offender; and shouldst thou condemn me to die, I shall die innocent to be reborn in a happier state under more auspicious conditions. The Lord Buddha be praised!"

Kanishka was astonished at the boldness of the king's speech, but he mastered his anger and replied calmly: "Art thou so ignorant as not to know that a ruler's first duty is justice, and to me justice thou hast refused!"

"Man's first duty is to seek salvation," replied the king of Magadha, "and salvation is not obtained by harshness but by piety."

The King of Gandhâra rose to his feet: "You are fitted for a monk, not a monarch. You had better retire to the cloistered cell of a Vihâra than occupy the throne of a great empire. What is the use of piety if it does not help you to attend to the duties of your

high office? It leads you to misery and has cost you your throne. The world cannot prosper on the principles which you follow."

Subâhu seemed imperturbable, and without deigning to look at the incensed face of his vituperator he exclaimed: "What is the world if we but gain salvation? Let all the thrones on earth be lost and whole nations perish when only emancipation can be obtained! We want escape, not secular enhancement."

Kanishka stared at the speaker as if unable to comprehend his frame of mind, and Subâhu without showing any concern quoted a stanza from the Dhammapada, saying:

"The kings' mighty chariots of iron will rust,
And also our bodies dissolve into dust,
But the deeds of the pure
Will forever endure."

Filled with admiration of Subâhu's fortitude, Kanishka said: "I see thou art truly a pious man. But thy piety is not of the right kind. Thy way of escape leads into emptiness, and thy salvation is hollow. This world is the place in which the test of truth must be made; and this life is the time in which it is our duty to attain Nirvâna. But I will not now upbraid thee for thy errors; I will first raise thee to a dignified position in which thou canst answer me and give thy arguments. I understand that thou art a faithful disciple of the Buddha and meanest to do that which is right. I respect thy sincerity and greet thee as a brother. Therefore I will not deprive thee of thy crown and title if thou payest the penalty of three hundred million gold pieces. Thou shalt remain king with the understanding that henceforth thou takest council with me on all questions of political importance, for I see clearly that thou standest in need of advice. But in place of the three hundred million gold pieces I will accept substitutes which I deem worth that amount. First, thou shalt deliver into my hands the bowl which the Tathâgata, the Blessed Buddha, carried in his hand when he was walking on earth, and, secondly, as a ransom for thy royal person which I hold here besieged in Pâtaliputra I request from thee the philosopher Ashvaghosha whose fame has spread through all the countries where the religion of enlightenment is preached."

The vanquished king said: "Truly, the bowl of Buddha and the philosopher Ashvaghosha are amply worth three hundred million gold pieces, and yet I must confess that you are generous and your conditions of peace fair."

"Do not call me generous," said Kanishka, embracing the

King of Magadha, "I am only wordly wise ; and it is not my own wisdom. I have learned the maxims of my politics from the Blessed One, the great Buddha."

AÇVAGHOSHA.

Buddha's birthday was celebrated with greater rejoicing than usual in the year following King Kanishka's invasion, which took place in the fifth century after the Nirvâna. The formidable invaders had become friends and the people were joyful that the war clouds had dispersed so rapidly.

Kanishka was in good spirits. He was elated by his success, but it had not made him overbearing, and he was affable to all who approached him. In a short time he had become the most powerful monarch of India, his sway extending far beyond the boundaries of his own kingdom. His generals had been victorious over the Parthians in the far West and his alliance with the King of Magadha made him practically ruler over the valley of the Ganges. But more effective than his strategy and the might of his armies was the kindness which he showed to his vanquished enemies. Princes of smaller dominions willingly acknowledged his superiority and submitted to him their difficulties because they cherished an unreserved confidence in his fairness and love of justice. Thus was laid the foundation of a great empire upon whose civilisation the religion of the Enlightened One exercised a decided influence. Peace was established, commerce and trade flourished, and Greek sculptors flocked to Gandhâra, transplanting the art of their home to the soil of India.

It was the beginning of India's golden age which lasted as long as the Dharma, the doctrine of the Tathâgata, remained pure and undefiled. A holy enthusiasm seized the hearts of the people and there were many who felt an anxiety to spread the blessings of religion over the whole world. Missionaries went out who reached Thibet and China and even far-off Japan where they sowed the seeds of truth and spread the blessings of lovingkindness and charity.

Kanishka and the King of Magadha enjoyed each other's company. The two allied monarchs started on a peaceful pilgrimage to the various sacred spots of the country. They visited Lumbinî, the birthplace of the Bodhisattva. Thence passing over the site of Kapilavastu, the residence of Shuddhodana, Buddha's father in the flesh and the haunt of Prince Siddhârtha in his youth, they went to the Bodhi tree at Buddhagaya and returned to the capital

Benares, to celebrate the birth festival of the Buddha in the Deer Park, on the very spot where the revered Teacher had set the wheel of truth in motion to roll onward for the best of mankind,—the wheel of truth which no god, no demon, nor any other power, be it human, divine, or infernal, should ever be able to turn back.

A procession went out to the holy place and circumambulated the stupa, erected on the sacred spot in commemoration of the memorable event, and the two monarchs, who had but a short time before met as foes on the battlefield, walked together like brothers, preceded by white-robed virgins bearing flowers, and followed by priests chanting gâthâs of the blessings of the good law and swinging censers. No display of arms was made but multitudes of peaceful citizens hailed the two rulers and blessed the magnanimity of the hero of Gandhâra.

When the procession halted, Kanishka and his brother king stood in front of a statue of the Buddha and watched the process of depositing flowers. "Who is the beautiful maiden that is leading the flower carriers?" asked Kanishka of the King of Magadha in a whisper; and the latter replied: "It is Bhadrâçrî, my only daughter."

Kanishka followed with his eye the graceful movements of the princess and breathed a prayer: "Adoration to the Buddha!" he said to himself in the silent recesses of his heart. "The Buddha has guided my steps and induced me to make peace before the demons of war could do more mischief. I now vow to myself that if the princess will accept me I shall lead her as queen to my capital and she shall be the mother of the kings of Gandhâra to come. May the Tathâgata's blessing be on us and my people!"

At the stupa of the first sermon of the Buddha, peace was definitely concluded. The King of Magâdha delivered to his powerful ally the sacred bowl, a treasure which, though small in size, was esteemed worth more than half the kingdom of Magadha; and Ashvaghosha, the old philosopher, was bidden to appear at court and be ready to accompany the ruler of Gandhâra to his home in the northwest of India.

Ashvaghosha arrived at the Deer Park in a royal carriage drawn by white horses, and there he was presented to King Kanishka. He bowed reverently and said: "Praised be the Lord Buddha for his blessed teachings! Gladness fills my heart when I think how your majesty treats your vanquished foe. The victorious enemy has become a friend and brother, making an end of all hostility for ever."

"Good, my friend," replied Kanishka; "if there is merit in my action I owe thanks for my karma to the Tathâgata. He is my teacher and I bless the happy day on which I became his disciple. My knowledge, however, is imperfect and even my learned friend Charaka is full of doubts on subjects of grave importance. Therefore I invite you to accompany me to Gandhâra, where my people and myself are sorely in need of your wisdom and experience."

"Your invitation is flattering," said the philosopher, "and it is tendered in kindly words; but I pray you, noble sir, leave me at home. I am an aged man and could scarcely stand the exertion of the journey. But I shall be yours for the rest of my life and whatever be your command, I shall obey."

"Charaka!" said the king, "have a room fitted up for Ashvaghosha in our residence at Benares, and so long as we remain here he shall pass the time in our company. Let him be present at our meals, and when we rest in the evening from the labors of the day let us listen to the words of the philosopher who is regarded as the best interpreter of the significance of Buddha's teachings."

Turning to Ashvaghosha, Kanishka continued: "And now, let us hear, venerable sir, what the Buddha would have taught about God,—not about Brahma the personified principle of being, nor about Ishvara, the idea of a personal Lord and manufacturer of universes, but of God as goodness, as truth, as righteousness, as love. Is God in this sense or not? Is it a dream or a reality? What is it and how do we know of it?"

"You ask a question to answer which will take a book. But I shall be brief. Certainly, God in this sense is a reality. God, in this sense, is the good law that shapes existence, leading life step by step onward and upward toward its highest goal—enlightenment. Recognition of this law gives us light on the conditions of our existence so as to render it possible for us to find the right path; and we call it Amitâbha, the source of infinite light. Amitâbha is the norm of all nature involving the bliss of goodness and the curse of wrong-doing according to irrefragable causation."

"Then Amitâbha is the principle of being as much as Brahma?" enquired Charaka.

"Brahma is a personification of the principle of being," replied Ashvaghosha, "but Amitâbha is the standard of being. Amitâbha is the intrinsic law which, whenever being rises into existence, moulds life and develops it, producing uniformities and regularities in both the world of realities and the realm of thought. It is the source of rationality and righteousness, of science and of

morality, of philosophy and religion. The sage of the Shakyas is one ray of its light only, albeit for us the most powerful ray, with the clearest, brightest, and purest light. He is the light that came to us here in this world and in our country. Wheresoever wisdom appears, there is an incarnation, more or less partial, more or less complete, of Amitâbha."

"But existence," rejoined Charaka, "is different from the good law. Being is one thing and the norm that moulds it another. There is the great question, whether or not life itself is wrong. If life is wrong, the joy of living is sin, the enhancement of life, including its reproduction, an error, and love, the love of husband and wife, becomes a just cause for repentance."

"Mark the doctrine, noble youth, and act accordingly," replied Ashvaghosha. "I read in your eyes the secret of your heart which prompts you to ask this question. Goodness is a reality which exists in both existence and non-existence. Call it God or Amitâbha, or Allhood, or the eternal and uncreated, the universal law, the not-bodily, the nothing or non-existence, for it is not concrete nor material, nor real to the senses,—yet it exists, it is spiritual and can be discovered by the mind; it is and remains for all that exists the intrinsic and necessary norm; it is the rule and regulation for both things and thoughts. It is omnipresent in the universe, invisible, impalpable, as a perfume that permeates a room. Whatever makes its appearance as a concrete reality is affected by its savor and nothing can be withdrawn from its sway. It is not existence itself, but the womb of existence; it is that which gives definite shape to beings, moulding them and determining them according to conditions. You have Amitâbha in two aspects as the formation of particular existence and as the general law of universal types. The particular is the realisation of the universal; and the universal constitutes the type of the particular, giving it a definite character. Neither is without the other. Mere particularity is being in a state of ignorance; thus all life starts in ignorance; but mere universality is existence unrealised; it is as though existence were not. Therefore enjoyment of life is not wrong and the love of husband and wife is no cause for repentance, if it be but the right love, true and unfailing and making each willing to bear the burdens of the other.

"The Lord spoke not of God, because the good law that becomes incarnated in Buddhahood is not a somebody, not an entity, not an ego, not even a ghost. As there is not a ghost-soul, so there is not a ghost-God."

Said Charaka: "Now I understand the picture of the Lord Buddha with his two attendants, Love as Particularity on the elephant and Wisdom as universality on the lion. Ānanda the disciple of loving service and Kāshyapa the disciple of philosophical intellectuality have approached their master and grasped the significance of his doctrine from two opposite and contrasting sides."

"Those who mortify their bodies," continued Ashvaghosha, "have not understood the doctrine. We are not ego-souls. For that reason the thought of an individual escape, the salvation of our ego-soul, is a heresy and an illusion. We all stand together and every man must work for the salvation of mankind. Therefore I love to compare the doctrine of the Buddha to a great ship or a grand vehicle—a Mahâyāna—in which there is room for all the multitudes of living beings and we who stand at the helm must save them all or perish with them."

Charaka extended his hand and said: "I thank you, venerable sir, for the light you have afforded me. I sought peace of soul in a monastery, but the love of life, the love of God, the love of knowledge, the love of my heart, drove me back to the world. I have proved useful to King Kanishka as a physician, perhaps also as a friend, and as a disciple of the Tathāgata; and the problem before me is, whether it is right for me to remain in the world, to be a householder, to allow the particular, the sensual, the actual, a share in life by the side of the universal, the spiritual, the ideal."

"Do not despise the particular, the sensual, the actual," replied Ashvaghosha. "In the material body the spiritual truths of goodness and love and veracity are actualised. Existence, if it is mere existence, quantity of life and not quality, is worthless and contemptible. The sage despises it. The sensual, if it be void of the spiritual, is coarse and marks the brute. But existence is not wrong in itself, nor is the sensual without its good uses. The sensual, in its very particularity, by being an aspiration that is actual, becomes consecrated in spirituality. Think how holy is the kiss of true love; how sacred is the relation between husband and wife. It is the particular in which the universal must be realised, mere abstract goodness is useless, and the nature of goodness will become apparent only in the vicissitudes of actual life."

"If I could serve the Buddha as a householder, my highest ambition would be to be a brother-in-law to King Kanishka" replied Charaka.

"I know it," said Ashvaghosha with a smile, "for the emotions of your heart are reflected in your eyes. Go home and

greet the King's sister with a saying of the Blessed One, and when you are married may your happiness be in proportion to your merit, or even greater and better. Buddha's doctrine is not extinction, not nihilism, but a liberation of man's heart from the fetters of selfishness and from the seclusion of a separate egoity. It is not the suppression or eradication of love, and joy, and family ties, but their perfection and sanctification; not a cessation of life, but a cessation of ignorance, indolence, and ill will, for the sake of gaining enlightenment, which is life's end and aim."

"Your instruction has benefited me too," said Kanishka to the philosopher, and turning round to the King of Magadha he continued, "but you my noble friend and host are still my debtor. Since Ashvaghosha on account of his age finds himself unable to follow me to Gandhâra, you are in duty bound to procure an acceptable substitute. Now, there is a way of settling your obligations to me, and that could be done if your daughter, the Princess Bhadraçrî would consent to accept my hand and accompany me to Gandhâra as my wife and queen!"

"My august friend," replied the King of Magadha, "I know that the Princess worships you for the heroism you have displayed in battle, the wisdom you have shown in council, and the magnanimity with which you have dealt with your conquered enemy. She beholds in you not only the ideal of royalty but also the restorer of her father's fortunes, worthy of her sincerest gratitude. It is but for you to make her admiration blossom out into rich love and wifely devotion."

[TO BE CONCLUDED.]

MISCELLANEOUS.

THE STORY OF CHIVALRY.

In a series of books entitled "Social England," published by Swan Sonnenschein & Co., of London, and by The Macmillan Company, of New York, the attempt has been made to reconsider certain phases of English life that do not receive adequate treatment in the regular histories. To understand what a nation was, to understand its greatness and weakness, we must understand the way in which its people spent their lives, what they cared for, what they fought for, what they lived for. Without this, which constitutes nine tenths of a nation's life, history becomes a ponderous chronicle, full of details and without a guiding principle. Therefore, not only politics and wars, but also religion, commerce, art, literature, law, science, and agriculture, must be intelligently studied if our historical picture of a nation is to be complete.

Vast indeed is the field which is here to be covered, the following being some of the subjects requiring distinct treatment: the influence upon the thought of geographical discovery, of commerce, and of science; the part inventions have played, the main changes in political theories, the main changes in English thought upon great topics, such as the social position of women, of children, and of the church, the treatment of the indigent poor and the criminal, the life of the soldier, the sailor, the lawyer and the physician, the life of the manor, the life of the working classes, the life of the merchants, the universities, the fine arts, music, the homes of the people, and the implements of the people, the conception of the duties of the nobleman and of the statesman, the story of crime, of the laws of trade, commerce, and industry. Several of these topics have already been treated in the series. The latest volume, instructive and interesting to a degree, treats of the story of chivalry,¹ of that chivalry which formed the moral and romantic ideal of the mediæval centuries. Few readers will be able to withstand the fascinations of Mr. Cornish's narration. While it is essentially bald and critical in its character and portrays none of the romantic spirit of the novels of Sir Walter Scott, the truth of the subject, as it has been revealed by historical inquiry, is still alluring, from the very fact of its verity. We find described here what the ideal of knight-hood was, how far it implied an acquaintance with the learning of the day and with foreign countries, how far it was humanitarian, strengthening the feeling of pity for the weak or purifying the love for women. It is a vast subject and one coextensive with the life, the literature, and the history of the Middle Ages. It was "a body of sentiment and practice, of law and custom, which prevailed among

¹ *Chivalry*. By F. Warre Cornish, M. A. With 27 Illustrations. 1901. Pages, viii, 369. Price, \$1. 75.

the dominant classes in a great part of Europe between the eleventh and the sixteenth centuries; and which, more completely developed in some countries than in others, was so far universal that a large portion of its usages is common to all the nations of western Europe." It was based upon the military and territorial system of the Teutonic nations which made a distinction between men of noble blood and the rest of the world. The form which it took was modified by the institutions of the Roman Empire and by those of the Catholic Church, to which were added the extraneous element, the worship of women. The centre of its influence was in France. Its history is, however, not merely the history of a noble caste. Chivalry held up an example also to men of low degree and raised the courage, softened the manners, and relaxed the morals of the common people. "Chivalry taught the world the duty of noble service willingly rendered. It upheld courage and enterprise in obedience to rule, it consecrated military prowess to the service of the Church, glorified the virtues of liberality, good faith, unselfishness and courtesy, and above all, courtesy to women. Against these may be set the vices of pride, ostentation, love of bloodshed, contempt of inferiors, and loose manners. Chivalry was an imperfect discipline, but it was a discipline, and one fit for the times. It may have existed in the world too long: it did not come into existence too early: and with all its shortcomings it exercised a great and wholesome influence in raising the mediæval world from barbarism to civilisation.

To the intrinsic attractions of his subject Mr. Cornish has added much adornment in the way of reproductions of quaint pictures from mediæval sources,—pictures illustrating typical phases of chivalric mediæval life.

μ.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTES.

THE LIFE AND WORKS OF FRIEDRICH SCHILLER. By *Calvin Thomas*, Professor in Columbia University. New York: Henry Holt & Company. 1901. Pages, xvi, 481.

Schiller is the most beloved of the German poets. His personal character and life were above reproach and his poems are the graceful reflection of a pure heart and a noble mind. They of all others have appealed most to the hearts of the German people, and emotionally if not intellectually Schiller stands foremost in German popular esteem, his contemporary, the gigantic Goethe, having never rivalled him on this plane. Character, grace, and intellectual vigor have therefore united to make the story of his life and achievements one of interest to every cultured person. We have accordingly to welcome the present admirable biography of Schiller by Professor Thomas, who is known for the literary and philosophical thoroughness of his researches in German literature; and we may expect that his analysis of Schiller's life and work will leave no important aspect untouched. He has endeavored, as he himself says, "to give a trustworthy account of Schiller and his works on a scale large enough to permit the doing of something like justice to his great name, but not so large as in itself to kill all hope and chance of readability. By a trustworthy account I mean one that is accurate in the matters of fact and sane in the matters of judgment. That there is room for an English book thus conceived will be readily granted, I imagine, by all those who know. At any rate Schiller is one of those writers of whom a new appreciation, from time to time, will always be in order."

Professor Thomas, like most other unbiassed students of German literature, especially such as have a predominantly philosophical turn of mind, was first inclined to yield to the irresistible fascinations which the great intellect of Goethe excited, and to think almost disparagingly of the work of his brother poet. But time has wrought changes in his mind; he says: "For the poet who wins the heart of a great people and holds it for a century is right; there is nothing more to be said, so far as concerns his title to renown. The creative achievement is far more precious and important than any possible criticism of it."

And yet Professor Thomas has not been uncritical, nor allowed his scientific scruples to "melt away in the warm water of friendly partisanship." He has endeavored to interpret Schiller's works as the expression of an interesting individuality and an interesting epoch, to "experience the savor" of the man, and to understand the national temperament to which he has endeared himself. The author has written a work which while scholarly, is not wholly for the scholar; it is a work which any student of literature can read. That he has accomplished his task with credit it is superfluous for us to say. The volume makes typographically some pretensions to elegance and is adorned with excellent photogravure portraits of Schiller, Körner, and Charlotte Schiller, with a facsimile of the letter from Schiller to Körner and a picture of Rietschel's Goethe and Schiller Monument at Weimar.

μ.

THE FALLEN GOD: AND OTHER ESSAYS IN LITERATURE AND ART. By *Joseph Spencer Kennard*. Philadelphia: George W. Jacobs & Co. 1901. Pages, 198.

This book is a specimen of elegant printing and binding. The paper is apparently hand-made, and the ornamentation is artistic in the best sense of the term. The book contains illustrations, all of them photogravures, irregularly scattered through the volume. The edition is limited to twelve hundred copies.

The author is a literary man living in Italy, and Italian influence is noticeable in his style of treatment as well as artistic preferences.

The book is a collection of essays, the first one, "The Fallen God," giving the title to the entire book. The first essay naturally invites reading, and we find in it the discussion of an interesting and significant chapter of folklore, which is the legend of the fallen God. Mr. Kennard associates the Bible passage concerning Lucifer, "How art thou fallen from Heaven, O Day-Star (Lucifer), Son of the Morning! Yet thou shalt be brought down to hell, to the uttermost part of the pit," with the fall of Hephæstos, the Greek fire-god, whom his father Zeus throws down from Olympus, and makes it very plausible that the old myth of the fallen god might be a symbolisation of a folklore interpretation of shooting stars. The most ancient folklore traditions are slippery ground, and we do not propose to venture an interpretation of our own. We do not feel inclined to give an unreserved assent to Mr. Kennard's theory, for plausible though it may be, there are other theories not less plausible.

With every change in the interpretation of religious faith the old conception is apt to represent a fallen god; this may, but need not have given rise to the myth of the fallen god. At any rate, the observation of shooting stars, most probably, has furnished a detail only to the embellishment of a legend which had originated in its own way on lines of thought now unknown to us.

The other articles contained in the book are partly sketches and partly longer essays, and deal with topics of art and belles-lettres, especially Italian art. Mr.

Kennard's essays on "Sincerity in Art" and "Unity in Art" are very thoughtful and will scarcely give cause for criticism of any kind. His essay on the "Two Fictional Friars," which are Shakespeare's Laurence and Manzoni's Fra Cristoforo, is an instructive contribution to the history of the *dramatis personæ* on the stage. The friar in the fiction of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries takes the place of the *Deus ex machina* of the ancient poets. He is humble and yet noble; he is the friend of the menial and "the counsellor and guide of the master. He takes alms from all, and gives to all that come to the convent door." In short, he is prepared for all things. The friar of this type,—that is to say, the kind helper in emergencies,—has disappeared from fiction because he has disappeared from life. The friars we find in fiction are generally pale shadows without a concrete personality, with the exception of the two friars mentioned, Shakespeare's and Manzoni's, who are portrayed with a lifelikeness which is rare in other literary productions of the same kind.

The articles, "Edmondo de Amicis" and "Niccola Pisano," the former a great Italian novelist and the latter the founder of the modern school of Italian sculpture, introduce us into an Italian atmosphere, which betrays a close acquaintance with, and a love of, Italian idiosyncracies. Two short essays, one on music, another on Avignon, complete the collection.

The book no doubt will be an ornament in any library, and it is a pleasure to spend an hour with an author like Mr. Kennard.

P. C.

SCIENTIFIC BIBLE. Reason—Revelation—Rapture. Twentieth Century Testimony. Nature and "Me"—One. Knowable, Human, Natural, Personal God. Self-Eternal Substance. *Natural Law*. By Mary A. Hunt. Published for the author by F. E. Ormsby & Co., Chicago. Pages, 76.

This book is a bold enterprise expressing in verse the enthusiasm for an ego-centered world-conception. The odd title with the hardly defensible "Me" in quotation marks is not very promising, but the verses read fluently, and rise in many passages to a height of ecstasy which will carry away those who think and feel like the author. How far the pantheistic and ego-centered views are tenable is another question, and we may doubt the logic of the proposition that God cannot be what we are not. Here is a specimen of the author's verses on God :

"Then out of Thee we cannot go,
Nor Thou from us depart,
Thou art our Head and Hands and Feet,
Intelligence, and Heart.
For what Thou art, we too must be,
Thou Infinite I AM,
All finished, uncreate. We live
To love Ourselves—Thy Man."

The nature of the "me" which attends to its natural growth and duties untaught is characterised in a series of instances among which one is described as follows :

"The honey bee no tutor has,
No lessons hard to spell,
No architect helps her to build
Her geometric cell.
She sips the dew and sucks the sweets

To mix her loaf of bread,
No book has she—no recipe
To bake it brown or red."

The third volume of Dr. G. Holtzmüller's admirable and comprehensive work on *Solid Geometry* has appeared. While the work eschews the use of the differential calculus, it is not by any means what would be called in this country an elementary treatise. The figures are excellently made, and the typography is up to the standard of the other works published by G. J. Götschen, of Leipsic. (*Elemente der Stereometrie*. Pages, 333. Price, bound, M. 9.80.)

The same house also issues in their excellent mathematical series edited by Schubert, the first part of a *Multidimensional Geometry* treating of linear spaces, by Dr. P. H. Schoute, of the Imperial University of Groningen, Holland. Although the book bears the title "Multidimensional Geometry," the author has exclusively restricted his investigations to the geometry of Euclid. The work, while requiring no knowledge of the differential or integral calculus, is thoroughly modern in its methods and spirit, treating our geometrical concepts and propositions from many and varied points of view. (*Mehrdimensionale Geometrie*. Pages, 295. Price, bound, 10 M.)

Prof. Thomas F. Holgate of the department of applied mathematics in Northwestern University has published a *Plane and Solid Elementary Geometry* for use in high schools and academies. While deviating very slightly from the treatment of the traditional text-books, there are many practical and external points about Professor Holgate's work which will recommend it to teachers. The classified summaries at the end of each chapter are a very serviceable feature and one which we have often wished were more universally introduced. (New York: The Macmillan Company. Pages, 440.)

Professors W. W. Beman and D. E. Smith have recently issued a simpler edition of their *Elements of Algebra*, calling this tenderer scion of their original work *Academic Algebra*, the design of it being to cover the ground with sufficient thoroughness to prepare the student for college. (Boston: Ginn & Co.) It would seem that the secondary educational public must still be fed on milk, and the authors have accordingly dropt from their new exposition all such exotic and formidable matters as symmetry, functions, graphs, etc., which in the hands of a good teacher could only simplify, not impede, the reception of the subject. Such has been the fate of nearly every other work that has endeavored to infiltrate into High School circles some of the spirit of the so-called modern but sometimes really ancient methods. It was in this manner that the admirable *Elements of Physics* of Professor Henry Crew (Macmillan) had to be stripped in its second edition of its few harmless Greek letters and its few simple trigonometric formulæ,—an excision which, happily, however, did not mar the many original features of the book. Instructors will be glad to learn that Professor Crew, in collaboration with Dr. Robert R. Tatnell, has applied the same fearless and independent qualities that distinguished his *Elements*, to the preparation of a *Laboratory Manual of Physics for Use in High Schools* (Macmillan). The work is modern to a degree, and while classical experiments as such have been discarded, the simplicity of the little experimental researches which the authors have selected "to illustrate the first principles of physics" is nothing less than surprising. The apparatus recom-

mended is in most cases simple and inexpensive, and even where the help of a mechanic is required it is such as can easily be obtained.

The story of the rescue of Kansas from slavery has been well and convincingly told by Dr. George W. Brown, of Rockford, Ills., in a book entitled: *Reminiscences of Gov. R. J. Walker; With the True Story of the Rescue of Kansas From Slavery*. Dr. Brown was a participant in the great contest which made Kansas a free state, being the publisher and editor of *The Herald of Freedom*, one of the organs of the Free State party. The book is dedicated to Mrs. Sara T. D. Robinson, the widow of the first state governor of Kansas, who directed its policy during the greater part of the War of the Rebellion. (Printed and published by the author, 1902. Pages, 204. Price, \$1.00.)

The Bohemia Guild of the Industrial Art League of Chicago publish a pretentious volume entitled: *Chapters in the History of the Arts and Crafts Movement*, by Dr. Oscar Lovell Triggs. The "arts and crafts movement" aims to associate art with labor. It was, strange to say, initially an English movement and began with William Morris, who labored for many years in the cause. It has now spread to America and has assumed fantastic as well as noble forms. Dr. Triggs has considered the historical and theoretical side of the movement and has written in this work on the relationship of Carlyle, Ruskin, and Morris to the new artistic industrialism. The truth at the bottom of this movement is one with which all will be in sympathy, and Dr. Triggs's portrayal of the achievements of the great masters in this field will be read with much interest. The volume is provided with an antique title-page and is adorned with reproductions of bas-reliefs of Carlyle, Ruskin, and Morris made by Julia M. Bracken. (Pages, 198.)

The New World and the New Thought by Dr. James T. Bixby breathes a spirit of liberalism and good will in religious matters that will go far toward the ultimate establishment of a firm alliance between science and religion. The author's sentiments may be gathered by the following remarks: "The reconstructions of modern science do not touch the substance of religion. They only shift its forms and really enlarge its sway and dignity. . . . Whatever science has wrenched from the hand of faith she has given her back triple and quadruple gifts. It has not emptied the world of spiritual force, but filled it with the presence of one All-inclusive Wisdom, one Infinite Power and Eternal Love, from the firm yet tender embrace of whose perfect order we can never fall." (New York: Thomas Whitaker, 2 and 3 Bible House. 1902. Pages, 219. Price, \$1.00.)

The Macmillan Company have also just issued a large work treating of *The Story of the Mormons*, by Mr. William Alexander Linn. This work traces the history of the Mormons from the inception of the new Bible and sect to the present day. Previous histories of the Mormons, the author claims, have either been written by the inspiration of the Mormon Church or by apostates, or by persons otherwise prejudiced against their subject. Mr. Linn rests his narrative largely on Mormon authority, and he has drawn his picture of the prophet Joseph Smith from material provided by the prophet himself, giving on Mormon authority an inside view of the basis on which Mormonism rests and of the causes which compelled the followers of the prophet to move from State to State and eventually to the western wilderness. (Pages, xxiv, 637. Price, \$4.00.)

God the Beautiful; An Artist's Creed, is the title of a selection of letters made by E. P. B. from the papers of a young Danish gentleman and artist. The author of these letters died in Scotland, and it was only at his deathbed that the editor became acquainted with him. The religion here set forth is a worship of beauty, not in its sensuous but in its divine aspect. Beauty is divinity in its most engaging form, and wherever we see beauty there is revelation. In poetry we shall find consolation for all the sorrows of life. It is the editor's hope that these letters "may bring some who are dissatisfied with the present religious systems, and who may be drifting into agnosticism, to realise, with my friend, that there is a nobler faith in The Religion of the Beautiful." (London: Philip Wellby. Pages, xvii, 219. Price, 1s. 6d.).

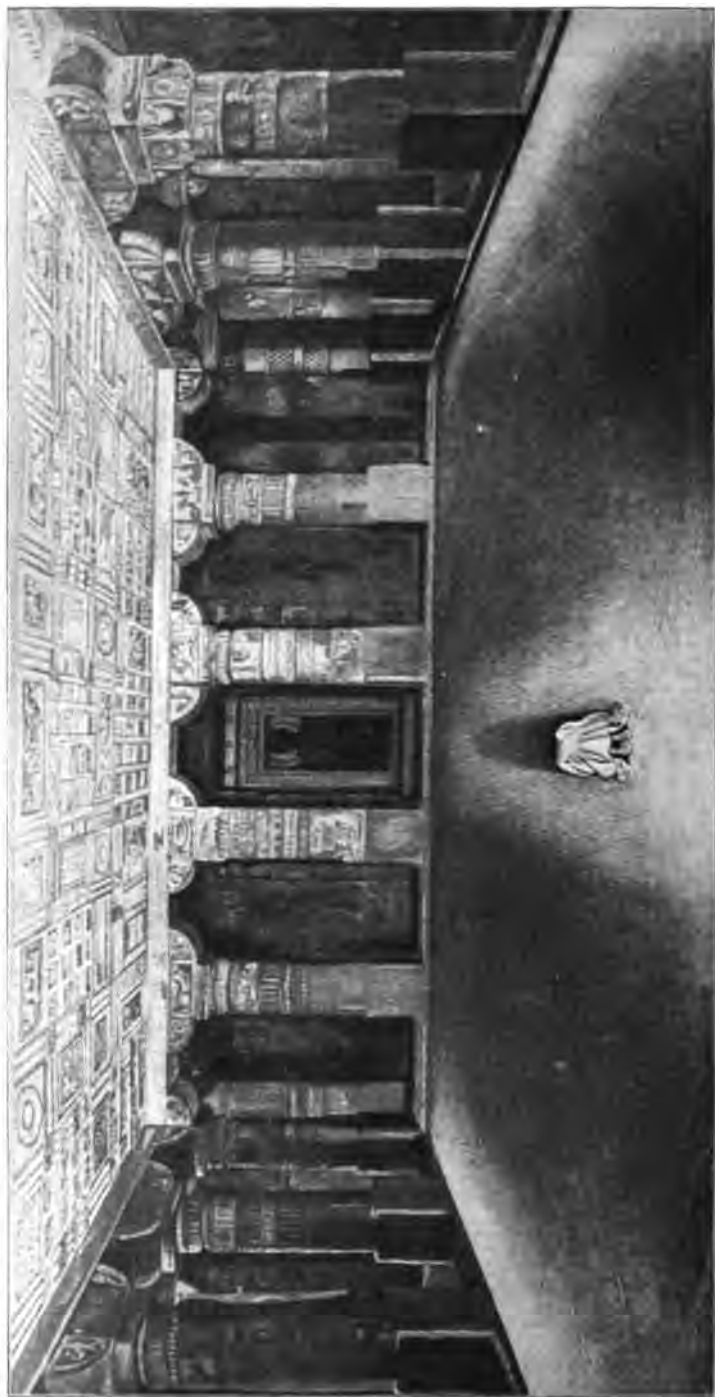
The instructive story of the rise and fall of the Cotton States is little known, and Mr. William Garrott Brown's lectures on *The Lower South in American History*, recently published by the Macmillan Company, will supply much apposite information. The events which the author has sketched are replete with interest and form an attractive narration. A mystical and rhapsodic vein is noticeable in some of the passages and chapters, but upon the whole the author has drawn an adequate picture of the social and political conditions obtaining in the South before and after the war. (Pages, x, 271. Price, \$1.50.)

Dr. Richard T. Ely, Professor of Political Economy in the University of Wisconsin, has issued a new and enlarged edition of his forceful essays on the *Social Aspects of Christianity*. The duties of Christianity toward the sociological problems of the present day are very skilfully emphasised in this volume, and the suggestions which Dr. Ely makes will go far toward attaining a better understanding of what the living world of to-day may expect of a Church that holds forth the promise of eternal salvation. (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell & Co. Pages, x, 161. Price, 90 cents.)

Searching for the Truth is the title of a work recently issued by Peter Eckler, 35 Fulton St., New York. The book is written from the freethinker's point of view. True believers are advised not to read it. It consists of an examination of such topics as "Was Christ Divine?" "The Impracticability of Christianity," "Natural Sources of the Supernatural," "Logical Morality," "Individual and General Improvement." The unknown author declares it his intention neither to destroy what may be worthy nor to offend unnecessarily. (Pages, x, 579. Price, \$1.50.)

The Evolution of Immortality is the subject treated by Dr. S. D. McConnell in a work published last year by the Macmillan Company. The considerations which the author has advanced will appeal to many minds; they are tacitly an acceptance of the evidence of a future life implied in "that enormous but unsatisfactory mass" of facts contributed by spiritism, occultism, and telepathy. The solution of the problem of immortality is found in "the Gospel of the Resurrection." (Pages, 204.)

Albert Walkley has written a series of imaginative letters dealing with the facts of the life of Theodore Parker. The little book is published by the Neponset Press, Boston. (Pages, 127.)



ONE OF THE GREAT ASSEMBLY ROOMS IN THE BUDDHIST CAVE TEMPLES AT AJANTA.

Frontispiece to The Open Court.

THE OPEN COURT

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

Devoted to the Science of Religion, the Religion of Science, and
the Extension of the Religious Parliament Idea.

VOL. XVI. (NO. 9.)

SEPTEMBER, 1902.

NO. 556

Copyright by The Open Court Publishing Co., 1902.

THE FOUNDATIONS OF GEOMETRY.¹

BY DR. GEORGE BRUCE HALSTED.

ON the 13th of July, 1733, received the *imprimatur* of the Inquisition a book entitled *Euclid Vindicated from Every Fleck*, by the Jesuit Saccheri. In this book is given an entirely new turn to a question of centuries, the deduction of Euclid's celebrated parallel-postulate from his remaining assumptions. Here begins for the first time in the world a procedure whose latest brilliant flowering is seen in Hilbert's *Festschrift*, just now appearing in English.

If the postulate in question is no consequence of the others, a geometry may be exhibited in which they hold, but it does not.

Both the very recent books, Manning's *Non-Euclidean Geometry*, 1901, and Barbarin's *La Géométrie non-euclidienne*, 1902, adopt Saccheri's presentation, starting from an isosceles bi-rectangular quadrilateral $ACDB$ in which the angles at A and B are right, and the sides AC and BD perpendicular to AB are equal, and considering the hypothesis, taken as equivalent to Euclid's parallel-postulate, that the equal angles at C and D are right, and the two hypotheses contradictory to this, namely that the two are obtuse and that the two are acute. And the Italian, the American, and the Frenchman exhibit the geometries corresponding to these two new hypotheses.

But Saccheri erecting his imposing structures with marvellous genius and elegance, and with a perfection which, as Staeckel says, represents the work of a life-time, professes only to build them that his destruction of them may prove the parallel-postulate a consequence of Euclid's other assumptions.

¹ *The Foundations of Geometry*. By David Hilbert, Ph. D., Professor of Mathematics, University of Göttingen. Authorised translation by E. J. Townsend, Ph. D., University of Illinois, Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Company. 1902. 8vo. Pages, vii, 132.

My friend the erudite Father Hagen of the Society of Jesus has written me, and gives me permission to use his opinion, the weightiest on this point of any living man's, that Saccheri, contrary to what Staeckel supposes, not only doubted the necessity of Euclid's postulate but knew that the slow, gentle, and feeble blows which he delivered nominally to demolish his structures really left them unscathed. In no other form, says Father Hagen, would the publication of such revolutionary ideas have then been permitted by the Provincial of the Jesuits, whose official authorisation was necessary, and was granted August 16, 1733. However, the book was so completely lost that Staeckel in 1895 speaks of its discovery by Beltrami in 1889 as creating a sensation, and my copy, from which I made the first translation into any modern tongue, is still, so far as I know, the only one on this continent.

Nearly a century later, in 1812, the German Schweikart at the Russian University Charkov invented what he called his Astral Geometry, the very system which bulks most largely in Saccheri. Returned to Germany, Schweikart sends in 1818 through Gerling to Gauss a *résumé* of his creation, which may fairly be considered the first *published* (not printed) treatise on non-Euclidean geometry. This, the non-Euclidean geometry of 1812 by Schweikart, I have given in *Science*, 1900, pp. 842-846.

Again in 1823 John Bolyai, a young Magyar, at Temesvár, as he writes, "from nothing created another wholly new world." This very year is his centenary, and Hungary will honor herself in honoring this truest genius, her son. He never published anything but, in a book by his father, one brief appendix, which he had the courage to call *The Science Absolute of Space*, and which remains the most extraordinary two dozen pages in all the history of human thought.

It is usual to date Lobachévski's discovery of this non-Euclidean geometry from 1826. In 1836 in his *Introduction to New Elements of Geometry*, of which I was the first to publish a translation (Vol. V., *Neomonic Series*, 1897), he says: "Believing myself to have completely solved the difficult question, I wrote a paper on it in the year 1826, *Exposition succincte des principes de la Géométrie*, AVEC UNE DÉMONSTRATION RIGoureuse DU THÉORÈME DES PARALLÈLES, read February 12, 1826, in the *séance* of the Physico-Mathematic Faculty of the University of Kazan, but never printed." No part of this French manuscript has ever been found. The latter half of the title is ominous. For centuries the world had been deluged with rigorous (!) demonstrations of the theorem of parallels. We

know that three years later Lobachévski himself realised its absolute indemonstrability. Yet the paper said to contain material to stop forever this twenty-centuries-old striving still was headed *démonstration rigoureuse*, just as Saccheri's book of 1733 containing a coherent treatise on non-Euclidean geometry ended by one more pitiful proof of the parallel-postulate.

If Saccheri, like Lobachévski, had lived three years longer (he died Oct. 25, 1733), and had realised (as Father Hagen says he



NICOLAI IVÁNOVICH LOBACHÉVSKI.

Portrait from the memorial circular on the centenary of his birth.

did) the pearl in his net, with the new meaning, he could have retained his old title: *Euclides ab omni naevo vindicatus*, since the non-Euclidean geometry is a perfect vindication and explanation of Euclid.

But Lobachévski's title is made wholly indefensible. A new geometry, founded on the contradictory opposite of the theorem of parallels, and so proving every demonstration of that theorem fallacious, could not very well pose under Lobachévski's old title.

He himself never tells what he meant by it, never tries to explain it. When citing the title in 1829, he substitutes *etc.* for the eight tell-tale words. When at last conscious of the new geometric science, the name he gave it, *Imaginary Geometry*, was a personal calamity.

But time has at length relented, and the world will always know this marvellous creation henceforth as the Bolyai-Lobachévski geometry, as it is now called by Hilbert, whom it justifies in making of Euclid's Axiom of Parallels a whole group, "die Axiomgruppe III."

In 1847, in the quaint and ancient Nuremberg of Albrecht Duehrer was published by the Erlangen professor von Staudt his *Geometrie der Lage*, an epoch-making work which leads to the cutting apart of Hilbert's "Axiomgruppe IV: Axiome der Congruenz." On the title page of this extraordinary book, now very rare, his name stands as Dr. Georg Karl Christian v. Staudt, but history and Max Noether, who should know, reverse the order of the first two names.

Georg von Staudt, born on the 24th of January, 1798, at Rothenburg ob der Tauber, was an aristocrat, issue of the union of two of the few *regierenden* families of the then still free Reichstadt, which four years later closed the 630 years of its renowned existence as an independent republic. But his creation of a geometry of position disembarassed of all quantity, wholly non-metric, neither positively nor negatively quantitative, was the outcome of a creation due to a French boy of low birth, born in 1746 at Beaune.

The construction of a plan of Beaune won this boy, Gaspard Monge, admission to the college of engineers at Mézières. From the consideration of certain problems in fortification he was led to generalise all the isolated methods hitherto employed, not merely in fortification, but in perspective, dialling, stone-cutting, etc., and to create a code theoretical and practical, which he termed *La Géométrie Descriptive*, which supplied the means of preparing on uniform principles the working drawings necessary in the various arts, and also of graphically solving problems in solid geometry, by general methods, capable of the most extensive practical application. Henceforth the name of Monge was inseparably associated with the development of French technical education.

Monge's pupil at the Paris Polytechnic School, Jean Victor Poncelet, in Napoleon's Russian campaign was abandoned as dead on the bloody field of Krasnoi and taken prisoner to Saratoff.

There in 1812 and 1813 he based chiefly on what he had studied with Monge the first draught of his famous treatise published in 1822. It gave us projective geometry by the simple substitution of central for Monge's parallel projection.

In the hands of the great Swiss, Jacob Steiner, this modern synthetic geometry develops with mighty power. But still its theory was almost an *argumentum in circulo*. Steiner still based it on magnitude-assumptions. Georg von Staudt it was whose creative genius availed to build the projective geometry without magnitude or congruence assumptions, and without motion.

Hilbert calls his Axiomgruppe IV, Axiome der Congruenz (oder der Bewegung), and Schur calls Hilbert's first two groups "the projective axioms."

In 1854 Riemann pronounced his astonishing discourse *On the hypotheses which lie at the basis of geometry*, containing the epoch-making idea that though space be unbounded, it is not therefore infinitely great. From the unboundedness of space its infinity in no way follows. Thus it may be that the whole universe could contain only a certain finite number of common building brick, so that then there would not be room for one more brick in the universe. From this it follows that even Euclid's very first proposition: "To describe an equilateral triangle on a given sect (on a given finite straight line)" involved a set of assumptions sufficient to make the straight line infinite, open, not finite and closed. In elliptic space it is not always possible to construct an equilateral triangle on a given base. Yet Euclid deduces even parallels before using his parallel postulate.

A brilliant filling in of these gaps by creating a set of "betweenness" assumptions was accomplished by Dr. M. Pasch of Giessen in 1882 in his book *Vorlesungen über neuere Geometrie*, to which Hilbert credits his second group of axioms. In the April number, 1902, of the *American Mathematical Monthly* in an article entitled "The Betweenness Assumptions," Hilbert's II. 4 has been shown to be an unnecessary redundancy. Thus the betweenness assumptions have been reduced from five to four.

The remaining axioms are Hilbert's group I., Axioms of Association. But again that very same Prop. I. of Euclid requires the assumption: If A and B be any two given points, there is at least one point C whose sects from A and B are both congruent to AB . This can only be covered by an axiom of continuity. Such is Hilbert's group V. (Archimedes's Axiom).

This historical investigation of the different colored threads

which are to enter into the warp and the woof of Hilbert's weaving, brings out a surprising increase of penetration and clearness regarding fundamental assumptions for thousands of years subconscious.

It is due primarily to Baltzer and Houël that, beginning only from 1866, the world of science became conscious of the profound penetrations into, and remakings of, the foundations of geometry, which since then have been the key in the study and mastering of the fundamental concepts of all science.

Hilbert's *Festschrift* is still the most brilliant example of efforts to find for a special branch of science a sufficient and closed system of mutually independent first principles, assumptions; though America has bettered it by the annihilation of II. 4, its most troublesome and undesirable member.

In an article on like efforts for Mechanics, Dr. E. B. Wilson, of Yale, writes (*Bulletin Amer. Math. Soc.*, 1902, p. 342):

"This lack of satisfaction is but one of the many similar manifestations of the present state of mathematical instruction and mathematical science. We are no longer content to bear with superficially clear statements which seldom if ever lead into actual error,—nor does it suffice to start with inaccurate statements and, as we advance, to modify them so as to bring them into accord with our wider vision and our more stringent requirements. No. We must from the beginning bring up ourselves and our pupils on not only the truth but the whole truth.

"How soon the recent researches of Hilbert and others on the foundations of geometry must take their place in elementary textbooks on plane and solid geometry cannot be said. But that is purely a matter of time."

To have made these inspiring researches accessible in English is a weighty addition to the debt we already owe the Open Court Publishing Company.

Unconsciously from the time of Descartes and before, consciously, openly from the time of Newton, there has been in progress a procedure which may be called the arithmetisation of geometry. This brilliant *Festschrift* of Hilbert's may be most deeply characterised as a reversal of that procedure. It is a return to Euclid and the spirit of Euclid. It is anti-French, for in France elementary geometry has never recovered from Clairaut and Legendre. Even the latest and best French geometry, that of Hadamard, published under the editorship of the great and lovable Gaston Darboux, never presents nor consciously considers the

question of its own foundations. It seems childishly unconscious of the great and final question for a scientific geometry, namely: What are the necessary and sufficient and independent conditions which must be fulfilled by a system of things in order that every property of these things may correspond to a geometric fact, and inversely; and that so these things may be a complete and simple picture of geometric reality.

Again, of the order of his propositions Hilbert said in his lectures: "The order of propositions is important. Mine differs strongly from that usual in text-books of elementary geometry; on the other hand, it greatly agrees with Euclid's order. So these wholly modern investigations lead us rightly to appreciate and in the highest degree to wonder at the penetrating wisdom of this ancient geometer."

Again he says of Euclid's parallel postulate:

"What penetration the setting-up of this axiom required, we recognise best if we cast a glance over the history of the axiom of parallels. As for Euclid himself (*circa* 300 B. C.), he, for example, proves the theorem of the exterior angle before introducing the parallel axiom, a sign, how deeply he had penetrated into the interdependence of the geometric theorems."

But also in two other exceedingly important respects Hilbert is more of a return to Euclid than he himself seems to know. Hilbert discards proof by superposition. Motion itself needs a geometric foundation, and so cannot be a foundation for geometry. So Hilbert in his lectures assumed Euclid I., 4, and even in the *Festschrift* he still assumes two-thirds of it as "IV. 6. If, in the two triangles ABC and $A'B'C'$, the congruences $AB \equiv A'B'$, $AC \equiv A'C'$, $\angle BAC \equiv \angle B'A'C'$ hold, then the congruences $\angle ABC \equiv \angle A'B'C'$ and $\angle ACB \equiv \angle A'C'B'$ also hold."

But in all the most ancient manuscripts of Euclid the so-called proof of I. 4 by superposition is evidently corrupt, and in general Euclid's avoidance of direct superposition has always been noted, for example in I. 5, I. 6, I. 26, III. 26, III. 27.

Bertrand Russell says of the corrupt proof of I. 4: "The fourth proposition is a tissue of nonsense. Superposition is a logically worthless device."

But in another still more subtle respect Hilbert is a return to the real Euclid. In his lectures, as lithographed, Hilbert makes a serious blunder in regard to Euclid's treatment of proportion. Hilbert says: "The fundamental importance of the just-proven theorem lies therein, that it puts us in condition to found the the-

ory of proportion without any new axiom. We see, therefore, that here also Euclid is finally justified: he also introduces the theory of proportion without a new axiom. However we must add: Die Art dieser Einführung bei Euclid ist gänzlich verfehlt. Euclid bases, namely, the theory of proportion on the following two theorems: (1) If in a triangle ABC we draw the parallel $A'B'$ to AB , then is $AC:BC::A'C:B'C$. (2) The inverse: If in a triangle $AC:B'C::A'C:B'C$, then is AB parallel to $A'B'$.

"The proofs of these theorems in Euclid are rigorous throughout, where AC and BC both result from repeated laying off of one and the same sect. But now Euclid refers to general magnitude-relations while he takes the above proportion as a numeric equation, and concludes so, that the theorem remains valid for any position of A and A' .

"Against this is to be objected: (1) It is a new axiom, that we may always take a proportion between sects as a number-relation. (2) Even if we have introduced this new axiom, we must expressly prove, that the thereby newly introduced numbers follow the same algorithmic laws as those already known."

Here we see that Hilbert wholly misunderstands Euclid's treatment of proportion. Hilbert's misconception comes from the modern attempts at the "arithmetisation" of the subject, and his objections hold good against those who define a ratio as a quotient or a number, and a proportion as an equality between two ratios. This is equivalent to the introduction of irrational numbers, which must then certainly be proved to obey the ordinary laws of operation.

But on the other hand, it was Isaac Newton, not Euclid, who first identified number and ratio. Euclid never thought of or treated a ratio as a number, or a proportion as an equality between numbers. In Euclid's time irrational numbers had not been created. They did not exist. Euclid gave of proportion a treatment which may be applied to sects, and hence to all geometry, in as purely geometric a way as Hilbert's own. Euclid uses V, the Archimedes assumption. On the other hand his treatment is simpler than Hilbert's, in that it only needs the addition of sects and not their product.

Hilbert's supposition that in Euclid's treatment sects need to be represented by numbers in terms of some common unit sect, and consequently that Euclid's proofs are only rigorous for commensurable sects, shows an entire misconception of Euclid and the fifth book. Euclid's treatment is admirable for the same rea-

son as is that of the *Festschrift*, namely that it had no need to represent sects by numbers, and consequently has no need of irrational numbers. Thus we see that here also Hilbert might have taken as his battle-cry, "Back to Euclid!"

Though the fundamental theorems above mentioned can be simply proven without the assumption of magnitudes other than Hilbert's sects (see Halsted's *Elements*, pp. 183-184), yet it is true that Euclid in his proof (Eu. VI. 2) uses the *content* of a triangle, which content he has, in I. 39, assumed to be a magnitude. That this assumption is unnecessary and redundant was shown by Schur, using the axiom of Archimedes.

A more elegant demonstration, without the Archimedes postulate, constitutes §§ 18-21 of the *Festschrift*.

Still another point in which Hilbert returns to Euclid is in regard to that fundamental geometric entity, the angle. In Euclid the two sides of an angle "are not in the same straight line." The moderns attempting to remove this supposed restriction introduced the flat or straight angle, and convex or re-entrant angles. I myself introduced from the rare *Pelicotetics* the word perigon, which other writers of geometries, even Italian, adopted from my book, as Beman and Smith found by correspondence when discussing their adoption of my phrase "partition of a perigon" and the theorems and corollaries under that heading. But in Hilbert an angle is defined as a bi-ray whose two rays are co-initial but not co-straight.

Thus, as in Euclid, there are no angles greater than two right angles. The angle is unambiguous.

Throughout there is successful revolt against arithmetisation. As Hilbert said at Paris: "I oppose the opinion that only the concepts of analysis, or even those of arithmetic alone, are susceptible of a fully rigorous treatment." And well he may, who has so established geometry upon a simple and complete system of assumptions, that the exactness of the geometric ideas and their applicability to deduction is in no respect inferior to those of the old arithmetical concepts.

Said Hilbert: "The most suggestive and notable achievement of the last century is the discovery of non-Euclidean geometry." May I add: Its most fascinating outcome is Hilbert's *Festschrift*.

THE DOCTRINE OF THE MITHRAIC MYSTERIES.¹

BY PROFESSOR FRANZ CUMONT.

FOR more than three centuries Mithraism was practiced in the remotest provinces of the Roman Empire and under the most diverse conditions. It is not to be supposed for a moment that during this long period its sacred traditions remained unchanged or that the philosophies which swayed one after another the minds of antiquity, or for that matter the political and social situation in the empire, did not exercise upon them some influence. But undoubted though it be that the Persian Mysteries underwent some modification in the Occident, the inadequacy of the data at our disposal prevents us from following this evolution in its various phases and from distinctly defining the local differences which it may have presented. All that we can do is to sketch in large outlines the character of the doctrines which were taught by it, indicating the additions and revisions which they apparently underwent. Besides, the alterations which it suffered were superficial. The identity of the images and hieratical formulas of the most remote periods and places, proves that before the time of its introduction into the Latin countries reformed Mazdaism had already consolidated its theology. Contrary to the ancient Greco-Roman paganism, which was an assemblage of practices and beliefs without logical bond, Mithraism had a genuine theology, a dogmatic system, which borrowed from science its fundamental principles.

The belief appears to prevail generally that Mithra was the only Iranian god that was introduced into the Occident, and that everything in his religion that does not relate directly to him was adventitious and recent. This is a gratuitous and erroneous supposition. Mithra was accompanied in his migrations by a large representa-

¹ Extracted by the author from his *Textes et Monuments figurés relatifs aux Mystères de Mithra* (Brussels: H. Lamertin). Translated by T. J. McCormack.

tion from the Mazdean Pantheon, and if he is in the eyes of his devotees the principal hero of the religion to which he gave his name, he was nevertheless not its supreme god.

At the pinnacle of the divine hierarchy and at the origin of

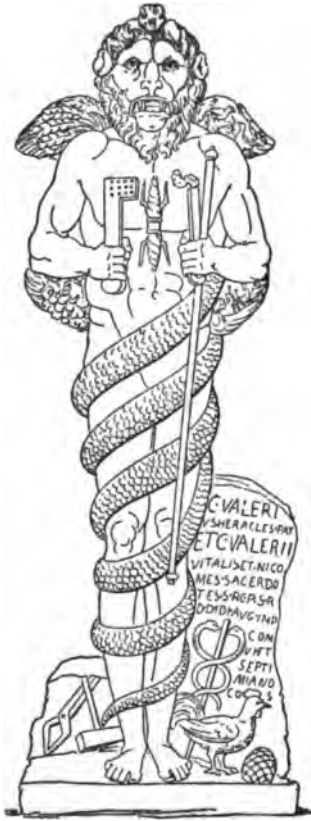


Fig. 1. MITHRAIC KRONOS (ÆON OR ZRVAN AKARANA) REPRESENTING BOUNDLESS TIME.)¹



Fig. 2. MITHRAIC KRONOS OF FLORENCE.²

things, the Mithraic theology, the heir of that of the Zervanitic Magi, placed boundless Time. Sometimes they called it *Alōn* or

¹ The statue here reproduced was found in the Mithræum of Ostia, where C. Valerius Hercules and his sons dedicated it in the year 190 A. D.; it was figured for the first time by Lajard in his *Recherches sur Mithra*, Plate LXX.

² An important Italian bas-relief representing the Mithraic Kronos surrounded by the signs of the zodiac, has just been published by us in the *Revue Archéologique* for 1902, pages 1 et seq.

Sæculum, *Κρόνος* or Saturnus; but these appellations were conventional and contingent, for he was considered ineffable, bereft alike of name, sex, and passions. In imitation of his Oriental prototype, he was represented in the likeness of a human monster with the head of a lion and his body enveloped by a serpent. The multiplicity of attributes with which his statues are loaded is in keeping with the kaleidoscopic nature of his character. He bears the scepter and the bolts of divine sovereignty and holds in each hand a key as the monarch of the heavens whose portals he opens. His wings are symbolic of the rapidity of his flight. The reptile whose sinuous folds enwrap him, typifies the tortuous course of the sun on the ecliptic; the signs of the zodiac engraved on his body and the emblems of the seasons that accompany them, are meant to represent the celestial and terrestrial phenomena that signalise the eternal flight of the years. He creates and destroys all things; he is the Lord and master of the four elements that compose the universe, he virtually unites in his person the power of all the gods, whom he alone has begotten. Sometimes he is identified with Destiny, at others with the primitive light or the primitive fire; while both conceptions rendered it possible for him to be compared with the Supreme Cause of the Stoics,—the heat which pervades all things, which has shaped all things, and which under another aspect was the *Εἰσαγωγή*. (See Figs. 1 and 2.)

The preachers of Mithra sought to resolve the grand problem of the origin of the world by the hypothesis of a series of successive generations. The first principle, according to an ancient belief found in India as well as in Greece, begot a primordial couple, the Heaven and the Earth; and the latter, impregnated by her brother, gave birth to the vast Ocean which was equal in power to its parents, and which appears to have formed with them the supreme triad of the Mithraic Pantheon. The relation of this triad to Kronos or Time from which it had sprung, was not clearly defined, and the starry Heavens of which the revolutions determined, as was believed, the course of all events, appears at times to have been confounded with the eternal Destiny.

These three cosmic divinities were personified under other names less transparent. The Heaven was naught less than Ormuzd or Jupiter, the Earth was identical with *Speñta-Armañti*, or Juno, and the Ocean was also called *Apâm-Napât* or Neptune. Like the Greek theogonies, the Mithraic traditions narrated that Zeus succeeded Kronos, the king of the first ages, in the government of the world. The bas-reliefs show us this Mazdean Saturn placing in

the hands of his son the thunderbolts which were the symbol of his sovereign power. Henceforward Jupiter with his consort Juno was to reign over all the other gods, all of whom owe to this couple their existence.

The Olympian deities were sprung in fact from the marriage of the celestial Jupiter with the terrestrial Juno. Their eldest daughter is Fortune (*Fortuna primigenia*), who bestows on her worshippers every grace of body and every beauty of soul. Her beneficent generosity is contrasted with Ananke, which represents the unalterable rigor of fate. Themis or the Law, the Moiræ or the Fates, were other personifications of Destiny, which manifests under various forms a character which was susceptible of infinite development. The sovereign couple further gave birth not only to Neptune who became their peer, but to a long line of other immortals: Shahrivar or Hercules whose heroic deeds the sacred hymns celebrated; Artagnes or Mars who was the god of the metals and succored the pious warrior in his combats; Vulcan or Atar the genius of fire; Mercury the messenger of Zeus; Bacchus or Haoma the personification of the plant that furnished the sacred drink; Silvanus or Drvâspa, protector of horses and agriculture; then Anaitis, the goddess of the fecundating waters, who has been likened to Venus and Cybele and who, presiding over war, was also invoked under the name of Minerva; Diana or Luna who made the honey which was used in the purifications; Vanaiñiti or Nike who gave victory to kings; Asha or Arete, perfect virtue; and others besides. This innumerable multitude of divinities was enthroned with Jupiter and Zeus on the sun-tipped summits of Mt. Olympus and composed the celestial court.

Contrasted with this luminous abode, where dwelt the Most High gods in resplendent radiance, was a dark and dismal domain in the bowels of the earth. Here Ahriman or Pluto, born like Jupiter of Infinite Time, reigned with Hecate over the maleficent monsters that had issued from their impure embraces. These demoniac confederates of the King of Hell then ascended to the assault of Heaven and attempted to dethrone the successor of Kronos; but, shattered like the Greek giants by the ruler of the gods, these rebel monsters were hurled backward into the abyss from which they had arisen.¹ They made their escape, however, from that place and wandered about on the surface of the earth to spread there misery and to corrupt the hearts of men, who, in order to ward off the evils that menaced them, were obliged to appease

¹ See the cut on p. 309 of the *May Open Court*.

these perverse spirits by offering them expiatory sacrifices. The initiate also knew how by appropriate rites and incantations to enlist them in his service and to employ them against the enemies whose destruction he is meditating.

The gods no longer confined themselves to the ethereal spheres which were their apanage. If theogony represents them as gathered in Olympus around their parents and sovereigns, cosmology exhibits them under another aspect. Their energy filled the world, and they were the active principles of its transformations. Fire, personified in the name of Vulcan, was the most exalted of these natural forces, and it was worshipped in all its manifestations, whether it shone in the stars or in the lightning, whether it animated living creatures, stimulated the growth of plants, or lay dormant in the bowels of the earth. In the deep recesses of the subterranean crypts it burned perpetually on the altars, and its votaries were fearful to contaminate its purity by sacrilegious contact.

They opined with primitive artlessness that fire and water were brother and sister, and they entertained the same superstitious respect for the one as for the other. They worshipped alike the saline floods which filled the deep seas and which were indifferently termed Neptune and Oceanus, the springs that gurgled from the recesses of the earth, the rivers that flowed over its surface, and the placid lakes resplendent in their limpid sheen. A perpetual spring bubbled in the vicinity of the temples, and was the recipient of the homage and the offerings of its visitors. This font perennial (*fons perennis*) was alike the symbolisation of the material and moral boons that the inexhaustible generosity of Infinite Time scattered throughout the universe, and that of the spiritual rejuvenation accorded to wearied souls in the eternity of felicity.

The primitive earth, the nourishing earth, the mother earth (*terra mater*), fecundated by the waters of Heaven, occupied a like important place, if not in the ritual at least in the doctrine of this religion, and the four cardinal winds which were correlated with the deified Seasons were invoked as genii to be both feared and loved: feared because they were the capricious arbiters of the temperature, which brought heat or cold, tempests or calms, which alternately moistened and dried the atmosphere, which produced the vegetation of the spring and withered the foliage of the autumn,—and loved as the diverse manifestations of the air itself, which is the principle of all life.

In other words, Mithraism deified the four simple bodies which, according to the physics of the ancients, composed the uni-

verse. An allegorical group, often reproduced, in which a lion represented fire, a cup water, a serpent the earth, pictured the struggle of the opposing elements, which were constantly devouring one another and whose perpetual transmutations and infinitely variable combinations provoked all the phenomena of nature.

Hymns of fantastic symbolism celebrated the metamorphoses which the antitheses of these four elements produced in the world.¹ The supreme God drives a chariot drawn by four steeds which turn ceaselessly round in a fixed circle. The first, which bears on its shining coat the signs of the planets and constellations, is sturdy and agile and traverses the circumference of the fixed circle with extreme velocity; the second, less vigorous and less rapid in its movements, wears a sombre robe, of which one side only is illuminated by the rays of the sun; the third proceeds more slowly still; and the fourth turns slowly in the same spot, champing restlessly its steel bit, whilst its companions move round it as round a stationary column in the center. The quadriga turns slowly and unimpeded, regularly completing its eternal course. But at a certain moment the fiery breath of the first horse falling upon the fourth ignites its mane, and its neighbor, exhausted by its efforts, inundates it with torrents of perspiration. Finally, a still more remarkable phenomenon takes place: The appearance of the quartette is transformed. The steeds interchange natures in such wise that the substance of all passes over to the most robust and ardent of the group, just as if a sculptor, after having modelled figures in wax, had borrowed from one wherewith to complete the others, and had ended by merging all into a single form. Then, the conquering steed in this divine struggle, having become by his triumph omnipotent, is identified with the charioteer himself. The first horse is the incarnation of fire or ether, the second of air, the third of water, and the fourth of the earth. The accidents which befall the last-mentioned horse, the earth, represent the conflagrations and inundations which have desolated and will in the future desolate our world; and the victory of the first horse is the symbolic image of the final conflict that shall destroy the existing order of all things.

The cosmic quadriga, which draws the suprasensible Cause, has not been figured in the sacred iconography. The latter reserved for a visible God this emblematic group. The votaries of Mithra, like the ancient Persians, adored the Sun that traversed each day in its chariot the spaces of the firmament and sank at

¹ Dio Chrysost., *Or.* XXXVI. § 39 et seq.

dusk extinguishing its fires in the ocean. When it appeared again on the horizon, its brilliant light scattered in flight the spirits of darkness, and it purified all creation, to which its radiance restored life. A like worship was accorded the Moon which voyaged in the spheres above on a cart drawn by white bulls. The animal of reproduction and of agriculture had been assigned to the goddess that presided over the increase of plants and the generation of living creatures.

The elements, accordingly, were not the only natural bodies that were deified in the Mysteries. The two luminaries that fecundated nature were worshipped here the same as in primitive Mazdaism, but the conceptions which the Aryas formed of them have been profoundly transformed by the influences of Chaldæan theories.

As we have already said,¹ the ancient belief of the Persians had been forcibly subjected in Babylon to the influence of a theology which was based on the science of its day, and the majority of the gods of Iran had been likened to the stars worshipped in the valley of the Euphrates. They acquired thus a new character entirely different from their original one, and the name of the same deity thus assumed and preserved in the Occident a double meaning. The Magi were unsuccessful in harmonising these new doctrines with their ancient religions, for the Semitic astrology was as irreconcilable with the naturalism of Iran as it was with the paganism of Greece. But looking upon these contradictions as simple differences of degree in the knowledge of one and the same truth, the clergy reserved for the *élite* exclusively the revelation of the original Mazdean doctrines concerning the origin and destiny of man and the world, whilst the multitude were forced to remain content with the brilliant and superficial symbolism inspired by the speculations of the Chaldæans. The astronomical allegories concealed from the curiosity of the vulgar the real scope of the hieratic representations, and the promise of complete illumination, long withheld, fed the ardor of faith with the fascinating allurements of mystery.

The most potent of these sidereal deities, those which were most often invoked and for which were reserved the richest offerings, were the Planets. Conformably to astrological theories, the planets were endowed with virtues and qualities for which it is frequently difficult for us to discover adequate reasons. Each of the planetary bodies presided over a day of the week, to each some one

¹ See *The Open Court* for March, p. 171.

metal was consecrated, each was associated with some one degree in the initiation, and their number has caused a special religious potency to be attributed to the number seven. In descending from the empyrean to the earth, the souls, it was thought, successively received from them their passions and qualities. These planetary bodies were frequently represented on the monuments, now by symbols recalling the elements of which they were formed or the sacrifices which were offered to them, and now under the aspect of the immortal gods throned on the Greek Olympus: Helios, Selene, Ares, Hermes, Zeus, Aphrodite, Kronos. But these images have here an entirely different signification from what they possess when they stand for Ahura Mazda, Zervan, or the other gods of Mazdaism. Then the personifications of the heavens or of infinite time are not seen in them, but only the luminous stars whose wandering course can be followed amid the constellations. This double system of interpretation was particularly applied to the sun, conceived now as identical with Mithra and now as distinct from him. In reality there were two solar divinities in the Mysteries, one Iranian and the heir of the Persian Hoare, the other Semitic, the substitute of the Babylonian Shamash, identified with Mithra.

By the side of the planetary gods who have still a double character, purely sidereal divinities received their tribute of homage. The twelve signs of the zodiac, which in their daily revolution subject creatures to their adverse influences, were represented in all of the mithræums under their traditional aspect (Fig. 3). Each of them was without doubt the object of particular veneration during the month over which it presided, and they were customarily grouped by threes according to the seasons to which they conformed and with the worship of which their worship was associated.

But the signs of the zodiac were not the only constellations that were incorporated by the priests in their theology. The astronomical method of interpretation, having been once adopted in the Mysteries, was freely extended and made to embrace all possible figures. There was scarcely any object or animal that was not in some way conceived as the symbolic image of a stellar group. Thus the raven, the cup, the dog, and the lion, that ordinarily accompany the group of the tauroctonous Mithra, were readily identified with the constellations of the same name. The two celestial hemispheres that alternately pass above and below the earth were personified and likened to the Dioscuri, who, according to the Hellenic fable, lived and died by turns. Mythology and erudition were everywhere mingled. The hymns described a hero like the

Greek Atlas who bore on his untiring shoulders the globe of Heaven and who is regarded as the inventor of astronomy. But these demi-gods were relegated to the background: the planets and the signs of the zodiac never ceased to preserve their incontestable primacy, for it was they above all others, according to the astrologers, that controlled the existence of men and guided the course of things.

This was the capital doctrine that Babylon introduced into Mazdaism: belief in Fatality, the conception of an inevitable Destiny controlling the events of this world and inseparably conjoined with the revolution of the starry heavens. This Destiny, identified with Zervan, became the supreme being which engendered all



Fig. 3. MARBLE BAS-RELIEF FOUND IN LONDON.

In the center the Tauroctonous Mithra with the torch-bearers surrounded by the twelve signs of the zodiac. In the lower corners busts of the Winds; in the upper corners the Sun on his quadriga and the Moon on a chariot drawn by bulls. The inscription reads: *Ulpius Silvannus emeritus leg(ionis) II Aug(ustae) votum solvit. Factus Arausione* (that is, honorably discharged at Orange).

things and ruled the universe. The development of the universe is subject to immutable laws and its various parts are united in the most intimate solidarity. The position of the planets, their mutual relations and energies, at every moment different, produce the series of terrestrial phenomena. Astrology, of which these postulates were the dogmas, certainly owes one portion of its success to the Mithraic propaganda, and Mithraism is therefore partly respon-

sible for the triumph in the West of this pseudo-science with its long train of errors and terrors.

The rigorous logic of its deductions assured to this stupendous chimera a more complete domination over reflecting minds than the belief in the infernal powers and in the invocation of spirits, although the latter commanded greater sway over popular credulity. The independent power attributed by Mazdaism to the principle of evil afforded justification for all manner of occult practices. Necromancy, oneiromancy, belief in the evil eye and in talismans, in witchcraft and conjurations, in fine, all the puerile and sinister aberrations of ancient paganism, found their justification in the rôle assigned to demons who incessantly interfered in the affairs of men. The Persian Mysteries are not free from the grave reproach of having condoned, if not of having really taught, all these superstitions. The title "Magus" became not without good reason in the popular mind a synonym for "magician."

Yet neither the conception of an inexorable necessity unpitifully forcing the human race toward an unknown goal, nor even the fear of malevolent spirits bent on its destruction, was competent to attract the multitudes to the altars of the Mithraic gods. The rigor of these sombre doctrines was tempered by a belief in benevolent powers sympathising with the sufferings of mortals. Even the planets were not, as in the didactic works of the theoretical astrologists, cosmic forces whose favorable or sinister influence increased or diminished for all eternity conformably to the revolutions of a fixed circle. They were, as in the doctrine of the old Chaldæan religion, divinities that saw and heard, that rejoiced or lamented, whose wrath might be appeased and whose favor might be gained by prayers and by offerings. The faithful reposed their confidence in the support of these benevolent protectors who combated without respite the powers of evil.

The hymns that celebrated the exploits of the gods have unfortunately almost all perished, and we know these epic traditions only through the monuments which served to illustrate them. Nevertheless, the character of this sacred poetry is recognisable in the *débris* which has come down to us. Thus, the labors of Vere-thraghna, the Mazdean Hercules, were chanted in Armenia. It is told here how he strangled the dragons and aided Jupiter in his triumphant combat with the monstrous giants; and like the votaries of the Avesta, the Roman adepts of Mazdaism compared him to a bellicose and destructive boar.

But the hero that enjoyed the greatest rôle in these warlike

tales was Mithra. Certain mighty deeds, which in the books of Zoroastrianism were attributed to other divinities, were associated with his person. He had become the center of a cycle of legends which alone explain the preponderant place that was accorded him in this religion. It is because of the astounding feats accomplished by him that this god, who did not hold supreme rank in the cele-



Fig. 4. STATUES OF TORCH-BEARERS (DADOPHORI).
From a Mithraeum at Ostia, now in the Lateran.

tial hierarchy, has given his name to the Persian Mysteries that were disseminated in the Occident.

For the ancient Magi, Mithra was, as we have seen, the god of light, and as the light is borne by the air he was thought to inhabit the Middle Zone between Heaven and Hell, and for this reason the name of *μεσότης* was given to him. In order to signalise

this attribute in the ritual, the sixteenth or middle day of each month was consecrated to him. When he was identified with Shamash,¹ his priests in investing him with the appellation of "intermediary" doubtless had in mind the fact that, according to the Chaldæan doctrines, the sun occupied the middle place in the planetary choir. But this middle position was not exclusively a position in space; it was also invested with an important moral significance. Mithra was the "mediator" between the unapproachable and unknowable god that reigned in the ethereal spheres and the human race that struggled and suffered here below. Shamash



Fig. 5. STATUES OF TORCH-BEARERS.
(Museum of Palermo.)

had already enjoyed analogous functions in Babylon, and the Greek philosophers also saw in the glittering globe that poured down upon this world its light the ever-present image of the invisible Being, of which reason alone could conceive the existence.

It was in this adventitious quality of the genius of the solar light that Mithra was best known in the Occident, and his monuments frequently suggest this borrowed character. It was customary to represent him between two youthful figures, one with an uplifted, the other with an inverted torch. These youths bore the

¹ See *The Open Court* for March, p. 172.

enigmatic epithets of *Cauti* and *Cautopati*, and were naught else than the double incarnation of his person (Figs. 4 and 5). These two dadophori, as they were called, and the tauroctonous hero formed together a triad, and in this "triple Mithra" was variously seen either the star of day, whose coming at morn the cock announced, who passed at midday triumphantly into the zenith and at night languorously fell toward the horizon ; or the sun which, as it waxed in strength, entered the constellation of Taurus and marked the beginning of spring,—the sun whose conquering ardors fecundated nature in the heart of summer and the sun that afterwards, enfeebled, traversed the sign of the Scorpion and announced the return of winter. From another point of view, one of these torch-



Fig. 6. MITHRA BORN FROM THE ROCK.

Bas-Relief found in the Crypt of St. Clements at Rome.

bearers was regarded as the emblem of heat and of life and the other as the emblem of cold and of death. Similarly, the tauroctonous group was variously explained with the aid of an astronomical symbolism more ingenious than rational. Yet these sidereal interpretations were nothing else than intellectual diversions designed to amuse the neophytes prior to their receiving the revelation of the esoteric doctrines that constituted the ancient Iranian legend of Mithra. The story of this legend is lost, but the bas-reliefs recount for us certain episodes of it, and its contents appear to have been somewhat as follows.

The light bursting from the heavens, which were conceived as a solid vault, became, in the mythology of the Magi, Mithra born

from the rock. The tradition ran that the "Generative Rock," of which a standing image was worshipped in the temples, had given birth to Mithra on the banks of a river, under the shade of a sacred tree, and that shepherds alone, ensconced in a neighboring mountain, had witnessed the miracle of his entrance into the world. They had seen him issue forth from the rocky mass, his head adorned with a Phrygian cap, armed with a knife, and carrying a torch that had illuminated the sombre depths below (Fig. 6). Worshipfully the shepherds drew near, offering the divine infant the first fruits of their flocks and their harvests. But the young hero was naked and exposed to the winds that blew with violence: he had concealed himself in the branches of a fig-tree, and detaching the fruit from the tree with the aid of his knife, he ate of it, and stripping it of its leaves he made himself garments. Thus equipped for the battle, he was able henceforward to measure his strength with the other powers that peopled the marvellous world into which he had entered. For although the shepherds were pasturing their flocks when he came, all these things came to pass before there were men on earth.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

AMITÂBHA.

A STORY OF BUDDHIST METAPHYSICS.

BY THE EDITOR.

[CONCLUDED.]

THE CONSPIRACY.

ASHVAGHOSHA held daily conversations with Kanishka, in which not only his friends Charaka and the King of Magadha, but also Princess Bhadrasrî, his bride-elect, were now wont to join.

One day Subâhu was detained by important affairs of state, and when he made his appearance in the accustomed circle of his philosophical friends, he was so full of distress as to be almost beyond the power of speech.

"My royal friend," said Kanishka, "what disturbs your mind? How terrible must the calamity be that so affects a man of your composure! Are you or one of your kin in danger of death, or pray, what else is the cause of your trouble?"

"My dear friend and ally," replied King Subâhu, "it is your life that is endangered. I come to take counsel with you as to how we may save you from the perilous situation in which the false patriotism of my people has placed you. Some of my southern generals having but lately arrived with subsidies which ought to have been with me at the beginning of the war entered into a conspiracy with my Prime Minister to surround the palace, take you prisoner and put you to the sword; then to attack your unwary soldiers and drive them out of the country. Everything has been planned in the strictest privacy, and your noble confidence in my faith and friendship made it easy for them to replace the guards gradually by their friends until they now have everything their own way, and I am given to understand that unless I join the conspirators they will elect another king."

"And what is your pleasure in this matter?" asked Kanishka,

who betrayed no more concern than if he were talking about a game of checkers.

"My pleasure?" exclaimed the disconsolate King; "ask not what my pleasure is. I see only my duty, and that is to save you or to die with you!"

Kanishka was a man of deeds, not of words. He bade Charaka at once to hoist on the tower of the palace a blue flag, which was the secret sign to summon the Gandhâra generals that were camping in the vicinity of the town. Having enquired into the situation and learned that all the gates were in possession of the conspirators, he requested the King to call into his presence the treacherous Prime Minister who was at the head of the conspiracy, indicating, as though nothing had happened, that he wanted to speak to him.

The Prime Minister entered, and the King spoke to him graciously about his fidelity to King Subâhu and the kingdom of Magadha, and said that he himself, anxious to honor the people of Magadha, wished to show him some recognition and confer some favor on him, the most faithful servant of King Subâhu.

While King Kanishka thus idled away the time the Prime Minister felt uneasy, for his fellow-conspirators, the generals from the south, were waiting for the signal to overpower the few foreign guards, to close the gates, and take possession of the palace. Kanishka in the meanwhile inquired as to his health, his general prosperity, his children, his brothers and sisters, until the Prime Minister lost patience and said: "Sire, allow me to withdraw; a number of my friends from the southern provinces, men of great prominence in their distant homes, have arrived and are anxious to meet me and my sovereign."

With a royal courtesy which could not be refused, King Kanishka replied: "Let me accompany you to greet them. Your friends are my friends, and the vassals of my most noble ally King Subâhu are my allies."

The Prime Minister blushed and looked inquiringly at the King; but King Kanishka's eye was calm and showed not the least sign of suspicion. At the same time there was a firmness and determination in the King's attitude which made the treacherous Minister wince and submit.

"This is the way to the hall where my friends are assembled," said the Prime Minister, and showed the King the way.

"Wait a moment," said King Kanishka, "it would be wrong of us if my royal brother, King Subâhu, were not present. Let us

call my counselors and generals so as to indicate our desire to honor your guests."

In the meantime some of the horsemen had arrived and their officers demanded admission at the palace gates to report their presence to the King. They were announced and admitted.

"Welcome, my gallant officers," exclaimed King Kanishka, "join my retinue when I greet the friends of the Prime Minister, and let your men remain under arms at the main gate ready to receive my commands."

Thus the two Kings with a stately retinue both of dignified councilors and warlike officers entered the hall where the conspirators were impatiently waiting. They were dumbfounded when they saw at the side of their most hated enemy their own sovereign accompanied by the Prime Minister with downcast eye, meek as a tame doe and giving no sign for action. Then Kanishka addressed the conspirators with great cordiality as though he had long desired to meet them and show them his good will. He praised the generals for their valor, for their love of their country, their faithfulness to their King, and expressed his great happiness that the old times of national hatred had passed away, that the two nations Magadha and Gandhâra should forthwith be like brothers, and that they would join to set a good example to the world by obeying the maxim of the Tathâgata :

"T is love alone makes hate to cease,
Such is the ancient rule of peace."¹

Not yet, however, had the ice of spite and ill will entirely melted from the hostile hearts of his enemies; and not yet was his retinue strong enough to make him feel master of the situation. So Kanishka continued his policy of gaining time by having each one of the hostile officers personally introduced to him and, this done, he began to address the company a second time.

"Allow me to improve this rare opportunity of having so many friends assembled here, to explain to you my policy. I am a disciple of the Buddha, the Blessed One, who taught us to make an end of hatred by ceasing to hate. If there be any just cause for war, let us have war and let us wage war openly and resolutely, but let us ever be ready to offer the hand of brotherly good-will to our enemies without cherishing feelings of revenge for the injuries we may think we have suffered. The policy of long suffering, of loving-kindness, of forgiveness, not only shows goodness of heart

¹*Dhammapada* 223, and *Jataka* 271.

but also a rare gift of wisdom, as all those are aware of who know the story of King Long-suffering and his noble son Prince Long-life, which the Tathâgata told to the quarrelsome monks of Kausâmbî.

King Kanishka then told the story of Brahmadatta, the powerful king of Benares,—how he had conquered the little kingdom of Kôsala and had the captive King Long-suffering executed in Benares. But Prince Long-life escaped and, unknown to any one, entered the service of King Brahmadatta, whose confidence he gained by his talents and reliability. Thus he became King Brahmadatta's personal attendant.

King Kanishka was a good story-teller, and the people of India, whether of high or low birth, love to hear a story well told, even if they know it by heart. So the conspirators were as though spell-bound and forgot their evil designs; nor did they notice how the hall began to fill more and more with the officers of the King of Gandhâra. They listened to the adventures of Prince Long-life; how on a hunt he was left alone with King Brahmadatta in the forest, how the King laid himself down and slept, how the Prince drew his sword, how the King was frightened when he awoke and learned that he was in the power of his enemy's son; and finally how each granted the other his life and made peace, thus demonstrating the wisdom of the maxim, that hatred cannot be appeased by hatred, but is appeased by love,—and by love only.¹

When the King finished the story of Prince Long-life, the hall was crowded with armed officers of the Gandhâra army, and seeing his advantage, King Kanishka, feeling the satisfaction of one who had gained a great victory in battle, paused and glanced with a good-natured look over the party of conspirators. He remained as self-possessed as a school-master teaching a class of wayward boys. "I am anxious to be at peace with all the world," he said, "but the question arises, what shall be done with traitors and conspirators who misunderstand my good intentions and would not brook the loving-kindness of our great master?" Then addressing the Prime Minister of Magadha by his full name and title, he added: "Let me hear your advice, my friend. I meant to promote your welfare, while you attempted to take my life. What shall I do with you and your associates?"

The Prime Minister was overwhelmed. He fell on his knees and sobbed: "You are in wisdom like the Enlightened One, the

¹ For full accounts of Prince Long-life see *Mahāvagga*, X, 3-20. (*Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XVII.)

Omniscient Tathâgata. Would that you were his equal also in mercy and compassion. Never should you regret having forgiven me my transgression!"

King Kanishka made no answer but looked round and cast conquering glances at the several conspirators, until they, one by one, joined the kneeling Prime Minister. Then espying the venerable head of Ashvaghosha among his audience, he approached the sage respectfully and said: "Now, most reverend sir, it is your turn to speak, for I want you to tell me what a king ought to do unto those men who conspire to take his life. Would it be wise for him to follow the behest of the Tathâgata and to grant them forgiveness?"

Said Ashvaghosha: "Not I, sir, but you are the king. Pronounce judgment according to your own discretion. I cherish the confidence that the seeds of kindness will fall here upon good soil."

"Thank you, venerable sir. I have learned from the Great Teacher of all beings, that to hate no one is the highest wisdom. But a king is responsible for the welfare of his people and cannot let crime go unpunished. The duty of a judge is justice. In the present case I do not think that I would condone your action if it were unmitigated treason; but I see in it a redeeming feature which is your patriotism, misguided though it may be. Rise, gentlemen, and if you will promise forthwith to banish from your heart all falsehood, spite, and envy, come and shake hands with me in token of your faithful allegiance to both your august sovereign, the King of Magadha, and myself, his ally and brother on the throne."

THE PROBLEM OF EVIL.

Protestations of fidelity and admiration greeted King Kanishka from all sides when he retired to his private rooms after having shaken hands with the conspirators. He had conquered his enemies, not by the power of arms, as he had done before in battle, but by the superiority of his mind.

It was at this moment that a messenger arrived who had been sent by the custodian of King Subâhu's summer palace, saying: "Sir King, send your hunters to the summer-palace with elephants and soldiers, for a man-eating tiger has been seen in its garden and parks, and all the people living in the neighborhood are sore afraid of the beast."

Then the generals of the South shouted: "Great King and Sire, allow us to go out to the summer palace to hunt the tiger;

for we are anxious to distinguish ourselves and prove to the world that we are valiant soldiers and good hunters."

And they received permission to be the foremost in the hunt, and after a hasty preparation they set out the same evening, but the two kings and their retinue with many officers followed them on the following day; Charaka, however, stayed behind at the command of King Kanishka, to observe the courtiers and councilors of King Subâhu and keep an eye upon the populace of the city, the capital of Magadha.

Charaka sat at a window in company with the venerable Ashvaghosha to see the suite of the two kings with their hunters and elephants leaving the city, and Charaka addressed the sage, saying: "My reverend friend, I learned much yesterday from King Kanishka by watching his mode of treating enemies. Truly, I understand the doctrine of the Tathâgata better now than if I had lived for many years in the monastery and studied all the wisdom of the monks. How much evil can be avoided by discretion, and should not mortals blame themselves for all the ills that befall them? But there is this doubt that vexes my mind. If Amitâbha, the omnipresent, the eternal, the omnibeneficent source of all wisdom, fashions the world and determines our destinies, why should not life be possible without suffering? However, the first sentence of the four great truths declares that life itself is suffering. If that be so, no amount of discretion could give us happiness so long as we live. And, on the other hand, how can Amitâbha permit innumerable beings to suffer innocently for conditions which they did not create themselves?"

"My young friend," replied Ashvaghosha, "the first great truth is truly obvious to any one who knows the nature of life. Life consists of separation and combination; it is a constant meeting and parting and has in store both pains and pleasures. Prove to me that life be possible without any change, and I will begin to doubt the first of the four great truths. But if life is suffering, no being has a right to blame Amitâbha for existing. All beings exist by their own Karma; they are the incarnation of the deeds of their former existences; they are such as they are by their own determination, having fashioned themselves under the influence of circumstances.

"By Amitâbha all beings are merely educated in the school of life. Some have gained more insight than others. Some love the light, others hate it. Some rise to the pure heights of Buddhahood, and others grovel in the dust and take delight in badness

and deeds of darkness. Amitâbha is like the rain that falls upon the earth without discrimination. The seeds of herbs assimilate the water that falls from the clouds of heaven in a refreshing spring shower, and grow to be herbs each of its own kind. Fern-spores become ferns, acorns change the water into the leaves and wood and bark of oak trees, and the germs of fruit trees fashion it into fruit, each of its own kind, into mangos, bananas, dates, figs, pomegranates, and other savory fruits. Amitâbha is the same to all, as the water of the refreshing rain is the same: but diverse creatures make a different use of the benefits of truth, and each one is responsible for itself.¹ Each one has originated in ignorance by its own blind impulses, each one, in its own field of experience, has learned the lesson of life in its own way, and each one can blame no one but itself for what it is and has become—except that it ought to be grateful for the light that Amitâbha sheds upon the course of its development.

“Amitâbha is not a god that would assert himself or care for worship and adoration. He does not think and act and do deeds. He is not Ishvara, not Sakra, not Indra, not Brahma: He is the norm of all existence, the good law, the order and intrinsic harmony that shows itself in cause and effect, in the bliss of goodness, in the curse of evil-doing. He is above all the gods, and everything that is has been fashioned by him according to the eternal ordinances of his constitution.

“We are not creatures of Amitâbha, we are creatures of our own making. Life starts in ignorance. It begins with blind impulses, and life’s start is life’s own doing. But as soon as an impulse acts and is reacted upon, it is encompassed by the good law and thus it is educated by Amitâbha and raised by him as children are nourished by their mother and instructed by their father. We are not the creatures of Amitâbha, but his children.²

“Ask thy own self, whether thou art because thou wast created by some extraneous power; or contrariwise whether it is not truer to say that thou art because thou wilt thy own existence; and thou wilt it such as it is.

“Thou hast become what thou art of necessity according to the norms that constitute the nature of Amitâbha. But thou grewest to be what thou art because thou wantedst to become such.

¹ The *Saddharma-pundarika*, chapter 7.

² Amitâbha (and with him Buddha is never called Creator) but he is frequently addressed by “Father.” See the *Saddharma-pundarika*, III., 97, 104, and the *Pe-sho-king-tsan-king*, III., 15, 1231.

"Now if an Ishvara had created thee, thou wouldst not have the feeling of freedom that thou now hast, but thou wouldst feel like the vessel made by the potter which is what it is in spite of its own like or dislike."

"But if I am determined to love life," asked Charaka, "is it wrong to do so and shall I be punished for it by suffering?"

Replied Ashvaghosha: "There is neither punishment nor reward, my son, though we may use the words in adapting our language to the common mode of thought. There is only cause and effect. The Tathâgata gave no commandments, for what authority has any one to command his brother-beings? The Tathâgata revealed to us the evils of life, and what people call the ten commandments are the ten ways pointed out by the Tathâgata how to avoid the ten evils. He who does not take the Tathâgata's advice must bear the consequences. The tiger will be hunted down, and a murderer will be executed. Their fate is the result of their deeds. As to love of life, there is nothing wrong in it. If you love life, you must not be afraid of suffering. While the Tathâgata lived in the flesh, he was as much subject to pain as I am and as you are. But when the pangs of his last disease came upon him he bore them with fortitude and did not complain. If you love life, bear its ills nobly and do not break down under its burdens. Avail yourself of the light of Amitâbha, for thus you can escape the worst evils of life, the contrition of regret, of remorse, of a bad conscience; and the noblest pleasure of life is that of becoming a lamp unto others. Let your light shine in the world and you will be like unto your father—Amitâbha, the omnibenevolent source of all illumination."

THE PARABLE OF THE ELEPHANT.

While King Kanishka stayed at the summer palace to witness the tiger hunt, a Buddhist Abbot came to the royal palace and requested an interview with the great King Kanishka's friend; and the Abbot was admitted into the presence of Charaka, who happened to be in the company of some councilors of King Subâhu, among whom was Ashvaghosha, the saintly philosopher. Said the Abbot: "I come from the monastery in the hills situated near a Brahman village south of Benares and have been sent by the brethren, the venerable monks whose abbot I am. We know that King Kanishka and you are followers of the Buddha and are steadfast in the orthodox faith. Therefore we approach you in confidence and hope that you will lend your countenance to us, endeavor-

oring to spread and establish the good law, the pure religion of the Tathâgata. We have settled in the hills, but there is a Shiva shrine close by and the villagers continue to offer gifts to the priests while the venerable brethren who profess faith in the glorious doctrine of the Buddha are neglected and sometimes positively suffer from privation."

"What can I do about it," queried Charaka.

"If the Shiva shrine were removed, the villagers would no longer seek religious comfort through Brahman rites and would turn Buddhists. We are told that you are a Buddhist monk; you will have sympathy with your suffering brethren and help them to expel the unbelievers."

"And do you think," objected Ashvaghosha, "that either King Subâhu or King Kanishka would lend you his royal authority to interfere with the religious service of any one? No, my friend. The Shiva worshippers may be mistaken in their religious views, but they seek the truth and so long as they do no injury to their neighbors, their worship cannot be disturbed. And I do not know but the Shiva priests may in their own way do good service to the people."

And there was a Brahman present, one of King Subâhu's counselors, who was pleased with Ashvaghosha's remark and expressed his approval of the principle of toleration which the great Emperor Ashoka had proclaimed in one of his edicts as a maxim of good government, and the Brahman added:

"Do not ye, too, O Buddhists, preach the doctrine of the Brahmins, that there is a supreme Lord Creator over all creatures, a divine ego-consciousness of All-existence? Whether we call God Ishvara, or Shiva, or Amitâbha, he remains the same and has a just claim to worship."

Ashvaghosha shook his head: "No, my Brahman friend! The good law is supreme, and it is a father omnibenevolent as we rightly designate it. It is the norm of existence, the standard of truth, the measure of righteousness; but that norm is not an Ishvara, neither Shiva, nor Brahma. Here is the difference between Ishvara and Amitâbha: Ishvara is deified egoism; he demands worship and praise. Amitâbha is love, he is free from the vanity of egoism and is only anxious for his children that they should avail themselves of the light and shun the darkness, that they should follow his advice and walk in the path of righteousness. Ishvara calls sin what is contrary to his will; he loves to be addressed in prayer and he delights in listening to the praises of his worshippers. Not

so Amitâbha. Amitâbha cares not for prayer, is indifferent to worship, and cannot be flattered by praise, but the good law is thwarted when his children err; and Amitâbha appears to be wrapt in sadness by the evil results of their mistakes; not for his sake—for he is eternal and remains the same forevermore—but for the sake of the sufferings of all sentient creatures, for all creatures are his disciples, he guides them, he teaches them, he encompasses them. He is like unto a father to them. So far as they walk in the light and have become conscious beings by dint of reason, they have become his children."

Said the Brahman: "I for one do not believe that Ishvara, or Brahma, or whatever you may call God, is a person such as we are. He is a higher kind of personality, which however includes the faculties of perception, judgment, and reason. I believe therefore that the Buddhist faith is lacking in this, that its devotees think of Amitâbha as deficient in self-consciousness. Buddhist ethics are noble, but are human deeds the highest imaginable? Since the godhead is greater than man, the highest bliss will forever remain a union with Brahma, or Ishvara, or Sakra, or whatever you may call the great Unknown and Unknowable, who has revealed himself in the Vedas and is pleased with the prayers and sacrifices of the pious who express their faith in worship."

"When I was young," replied Ashvaghosha, "I was a Brahman myself; I believed in Brahma the Supreme Being, the Creator of and Lord over all the worlds that exist. I know there is much that is good in the Brahman faith, and I did not abandon it because I deemed it bad or injurious. I abandoned it, because the doctrine of the Tathâgata was superior, all-comprehensive, and more profound, for it explains the problems of existence, its whence and whither, and is more helpful. The doctrine of the Tathâgata is practical and not in the air as are the theories and speculations of the Brahmans. You seek a union with Brahma and find satisfaction in empty words. Where is Brahma, and what is he? We may dispute his existence and no one can refute us. He is an idea, a metaphysical assumption, and his mansion is everywhere and nowhere. Thus the Tathâgata says that those who believe in Brahma and seek a union with Brahma are like a man who should make a staircase where four roads meet, to mount up high into a mansion which he can neither see nor know how it is, where it is, what it is built of, nor whether it exists at all. The priests claim the authority of the Vedas, and the Vedas are based upon the authority of the authors who wrote them, and these authors rely on the author-

ity of Brahma. They are like a string of blind men clinging to one another and leading the blind, and their method of salvation consists in adoration, worship, and prayer.¹ It is a doctrine for children, and though the words of their theory are high-sounding they are not the truth but a mere shadow of the truth; and in this sense the Tathâgata compared them to the monkey at the lake who tries to catch the moon in the water, mistaking the reflection for the reality."

"But would not all your arguments," replied the Brahman, "if I were to grant them, apply with the same force to Amitâbha? What is the difference whether we say Brahma or Amitâbha? Both are names for the Absolute."

"There would be no difference in the names, if we understood the same by both. Brahma, the Absolute, is generally interpreted to mean Being in general, but Amitâbha is Enlightenment. We do not hanker after existence, but we worship goodness.

"By Amitâbha we understand the eternal, infinite light, i. e., the spiritual light of comprehension, and this light is a reality. No one doubts that there is a norm of truth and a standard of right and wrong. That is Amitâbha. We may not yet know all about Amitâbha; our wisdom is limited; our goodness is not perfect. But we ground ourselves upon that which we do know, while you Brahmans start with speculations, seeking a union with the Absolute, which is a vague idea, something unknown and unknowable. Amitâbha is certainly not a limited self-consciousness, but an infinite principle, an omnipresent law, an eternal norm, higher than any individual, but the depth of this norm is unfathomable, its application universal and infinite; its bountiful use immeasurable.

"We know something but not all about Amitâbha. He is the Dharmakâya, the embodiment of the good law. He is the Nirmanakâya, the aspiration to reach bodhi in the transformations of the evolution of life. He is the Sambhogakâya, the bliss of good deeds.² The philosophers, scientists, poets, of the future, the thinkers and dreamers of mankind, will find in Amitâbha a wonderful source of inspiration which can never be exhausted. The Tathâgata's religion is not mere metaphysics, his philosophy is not mere mythology. He allows metaphysics and mythology their spheres, but

¹ The simile of the blind leader of the blind occurs in the same connection in the *Trejjia Sutta*, 15.

² For the details of Ashvaghosha's doctrine of the triple aspect of the highest truth (so similar to the Christian trinity) as the Kâya (i. e., body or personality) of (1) the good law (2) transformation, (3) Bliss, see T. Suzuki's translation of Ashvaghosha's *Discourse on the Awakening of Faith*, Chicago, 1900, pp. 99-101.

urges the practical issues of life. Thus his religion comprises all without becoming vague."

Said the Brahman: "How can so many contradictory things be united in one?"

And Ashvaghosha replied: "My venerable teacher, the saintly sage Parsva, once told me the parable of the elephant which, explains the relation of the truth to the sundry doctrines held by the several sects and schools, priests and philosophers, prophets and preachers.

"There was a noble and mighty elephant, an elephant white in color, with a strong trunk and long tusks, trained by a good master, and willing and serviceable in all the work that elephants are put to. And this noble and mighty elephant being led by his guide, the good master who had trained him, came to the land of the blind. And it was noised about in the land of the blind that the noble and mighty elephant, the king of all beasts, the wisest of all animals, the strongest and yet the meekest and kindest of creatures, had made his appearance in their country. So the wise men and teachers of the blind came to the place where the elephant was and every one began to investigate his shape and figure and form. And when the elephant was gone they met and discussed the problem of the noble and mighty beast, and there were some who said, he is like a great thick snake, others said, no! he is like a snake of medium size. The former had felt the trunk, the latter the tail. Further there were some who claimed that his figure was like that of a high column, others declared he was large and bulky like a big barrel, still others maintained he was smooth and hard but tapering. Some of the blind had taken hold of one of the legs, others had reached the main body, and still others had touched the tusks. Every one proposed his view and they disputed and controverted, and wrangled, and litigated, and bickered, and quarreled, and called each other down, and imprecated each one all the others, and they denounced each one all the others, and they execrated each one all the others, and they be-shrewed and scolded, and anathemised, and excommunicated, and finally every one of them swore that every one else was a liar and was cursed on account of his heresies. These blind men, every one of them honest in his contentions, being sure of having the truth and relying upon his own experience, formed schools and sects and factions and behaved in exactly the same way as you see the priests of the different creeds behave. But the master of the noble, mighty elephant knows them all, he knows that every one

of them has a parcel of the truth, that every one is right in his way, but wrong in taking his parcel to be the whole truth.

"The master of the elephant is the Tathâgata, the Enlightened One, the Buddha. He has brought the white elephant representing the truth, the noble and mighty elephant, symbolising strength and wisdom and devotion, into the land of the blind, and he who listens to the Tathâgata will understand all the schools, and all the sects and all the factions that are in possession of parcels of the truth. His doctrine is all-comprehensive, and he who takes refuge in Him will cease to bicker, and to contend, and to quarrel."¹

* * *

When Ashvaghosha had finished the parable of the noble and mighty elephant, the two Kings returned from the summer palace, carrying with them in a solemn procession the slain tiger, and close behind on a white charger decked with garlands and gay ribbons, rode the hero of the day, one of the generals from the South, whose dart had struck the tiger with fatal precision and death-dealing power.

"Behold the hero of the day!" said Charaka. "And had the conspiracy not miscarried, the same man might now be an assassin and a miscreant."

"There is a lesson in it!" replied Ashvaghosha, "existence is not desirable for its own sake. That which gives worth to life is the purpose to which it is devoted."

THE DOUBLE WEDDING.

Charaka found by degrees and not without difficulties his mental equilibrium, which his friend Kanishka seemed to possess naturally. He unburdened his heart to the saintly old man and arrived at the conviction that he was not made for a monk and that his duties of life according to his disposition lay in other fields.

In the meantime King Kanishka had sent a messenger to Matura his chancellor and vicerent at Gandhâra, to bring Princess Kamalavatî to Benares.

Princess Kamalavatî arrived and when her betrothal to Charaka was announced the happy events of our story reached their climax. Ashvaghosha declared that he himself would solemnise the nuptials of both couples, Kanishka with Bhadrasrî, and Charaka with Kamalavatî.

Kanishka had a great respect for priests, but he did not favor

¹The *Uddâna*, VI.

the idea that his friend, the physician royal, should resign his calling of wizard (as he was wont to call him) for the sake of becoming a monk.

When the marriage ceremony was over the King of Gandhâra claimed that while there were plenty of good and honest men who could wear the yellow robe, there was scarcely one man among a million who could perform miracles and save human lives, as Charaka had done."

Charaka denied that he was a wizard. His art was no magic but consisted simply in observation and experiment, and it was nature whose forces he had learned to guide; but for all that he accomplished things which astounded the world. They were better than the miracles of magicians, for they were more useful and of enduring benefit to mankind.

When his friends praised him, he replied: "My science is a beginning only and what I accomplish is the work of a tyro. The Tathâgata has preached the religion of enlightenment, he set the wheel to rolling: it is now our duty to follow up his thought, to spread enlightenment, and to increase it. Amitâbha is infinite, and thus the possibilities of invention are inexhaustible. The wondrous things which man is able to do, and which he will do in the ages to come, can at present only be surmised by the wisest sages.

"But greater than the greatest feats of invention will be the application of the Lord Buddha's maxim of loving-kindness in all fields of human intercourse, in family life, in politics, in labor and social affairs, in our dealings with friends and foes, with animals, and even with the degenerate and criminal."

HIAWATHA AND THE ONONDAGA INDIANS.

BY CHARLES L. HENNING.

• [CONCLUDED.]

THEN came the election of the chiefs :

“And Hiawatha said: ‘There shall be one head-chief for each nation, and that man shall be the only man to transact the important business of the tribe.’

“And they made Hiawatha the head-chief of the Mohawks, and after having invested the chiefs with extraordinary power the people said to Hiawatha: ‘You are now the first of your people and the ruler of your government.’

“And the Oneidas elected Dadjede as their head-chief, who held the same position as Hiawatha.

“And it happened that there appeared at that time a man who had not been seen before at the council. His name was Deganahwida; he assisted in the framing of the constitution and the laws of the five nations. The people said to him: ‘You have assisted in the framing of the constitution of the five nations, and for that reason you shall also be a legal member of the confederacy if you will also hold the office of chief.’ He replied to the people: ‘I will accept your offer to be a member of the confederacy, but I shall soon go away from here, and I forbid any other person to have my name, Deganawhida, or to hold the office of chief. Only at the time of a condolence meeting shall my name be mentioned.’

“Next it was the task of the Onondagas to select their head-chief.

“While they were holding general councils at different places in their territory, they often saw a strange-looking man. His form was half human, but his hair was of snakes, and snakes hung all around his body. People believed that he had something in view, and so they went close to him and cut off all the snakes around his hair and body, and they called him Tadodaho, i. e., ‘he could

not wrest himself.' And Tadodaho became one of the head-chiefs of the Onondagas; the people tried in every way to make of him a human being, but finally they became disgusted because they could not succeed in their efforts.

"He lived quite a while among the Onondagas, but he disappeared at last.

"But the name Tadodaho remained in the tribe, and when a man was obliged to hold the office of head-chief of the Onondagas, he was always called Tadodaho. The Tadodaho is the only proper man to invite the people to the general council of the five nations, and for this reason he is considered the 'fire keeper,' because the Onondagas were the keepers of the great council fire.

"And Hiawatha said further at that last great council to all the people who were assembled: 'You shall have a head-man over the five nations. And he shall have a throne, and his throne shall be set close to an elm tree the roots of which shall spread out from north to south, from east to west, and the top of the tree shall reach unto the heaven.

"And the five nations shall lay their heads on the roots of the tree, and if any enemy shall come along to cut off the roots of the tree, the people shall rise and put him to flight.

"And the head-chief shall have the power of a king.

"And the people shall furnish eagle's wings to their king to drive away everything wrong from this throne; and the people shall also furnish him a stick, so that the king may use it, if any monster should come into his mansion.

"The Cayugas appointed one head-chief with authority over the tribe, and he was called Hagaanyunk.

"The Senecas elected as head-chief Ganiadaejo, and because the Senecas had made a gate at the west side of their territory which no foreigner was allowed to enter, so they elected two keepers of the gate. One was called Ganoganedawhi, i. e., 'burner of the scalp'; this means that should anybody try to enter the territory by force, that keeper would scalp him and burn his scalp.

"The other man was called Deoninhogawan, i. e., 'the opener of the door.' In case a foreigner had obtained permission to enter the territory, that keeper opened to him the door.

"And they elected also a door-keeper for the eastern gate on the territory of the Mohawks; his name was Degahihogan, i. e., 'the one between the two important business.'

THE CONDOLENCE MEETING.

“When Hiawatha was on the point of departing, he said at the last meeting to his people: ‘I have now finished my work. We have now provided for the election of chiefs to transact the business for the welfare of our people of the five nations. In case the office of chief should come to an end at his death, another man must be appointed immediately in his place, so that the position shall never remain vacant. In case of the death of the chief, it is the duty of his tribe to select a man who must notify the other tribes. And the people shall furnish him a black string of wampum, signifying that they are in a state of sorrow. Then when he comes near to the place where the other tribes live, a distance so near that the people can hear him, he shall halloo so that the people may know he is in a state of distress; and he shall go to the head-chief of the tribe and notify him that one of their chiefs had fallen, and he shall deliver the black string of wampum. All the five tribes shall be notified in the same way, and a neutral party shall fix a certain time for a condolence meeting.

“‘The old women of the tribe to which the deceased chief belonged shall select a man of the same clan to become the new chief. The other chiefs shall afterwards investigate the case, and if it is found that the man selected by the old women is not the right one, then another one shall be elected by the authority of the other chiefs.

“‘But if the man selected by the old women be found satisfactory in every respect, the new chief shall be elected and proclaimed at the condolence meeting.

“‘And the neutral party shall appear at the place of the condolence meeting, not going to the place where the meeting is to be held, but staying a certain distance away.

“‘The mourning party, i. e., the party of the deceased chief, shall go to receive them, and must announce the place where the meeting will be held. When they arrive at the appointed place, the neutral party will surrender the wampum string of mourning that has been used in inviting them to be present.

“‘When the neutral party is received by the sorrowing party, the first will form a procession to the council house, and a man selected by the people will sing a mourning song and mention in it the names of all the chiefs of the five nations, including the de-

ceased chiefs, renewing the authority invested in the chiefs since the formation of the confederation.

“When the procession reaches the council house, they will occupy either the east or the west end of the building (the mourning and neutral parties have separate seats), and the song of mourning will continue to the end.

“When the song is finished they will sit down, saying nothing for quite a time.

“Then a line will be stretched across the room and the blankets hung on it, so that the sorrowing party and the neutral party cannot see one another.

“At the place where the mourning singers are sitting on the benches, seven black wampum strings will hang on a stick. The neutral party will then sing the same song as the mourning party.

“After its conclusion, another man from the neutral party will be appointed to walk from one end of the building to the other, having in his hand the black wampum strings; he will sing the following words: “I have arrived at your place and have seen your situation. You are in a mournful state. Also you are in a state of darkness, because one of yours is now flying away, and is going farther and farther. He was once a co-worker for the benefit of your nation, and now he has gone away, as it will be with you all, with your men, women, and children. I counsel you to remember always the work your co-worker has done for your welfare. While you are in this state of darkness I have come to you to furnish you a sun of light, and on the next morning you will see this sun of light breaking up before you. Continually looking at this sun, you will be held in a state of happiness. When I came here to your council house and saw the remnants of the woods scattered through the room, I ordered that these remnants be gathered and set at the proper place, and I have already set the fire, so that you will now transact your business for the welfare of your people. I was at the grave of the deceased chief, and saw that leaves were scattered upon it. I discovered that the office of chief lay on the top of his grave, and it is now your duty to point out to me a man who is taking his office.”

“When the man says these words, one of the war-chiefs will rise and take by the hand the man who is elected as the new chief and places him before the people at a place where everybody can see him. The war chief, having in his hand a short string of wampum, will thus publicly speak to the people: “This man who stands before you will take the office of chief.”



THOMAS LA FORT.
(Shohehdonah—"Large Feather.")

“‘Then the war-chief will turn to the man just appointed chief and counsel him always to be steadfast in his office and encourage him in his work. He says to him that many people will try to oppose him, and it is his duty to be watchful. Then he says: ‘Do not think that you are entirely independent. You should never say: ‘I shall do *as I want to do*.’ You are not at liberty to do so, but are bound in all your actions by the laws of our confederacy, and you shall always and in everything follow the best chiefs, and you shall work for the good of our people and never undertake to make sorrow for our people.” And when the newly elected chief gives his consent to these words, he shall be considered elected.

“‘Such is the condolence meeting.’

“‘Then Hiawatha still spoke the following words before the meeting was brought to an end: ‘This law shall operate as long as the five nations exist, and it will end when the world too will come to an end. I will now go to make all the necessary arrangements from generation to generation for the benefit of all our people. I will disperse all the magical monsters, and also in the wilderness I will disperse them, so that only such animals are left as are good to eat; and all these lakes will be for your fishing, and in the wilderness the animals for hunting will be for your refreshment. I shall prepare all these things before I leave, for your safety and for the safety of all generations.’

“‘Then Hiawatha left his place and rowed in his white canoe through Oneida Lake and also Onondaga Lake, Cayuga Lake, and Seneca Lake.

“‘Then he came back somewhere near the city of Syracuse to say a last farewell to his people of the five nations, and they were assembled all together close by the Onondaga Lake, and these are the last words which he uttered: ‘I have finished my work and have made a constitution for your people, and it shall last as long as the world shall last.’

“‘Then he said a last farewell to his people, expressing the hope that they should always remain in the state of prosperity. Slowly rose his white canoe up into the air, but remained for a while standing in the air, high enough that the people could see and hear him. Thus he spoke:

“‘I shall now go home to my place; should it happen that the government which I have framed does not last as long as the world, then it will be my bounden duty to appear again.’

“‘Such were the last words of the great reformer of his people before his white canoe rose higher and higher.

"Thus departed Hiawatha,
Hiawatha the Beloved,
In the glory of the sunset,
In the purple mists of evening,
To the regions of the home wind,
Of the Northwest wind Keewaydin,
To the Islands of the Blessed,
To the Kingdom of Gonenah,
To the Land of the Hereafter."

Such is the story of the foundation of the Confederacy of the Five Nations, told to me by the good chief Daniel La Fort of the Onondaga Indians; it was not without deep emotion that he spoke, and I myself was deeply impressed by the touching tale.

When I asked him how it happened that so many stories had been told, most of them widely differing from each other, concerning Hiawatha and his work, and that especially the "Holder of Heavens" is considered by many as the founder of the League, he answered: "We all know that Hiawatha was the true and only founder of the League; he was our great forefather and has really dwelt among us. We believe in him, and when some people say that the 'Holder of Heavens' founded the League, I can only say that he is considered to have been a superhuman being who lived long before Hiawatha. He had the power to make himself invisible, and he called all Indians his brothers and sisters. He destroyed all the numerous monsters, but he made no constitution."

When asking Chief Daniel La Fort the meaning of the word "Hiawatha," he answered that it meant "the awakener." A few days later I asked Albert Cusick, who also lives on the Onondaga Reservation, the meaning of the word and received the same reply. Rev. Beauchamp, however, gives in his book, *The Iroquois Trail*, the following explanation: "Mr. Horatio Hale interprets it 'He who seeks or makes the wampum belt.' This would bring the name down to the seventeenth century, if the ordinary wampum belt is meant, for until then the Iroquois had none of the small beads used in making these." Beauchamp then continues: "L. H. Morgan translated Ha-yo-ment-ha 'he who combs,' understanding an allusion in this to his combing the snakes out of Tadodaho's head. Père Cuoq suggested: 'The river maker.'" My Onondaga friend, Albert Cusick, told me that the name meant "one who has lost his mind, and seeks it, knowing where to find it."—The reader will see that the interpretation I obtained from Cusick is somewhat different from the one Mr. Beauchamp gives, but I think that



DANIEL LA FORT.
(Lajunwais—"Striking the Gulf.")

the definition "The awakener" will come nearest the truth, because Hiawatha indeed was an "awakener" of his people; he awoke them from the sleep of indifference and gave them a constitution.

Daniel La Fort told me further that "The Holder of Heavens" had prophesied to his people that at some future time a large nation would arrive to drive the Onondagas from their homes and take their land by force, so that they would have no place of rest. How this prophecy was fulfilled, we all know: when the "pale faces" came, they drove them away and made themselves masters of the land.

Summing up the views I obtained from the facts communicated to me by La Fort, I suggest that Hiawatha was not a mythical being, but a man of flesh and blood, who lived towards the end of the sixteenth century, and was the founder of the Confederacy of the Five Nations.

The origin of the different clans, as well as the origin of the names of the tribes, seems to point to the original economical occupation of the respective tribes; because the replies of the people when asked by Hiawatha what they were doing: "we are hunting the bear," "we are hunting the eel," and so on, and then the name-giving of "bear clan," "eel clan," and so on, indicates that the clan-symbol or totem stood for the social mark of distinction of the different tribes. When Hiawatha said to the people that they should set up a pole with the idol of the clan on its top, he doubtless wanted to say that there, where the pole with the bear was to be seen, lived the bear-people, and so forth.

With religious belief the clan-symbol has nothing to do, and when asking La Fort whether these idols were worshipped, he denied it most emphatically. Accordingly, if a member of a tribe said: "I belong to the bear-clan," this does not mean that his forefather was a bear, nor that he worshipped the bear, but simply that the bear is the coat-of-arms of his clan.

GOSPEL PARALLELS FROM PALI TEXTS.

Translated from the Originals by ALBERT J. EDMUNDS.

(Seventh Series.)

THE GOSPEL PREACHED IN THE SPIRITUAL WORLD.

WITH OBSERVATIONS ON THE POST-RESURRECTION MISSIONARY CHARGE.

Matthew xxviii. 18. All authority hath been given unto me in heaven and on earth.

1 Peter iii. 18, 19. Christ also suffered for sins once...being put to death in the flesh, but quickened in the spirit; in which also he went and preached unto the spirits in prison.

iv. 6. Unto this end was the Gospel preached even to the dead.

NUMERICAL COLLECTION IV. 33.

WHEN a Tathâgato arises in the world, an Arahât, a Buddha supreme, endowed with wisdom in conduct, auspicious, knowing the universe, a matchless charioteer of men who are tamed, a Master of angels and mortals, a Blessed Buddha, he preaches his religion, to wit, Personality (*Sakkâyo*), the origin of personality, and the cessation thereof, and the path that unto that cessation goes. And, monks, those angels of long life, self-radiant, happy beings, abiding in the lofty mansions long, when they hear the preaching of the Tathâgato's religion, are everywhere seized with fear, astonishment, and trembling, saying: "Impermanent, alas! are we, O friend, 'tis said; and we thought we were permanent; unstable, and we deemed we were stable; non-eternal, who thought ourselves eternal. 'Tis said, O friend, that we are impermanent, unstable, non-eternal, hedged about with personality!"

Such, O monks, is the spiritual power of the Tathâgato over the angel-world; such his great authority and mystic might.¹

[In the Middling Collection, Sutta 49, Gotamo transports himself to the heaven of Brahmâ, to convert an angel from the heresy that his blest abode was

¹ It is this paragraph which led us to adduce the parallel in Matthew xxviii. 18.

everlasting. There is also a story, found in the Sanskrit Divyāvadāna and other uncanonical sources,¹ of Buddha going to the other world to preach the Gospel to his mother. It is alluded to in the Pāli of Jātaka 29, and is told in full in No. 483, but only in the commentary, not in the text. I will thank any scholar to find it in the Canon.]

Dr. Carus has pointed out to me the significant fact that the preaching of the Gospel to the nations is a later addition to the New Testament. This is borne out by the archaic oracle in Matthew :

"Go not into any way of the Gentiles, and enter not into any city of the Samaritans; but go rather to the lost sheep of the house of Israel. . . . Ye shall not have gone through the cities of Israel, till the Son of Man be come." (The Missionary Charge in Matth. 5, 6 and 23.)

It is Luke alone who invents the mission of the Seventy (i. e., to the seventy nations of the world, according to Jewish geography). As we pointed out in April, 1900, there is a parallel here with the sixty-one Arahats sent forth by Gotamo. That Luke invented the story of the Seventy is betrayed by himself, for, in xxii. 35, he agrees with the Petrine and Matthæan tradition, in ascribing certain words to the Charge to the Twelve from which he has wrested them to make up his ideal Charge to the Seventy :

"When I sent you forth without purse and wallet and shoes, lacked ye anything? And they said, Nothing."

Luke puts the words, "no purse, no wallet, no shoes," into the Charge to the Seventy (x. 4), while in the Charge to the Twelve he reads: "nor wallet, nor bread, nor money; neither have two coats." But there is no mention of shoes. (Luke ix. 3.)

In the Gospel tradition generally the great Missionary Charge is the one given after the resurrection :

"Go ye therefore, and make disciples of all the nations, baptising them into the names of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost." (Matth. xxviii. 19.)

The Trinitarian formula betrays the lateness of the redaction, but the passage is older than the redaction, for the substance of it is found in the Fourth Gospel: "Peace be unto you: as the Father hath sent me, even so send I you." (John xx. 21.) I have little doubt that the Matthæan charge read originally: "baptising them into my name," simply; to which Rendel Harris assented when I once pointed this out to him.

¹ I do not call the Divyāvadāna uncanonical merely because it is not in the Pāli Canon, but because it is post-Asokan. However, it doubtless contains a nucleus which we may call semi-canoncial, for the Avadānas were classed by several sects in the Miscellaneous Pitaka, outside the great Collections of Āgamas.

As a Christian believer (though attached to no sect or Church whatever) I personally maintain that the post-resurrection missionary charge is no mere fiction introduced to imitate Buddhism (granting that even the catholic Luke knew thereof), but a reality. It is my conviction, after long research and thinking, that the Lord Jesus was vividly present, in some guise—whether palpable or visionary matters little—to his disciples after death, and especially to Peter. I believe too that he impressed their minds with his wishes, which had expanded since the days when he forbade ministrations to Samaritans and pagans. Unfortunately the account of the great appearance to Peter has been lost, if not suppressed by the Church. It probably contained the charge to Peter (misplaced in *Matth. xvi.*) and some matter relating to the descent into Hades mentioned in Peter's Epistle. But this leads us to the question of the lost ending of Mark, and is food for another article. I will only quote the proof-texts for an apparition to Peter:

Mark xvi. 7: "Go, tell his disciples and Peter, He goeth before you into Galilee: there shall ye see him."

(Cf. also Mark xiv. 28, fortified by the parallel in Matthew, but weakened by its omission in the Vienna Gospel-fragment from Egypt.)

1 Cor. xv. 5. "He appeared to Cephas."

Luke xxiv. 34. "The Lord is risen indeed, and hath appeared to Simon."

Eusebius, H. E. II. 1. Clement [of Alexandria]....in the seventh book of [his Institutions] writes also thus:

"The Lord transmitted the Gnosis unto James the Just, John and Peter after his resurrection."

Shahrastāni of Persia, A. D. 1150,

"After he was dead and crucified, he returned, and Simon Peter saw him and He spake with him, and transmitted to him the power. Then he left the world and ascended into heaven, and Simon Peter was his representative." (Haarbrücker, Vol. I., p. 261.)

MISCELLANEOUS.

MAHĀYĀNA DOCTRINE AND ART.¹

COMMENTS ON THE STORY "AMITABHA."

The story *Amitābha* is the third in a series of short tales explanatory of Buddhism. The first of them, *Karma*, treats of Buddhist ethics; the second, *Nirvāṇa*, of Buddhist psychology; and *Amitābha* is an exposition of Buddhist theology.



LOTUS DESIGN.

From Griffith's *Paintings in the Ajantā Caves*.

The original Buddhism omitted any allusion to God or other metaphysical conceptions; but in the further development of the Buddhist Church the meta-

¹The frontispiece and illustrations of this article represent scenes and pictures from the Ajantā caves which will be completed in the next number. They are the best monuments of Buddhist monastery life left in India of the period from 250 B. C. to 600 A. D., which is the age of our story *Amitābha*, viz., the period of the origin and completion of the Mahāyāna doctrine.

The frontispiece representing one of the chaityas, or churches, exhibits the art employed by the cave-builders to impress the worshipper or any person entering it with religious awe, and so predispose his mind for devotion. In one of the Buddhist chaityas (as mentioned by Ferguson) the light is concentrated upon a dagoba, the place where in Christian churches the altar stands, which has the peculiar effect of imparting to the spot a visible sanctification from above by a halo of rays of dimmed light.

The frescoes on the walls represent scenes from the life of Buddha and from Jātaka tales, and from the inexhaustible treasury of Buddhist saint stories.



Fresco in the Ajantā Caves. (It is interesting to notice that the sword-carrier wears a striped undergarment and a star-spangled upper garment. The stripes do not come out very well in the reproduction.)

physical question as to the ultimate condition of existence, and especially of the sources from which Buddhahood springs, became irrepressible and thus a new movement originated which is commonly called the school of Mahāyāna.

The Mahāyāna is not, properly speaking, a school but a church, or rather a doctrine which inspires all the Buddhist churches of the North; and the inventors



SIDDHĀRTHA, THE PRINCE, LEAVING THE PALACE BEFORE SEEING THE THREE EVILS OF LIFE.

of the term Mahāyāna designated the older churches of the South, now mainly represented in the Buddhism of Ceylon, as the Hīnayāna.

Mahāyāna means "the large vessel," viz., a great ship in which multitudes may cross the ocean of Samsara, the restlessness of the world; while Hīnayāna means "the small vessel," viz., a little boat in which only one single man can attain to Nirvāna. The Mahāyāna is a natural development of Buddhism, and is

practically implied in the original doctrines of Buddha. The contrast between Mahâyâna and Hīnayâna is not so great as it may appear, for the metaphysical ideas which are expounded in the Mahâyâna philosophy are ultimately based upon traditions which go back to original sayings of Buddha himself.

The doctrine of Amitabha, i. e., of the source of Buddhahood as an eternal principle, is expressed in a passage of the *Diamond Cutter*, where the nature of the



Buddha.

Bodhisattva Samanta Bhadra,
Representing the principle
of particularity or
love.

Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī,
Representing the principle
of universality or
wisdom.

Ānanda.

Mahākāśyapa.

A TYPICAL REPRESENTATION OF THE MAHĀYĀNA FAITH.

Buddha is explained to be incorporeal and spiritual. Buddha cannot be seen with bodily eyes, for they have the body of the law (Dharmakāya, chapter xxvi.) and further the name Tathāgata (i. e., the Perfect One) is justified because Buddhas have attained the state of the uncreate, the no-origin. They have become identi-

cal with suchness (the highest formative law) and possess no qualities of particularity or thisness, viz., material existence. We read in chapter XVII.:

"And why, O Subhūti, the name of Tathāgata? It expresses true suchness. And why Tathāgata, O Subhūti? It expresses that he has no origin. And why Tathāgata, O Subhūti? It expresses the destruction of all qualities. And why Tathāgata, O Subhūti? It expresses one who had no origin whatever. And why this? Because, O Subhūti, no-origin is the highest goal."¹

The philosopher of the Mahāyāna is Aṣvaghosha. The tendency and perhaps the word also existed before him, but he is the great systematiser who formulated it, and he left a little treatise entitled *Discourse on the Awakening of Faith in the Mahāyāna*. The original Sanscrit text of this small but important book has been lost, and it has been preserved only in two Chinese translations which have for the first time been translated into English by Teitaro Suzuki, and published by The Open Court Publishing Company in 1900.

The philosophy in the Mahāyāna is represented in a picture which has become typical of Northern Buddhism. Buddha is seated on a lotus throne in the attitude of teaching, with particularity on his right side, and wisdom, the principle of universality, on his left. The former is personified in Bodhisatva Samanta Bhadra, riding a white elephant, and the latter in Bodhisatva Mañjuṣrī, riding a lion. The group is completed by the presence of Ānanda, the disciple of love, and Kācyapa, the disciple of wisdom, equipped with his begging bowl.

P. C.

[TO BE CONCLUDED.]

SECRECY IN RELIGION.

"I am the doubter and the doubt;
and I the hymn the Brahmin sings."

The following supplementary notes may be of interest to the readers of *The Open Court* in connection with the Gayatri.²

I asked Count De Gubernatis as we were looking at the wonders of the Musée Guimet on the occasion of the Congress of the History of Religions in Paris (September, 1900), whether now that all the sacred books had been translated and reproduced in European editions, there was still a prejudice against uttering the more sacred parts before a European. He answered with the following story: When he was on a visit to a native prince whose name I have forgotten, he expressed to the prime minister the desire to hear some verses recited in the peculiar immemorial measure used for them. The prime minister readily assented and arranged a meeting with certain Brahmans whose particular business it was to study and transmit the proper articulation of the Scriptures. On the appointed day, Count De Gubernatis, the prime minister, and three or four Brahmans accordingly assembled. Two or three of the Brahmans proceeded to repeat their verses without hesitation; they were the reciters of the later sacred books. But when it came to the earliest Vedas, the Brahman whose study these were, positively declined to utter a word; to do so, he said, would be sacrilege. In order to persuade him Count De Gubernatis himself repeated the hymn to the sun, to show him that he was already familiar with the sense. But to no avail. The sacred mystery dwelt

¹ The original Sanscrit text is published in *Buddhist Texts from Japan*, edited by F. Max Müller, Oxford, Clarendon Press. Our passage, quoted from the *Vaṅga Khadikā*, chap. XVII., will be found on p. 37. For a translation see *S. B. of the E.*, XLIX., part II., p. 133.

² See *The Open Court* for February 1902, p. 97.

in the sound and this could not be profaned. Here was a sad predicament : the prime minister with his promise, the Brahman with his samples—each equally obstinate. At last the prime minister said : " I command you to utter the words or you will have to take the consequences." " Well," said the priest at last, " I will say them to *you*, but not to this stranger." And this was done—but the " stranger " was quite close by and heard it all !

I am afraid that in spite of the holy stratagem, the poor Brahman had to go through penances untold to wash away his sin !

The truth appears to be that there still exists an unconquerable aversion to repeating the formula to a foreigner who is evidently taking notes, but that most Hindus do not now mind reciting it in the presence of Europeans for their own religious purposes, if the Europeans are persons whom they are accustomed to, and in whom they have confidence. An old friend of mine, General G. G. Pearse (whose sister married my cousin Lord Napier of Magdāla), wrote to me not long ago that he had often been with Brahmans and Pundits " when they performed their morning sacrifice and rite whilst chanting their old metre," and, he adds, " it was beautiful and simple." He also makes the interesting remark : " From the beginning of time, great prayer, sacrifice, etc., has been almost always performed whilst going round and round ; it was so during the Gayatri." My friend is one of the last survivors of the heroic men (heroes by far diviner right than that of mere courage or military capacity) who saved India for England : Havelock, Outram, Napier, Lawrence, Neville, Chamberlain (the Field Marshal lately dead), and a handful of others : how morally grand was the stuff they were made of ! They knew the country and its people thoroughly, as no one knows it now : General Pearse told me that he could have " traversed India by the aid of the stars," so much night work had he done during the Indian mutiny. All these men felt a deep sympathy for the people of the land and were loved by them. I know one chivalrous American soldier who in like manner has made himself beloved wherever he has gone with the conquering race—Colonel E. L. Huggins.

This is the Happy Warrior ; this is he
Whom every man in arms should wish to be.

That rare book, the *Hindu Pantheon* of Edward Moor, which was published early in the last century, contains several allusions to the Gayatri, the repetition of which, without any other religious act, is stated to be sufficient to win beatitude. It ought, however, to be repeated a thousand times on each occasion if the whole benefit is to be derived from it. Those who have done this, being full of the divine essence, move as freely as air and can assume an ethereal form. A prayer is sometimes addressed to It, which runs thus : " Divine text, who dost grant our best wishes, whose name is trisyllable, whose import is the power of the supreme being ; come, thou mother of the Vedas who didst spring from Brahma : be constant here ! " A learned Pundit described it as " Perfect truth ; perfect happiness, without equal, immortal ; absolute unity ; which neither speech can describe nor mind comprehend ; all-pervading, all-transcending ; delighted with its own boundless intelligence ; not limited by time or space." This description shows very clearly that the Gayatri is regarded as more than a hymn to the deity ; it *is* the deity.

Moor said that the text was *mentally recited* (to the accompaniment of a sort of wordless chant), and this seems to be in all times the proper way of its performance, which accounts for the fact of many Europeans hearing it but being unable to seize its meaning, until the Vedas were translated in their entirety. He observes that no doubt pious Brahmans would be deeply shocked at hearing the Gayatri de-

filed by unholy articulation and would be distressed at knowing that the characters and meaning were in possession of persons outside of the pale of sanctity. This reminds me that my grandfather, Sir. C. E. Carrington, was under the impression that Sir W. Jones's unexpected death a week or two after gaining possession of the Gayatri was not without connection with his acquirement of the long sought-after treasure; but this was only a guess.

The subject of secret names and formulæ is a large one. I mentioned in my former paper one other instance: the Most Holy name of God. Certain of the Jews believed that Jesus Christ acquired knowledge of this name and that it was by it that he worked his miracles. There are, of course, very many other cases of unpronounceable, or at least rarely pronounced, names and words. The Greeks would not refer directly to the Erinyes as may be seen from the following passage in the *Œdipus at Colossus* of Sophocles:

"Some wandering stranger must the old man be,
No native of the land, or he
Had never dared to rove
Within the bounds of this untrodden grove
Of the unconquered maids whose names we ne'er
Even to utter dare,
But hurry by
Without a glance and silently;
With lips fast closed and words confined
To the mute language of th' adoring mind."

—Translated by H. Carrington.

It was to avoid direct allusion to the Furies that they were called the Eumenides or "Kind Beings," a description they merited in the case of *Œdipus*, as they did not resent his innocent intrusion.

The dislike to mentioning the Erinyes by their name, probably sprang merely from the apprehension lest they might be angered by light or disrespectful reference to them, but much deeper questions are involved in the early uncertainty or secrecy about the name of the Supreme Creator. We know that the earliest Roman worship was of a mysterious *Aio Loquente*: a voice that spoke out of the depths of the earth. Perhaps the very earliest idea of deity was a voice—a speaking voice—a *Logos*. I am tempted here to mention a theory formed by an Italian friend of mine now dead; it was that at first, in the evolution of man from a lower animal form, language was the discovery of a few individuals who kept the secret to themselves and thereby became powerful and the objects of religious awe. I do not know if this supposition has ever been discussed, but it would account for the primordial reverence of the word.

E. MARTINENGO-CESARESCO.

WORDS O' CHEER.

Lo! Calvin, Knox, and Luther cry,
I hae the truth and I and I.
Puir sinners, if ye gang agley
The Deil will hae ye
And then the Lord will stand abeigh
And will na sae ye.

But Hoolie! hoolie! Na sa fast.
When Gabriel shall blaw his blast

And Heaven and earth awa hae past,
 These lang syne saints
 Shall find baith Deil and Hell at last
 Mere pious feints.

The upright, honest-hearted man
 Who strives to do the best he can,
 Need never fear the Church's ban
 Or Hell's damnation,
 For God will need nae special plan
 For his salvation.

The ane wha feels our deepest needs
 Recks little how man counts his beads,
 For righteousness is not in creeds
 Or solemn faces,
 But rather lies in kindly deeds
 And Christian graces.

Then never fear, wi' purpose leal,
 A head to think, a heart to feel
 For human woe, for human weal,
 Nae preaching loon
 Your sacred birthright e'er can steal
 To Heaven aboon.

Tak tent o' truth and heed thee well,
 The man who sins mak's his own hell,
 There's nae worse deil than himsel,
 But God is strongest,
 And when puir human hearts rebel
 He haulds out longest.

ROBERT BURNS.¹

A WORLD'S RELIGIOUS CLASSIC.

Mr. Albert J. Edmunds has at last given us a real English translation of the immortal verses of the *Dhammapada*,² a translation that rigorously adheres to the original, yet is couched in robust and idiomatic English. The *Dhammapada*,

¹ This poem comes to me through the courtesy of a Scotch gentleman of high position in the banking world. He received it from a countryman of his, and the poem purports to be an unpublished production of Robert Burns's muse. But my authority, while leaving me at liberty to use the poem, requested me not to mention his name for the reason that he has his grave doubts as to the authenticity of the verses. The poem is too good to have remained so long unpublished. There is no doubt that upon the whole the language is that of Burns, but its resemblance is so close that it is more likely that of a clever imitator compiling Burns's most characteristic expressions than of Burns himself. In spite of these doubts it seems not impossible that the poem is genuine. The ideas certainly are in harmony with Burns's convictions.

Can any of our Scotch readers give us light on the subject?

P. C.

² *Hymns of the Faith (Dhammapada)*: Being an Ancient Anthology Preserved in the Short Collection of the Sacred Scriptures. Translated from the Pāli by Albert J. Edmunds. Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Co. 1902. Pages, xiii, 110. Price, cloth, \$1.00 net (4s. 6d. net).

to use Mr. Edmunds's own words, is an "ancient anthology of Buddhist devotional poetry and was compiled from the utterances of Gotamo and his disciples; from early hymns by monks; and from the poetic proverbs of India."

In the original Pāli and Sanskrit, or in the various other languages of the Asiatic nations, these sacred hymns have for centuries been recited in Buddhist monasteries and homes from Ceylon, Siam and Burmah to Afghanistan and Tibet, and from Turkestan across the entire breadth of Asia to the coasts of China and Japan. "If ever," says Mr. Edmunds eloquently, "an immortal classic was produced upon the continent of Asia, it is this. Its sonorous rolls of rhythm are nothing short of inspired. . . . No trite ephemeral songs are here, but red-hot lava from the abysses of the human soul, in one of the two of its most historic eruptions. These old refrains from a life beyond time and sense, as it was wrought out by generations of earnest thinkers, have been fire to many a muse. They burned in the brains of the Chinese pilgrims, who braved the blasts of the Mongolian desert, climbed the cliffs of the Himālayas, swung by the rope-bridge across the Indus where it rages through its gloomiest gorge, and faced the bandit and the beast, to peregrinate the Holy Land of their religion, and tread in the footsteps of the Master. Verses were graven on the walls of august temples at the command of Hindū emperors who abolished capital punishment, mitigated slavery, and established hospitals for men and animals, under the sway of this marvellous cult; and by Ceylon monarchs whose ruined reservoirs, as large as lakes, astonish us among the wonders of antiquity. And to-day, after twenty centuries of Roman and Christian culture, they have won the admiration of Europeans and Americans in every seat of learning, from Copenhagen to the Cambridges, and from Chicago to St. Petersburg."

"And," remarks again Mr. Edmunds, concerning his rendering, "while sticking to an almost literal translation, I have tried to convey some flavor of the original by using an archaic and poetic style. Perhaps it is too ambitious a wish to hope to naturalise in English this Buddhist Holy Writ, as the King James version has naturalised the Christian; but if I fail some one else will succeed."

Much to this success Mr. Edmunds has certainly contributed, and it will be due largely to his great pains if the work comes to enjoy in English the enlightened popularity that it deserves. μ.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTES.

COMMONWEALTH OR EMPIRE. A Bystander's View of the Question. By *Goldwin Smith, D. C. L.*, Emeritus Professor of Cornell University. New York: The Macmillan Company. London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd. 1902. Pages, 82. Price, 60 cents.

Mr. Goldwin Smith, formerly professor in Oxford, Eng., and afterwards the occupant of a professorship of history in Cornell University, is one of the most distinguished of modern publicists. His historical essays have been universally signalled by their breadth of view and their elegance, while *Outlines of the Political History of the United States* for a long time stood alone in its impartiality. Professor Smith's present views, therefore, on the great subject now agitating American political thought are deserving of attentive consideration.

Looking as a bystander upon our political troubles, Professor Smith sees the paramount issue of American politics, not in the question of the monetary standard, but in the question of commonwealth and empire. "Shall the American Re-

public be what it has hitherto been, follow its own destiny, and do what it can to fulfil the special hopes which humanity has founded on it; or shall it slide into an imitation of European Imperialism, and be drawn, with the military powers of Europe, into a career of conquest and domination over subject races, with the political liabilities which such a career entails? This was and is the main issue for humanity. Seldom has a nation been brought so distinctly as the American nation now is to the parting of the ways. Never has a nation's choice been more important to mankind."

Against the commonwealth three forces, he says, distinct but convergent, are now arrayed: Plutocracy, militarism, and imperialism. Before them he sees the old spirit of American independence, spontaneity, and political equality, disappearing. Plutocracy appears to him the greatest foe; its progress is continually increasing, and it is therefore bound to work a serious change in the spirit of our institutions, though without disturbing republican forms and names. The magnitude of American fortunes is something almost inconceivable, and the power which wealth has brought with it is correspondingly great. What is there to counterbalance it? Not religious aspirations, not humanitarian aspirations? "Wealth, with little regard to its source, is becoming almost an object of our social worship. Intellect, literary or scientific, culture, and art may still keep up a struggle against riches for social ascendancy, but they will hardly be able to hold their own. Popularity the multimillionaire purchases with ease, at a cost which to him is no sacrifice; while the community, even when the munificence is the noblest, is put rather too much in the attitude of receiving alms."

Professor Smith then details the coercive uses to which great fortunes have been put in the control of our government both national and local. It has become not a substitute for the ancient aristocracy, for the latter brought with it its duties,—duties which custom, heredity, and religion had made almost compulsory. But the conception of duty in the case of the new power lies entirely with the individual. We have in the case of Florence a historic instance of a government being converted from a republic into a principality under the absolute government of a single plutocratic family. Something analogous, Professor Smith thinks, may take place in the case of the American republic.

And so our author continues his discourse, applying the same considerations to the "sudden gust of militarism and imperialism" which has struck our country and which is threatening to reverse, as he says, the progress made by reason, by economical government, and by international morality during the last half century. Imperialism and militarism as embodied in the Roman Empire are our author's bugbears. The contributions of Rome to humanity are in his opinion relatively not superior to the achievements of the little city of Tyre. The phrase "British Empire" is a fallacious term. The British Empire is merely a federation of self governing colonies. England has lost, not gained, by its imperial ambitions. Imperialism always "threatens with destruction the wild stocks of humanity," yet there are often in them the latent germs of future progress. Had Varus conquered the Germans, the nation that gave us Luther, Leibnitz, Lessing, Kant, and Goethe would not have existed. The Boers have shown themselves the equals of their conquerors "in all that makes not only the thews and sinews, but the heart, of a nation." And the civilisation to which they are to give place is typified in Johannesburg, "a city of gambling-houses, saloons, brothels, and prize-rings."

In the United States the white man already has his burden and need not look abroad for it. The Negro question is more momentous than ever, and now we are

to add to it the problem of the black population of Cuba, the black population of the West Indies, and the black population of the Philippines. The Isthmian Canal will lure us on to expansion on the continent southward, and inevitably, according to Professor Smith, one of two things must happen: "Either a radical change in the character of the nation and in the spirit, if not in the form of its institutions, or a second disruption. Have Expansionists looked ahead? Have they made up their minds what direction their expansion shall take, and considered, if it takes a southern direction, what is likely to be the effect?"

And this decision, adds the author, cannot be safely left to traders, as it appears likely to be, for these care little for national character or for anything but the immediate extension of their trade. The problem is to be solved on broader and more unbiassed grounds.

μ.

COLONIAL GOVERNMENT. An Introduction to the Study of Colonial Institutions By *Paul S. Reinsch*, Professor of Political Science in the University of Wisconsin. New York: The Macmillan Company. London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd. 1902. Pages, x, 386. Price, \$1.25 net.

Now that the United States has entered definitively upon its colonial career, this book of Prof. Paul S. Reinsch will be welcomed as a timely one. The author believes that "while no one would advocate the servile imitation of the methods of other colonial powers, still it is the part of wisdom at this juncture to review the modes of action and the institutions by which other nations have been for a long time attempting, with varying results, to solve similar problems." He has accordingly presented a study of the constitutional frame-work of colonial government generally, presenting a brief survey of the motives and methods of colonial expansion from the historical point of view, treating also of the general forms of colonial government, and lastly presenting an outline of administrative organisation and legislative methods.

The present volume deals with the institutional forms of government as distinguished from the financial, educational, immigralional, sanitary, commercial, and industrial aspects of administration, which will be dealt with in a subsequent volume. The book forms part of "The Citizens' Library," which we have had frequent occasion to notice before.

Animism and Law; A Paper on Buddhism, explains the views of Bhikkhu Ānanda Maitriya concerning the religious development that has taken place in mankind. The original notion of animism, which peoples all the world with ghosts, spirits, and demons, reached its highest development in the monotheistic conception in the early Vedic period. The smaller animistic gods passed away and left only one great god, an ultimate divine unity, called Brahm. This Brahm was conceived in analogy to the soul of man; it was represented as the light in the fire, as the glory in the dawn, and the soul of all things. It was a god, not to be prayed to, but to be attained; a god demanding no sacrifice, but to be known by the sacrifice of what is base in man; this is the highest conception of animism, yet it is animism still. In contrast to it the conception of law originates which was propounded for the first time and religiously applied to moral life by the Buddha. Our author surveys the history of Western science, how in the several domains of knowledge law is established,—in the atomistic world, in chemistry, etc., and finally in psychology. In contrast to the Western view, which commonly considers every individual as "a child of matter," our Buddhist monk formulates his own position as follows:

"We Buddhists think otherwise. We think, true enough, that all our acts are the results of the operation of Laws, the final set of effects of a great chain of causes: but we think that we inherit these tendencies and characteristics, not from the ancestors of this body, but from our former selves; from the beings whose like we are to-day continuing; from the long chain of the lives we have lived before."

Miss Albers has written a *Life of Buddha for Children*, a little pamphlet of 51 pages illuminated with a picture of the Buddha under the Bodhi-tree, drawn in Indian style. The language is simple, and almost every chapter ends in poetical lines which have been reduced by the author into English rhymes. Most of them are translations from well-known Buddhist Pāli verses, of which the following are a few instances: The Birth of Buddha is celebrated in these lines:

"Softly blew the breezes
On that summer morn,
In Lumbini garden,
When the Lord was born.
From the sky rained flowers,
Birds in warbles sang,
While through earth and heaven
Strains of music rang.

Gods and men and angels
All for worship came.
Glory to the Buddha,
Glory to his name!"

And Buddha having taught the four noble truths and the noble eightfold path of righteousness, our poet glorifies the occasion in these verses:

"Thus thought the Lord, when by the tree
The great truth came to him:
'Men sin because they cannot see,
Because their eyes are dim.'

"Eternal wisdom, endless peace
And endless bliss he hath,
Who understands the 'noble truths,'
The 'noble eightfold path.'

"And thus he taught to all mankind,
And blest were all who heard
His ever tender blissful speech
His wondrous loving word."

Miss A. Christine Albers, a German-American lady who left America and went to Ceylon in order to devote herself to philanthropic work among the women of Ceylon and India, is now staying at Calcutta and has done much work in Buddhist Indian circles. She has repeatedly written for *The Indian Mirror*, and made valuable suggestions for the improvement of the social conditions of India. She is endeavoring to introduce institutions which have proved of benefit to the women of the Western world, such as the Woman's Exchange; she has organised schools, and tried to improve the home life of the natives. In her last communication to *The Indian Mirror* she makes a suggestion which might be taken up by some of

our wholesale importing houses. Noticing that the Indian is possessed of artistic faculties, she calls attention to the wood-carving that is done in many homes, and she claims that there are many fine works of art which have little money value in India. If some foreign house would establish an agency and buy up these goods they could be sold at reasonable prices for a profit, in Europe as well as in America, and shops that would carry these Indian carvings would be sure of a remunerative trade. The Hindus are industrious, frugal, and skilful, but they lack encouragement, and foreigners have not as yet tried to utilise these resources of Indian home manufacture.

Charu Chandra Bose has published two pamphlets,—one on Pāli and its relation to Sanscrit, the other on the origin and development of the Pāli language, being reprints from the *Maha-Bodhi Journal*. They contain a concise and yet for its small size quite a complete synopsis of the significance of Pāli, its spread during the sixth century B. C. as the popular dialect in the valley of the Ganges, etc., etc. Buddha introduced the Pāli language as a vehicle for his thought, which proved one of the wisest and most effective means for the spread of his religion. The most important sacred books of the Buddhists, called the Pitakas, are written in Pāli. They consist of three divisions: the Vinaya, the Sutta, and the Abhidhamma. The first contains the rules of conduct for monks, the second an exposition of the Buddhist doctrine, moral precepts, etc., and the last the psychology of Buddhism. So thoroughly did Buddha succeed in impressing his religion upon his contemporaries that the study of Pāli is practically identical with the study of Buddhism.

There are four Indian dialects: Sanscrit, Prakrit, Apabhraṃsa, and Mīśra. The first is the classical language of gods and of sages. Prakrit consists of several popular dialects more or less similar to Sanscrit and spoken by the people, Pāli being one of them. Apabhraṃsa means an ungrammatical jargon, and the Mīśra is a mixture of all dialects. Pāli originated in Magadha or in some other country farther to the westward, and is regarded by Dr. Muir as one of the oldest Prakrit dialects of northern India. The language is very ancient, as proved by rock inscriptions, and was employed for literary use by Buddha and his disciples. It is a language of beautiful sounds, and bears about the same relation to Sanscrit as Italian bears to Latin. Its construction is more simple than Sanscrit; its enunciation is easy and admirably fitted for a refined nation, as a vehicle of literary expression. The oldest alphabet in which it is written appears to be the Devanagari and the Dakshinī alphabets; but Buddhists of all countries, the Siamese, Singhalese, etc., have employed their own script, and finally Western scholars have established the custom of writing it in Roman letters. The Pāli Text Society is publishing the Buddhist texts in Roman transcriptions, and this innovation has not a little facilitated the publication of Pāli texts and the study of Pāli.

The G. & C. Merriam Company, of Springfield, Mass., announces the publication of a new edition of their *Webster's International Dictionary* with new plates throughout, and 25,000 additional words, phrases, and definitions. *Webster's Dictionary* held for years in this country undisputed sway as the standard lexicographic work of the English language, and its influence in establishing uniformity of orthoepic and orthographic usage in the United States has been enormous. It is to be hoped that in this new edition the sphere of its influence may not be undiminished.

Mr. Horatio W. Dresser has published under the title of *The Christ Ideal, A Study of the Spiritual Teachings of Jesus*, another of his characteristic religious productions. He emphasises the social aspects of Christianity and the law of love. The Kingdom is not merely the great creative realm of the spirit; it is the world of humanity "as a divine social organism." When we speak of the Kingdom, it should be because of our desire to find our place in the social organism; "to do the work we are best fitted to do and to do it as well as it can be done." To realise the Kingdom: "Begin where you are, work where you are. Simply be true to the best you know. Believe in God. Have faith in humanity. Remember that the old absolutism is passing, that it is even now entrenching itself in the last stronghold,—the fortress of commercialism. And remember that, silently and without observation, the forces of life are gathering on the side of the people, that when the people unite they are invincible. Therefore have faith even in the present age. Condemn not; love. Be faithful. Trust. Remember that the Christ came not to destroy but to fulfil." (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons—Pages, 150. Price, 75 cents.)

Nerendronath Sen, editor of *The Indian Mirror*, 24 Mott's Lane, Calcutta, India, sends us a copy of the *Life of Gautama Buddha*, by D. H. S. Abhayaratha. The book is written in some Indian language and contains 149 pages. It is full of interesting illustrations executed in Hindu style and representing scenes in the life of Buddha: Leaving the Tusita Heaven; Buddha's Birth; The Great Renunciation; The Temptation, etc., etc. The pictures are quite artistic, and one of them (Yashodara with Rahula) is done very well in colors.

Two of the latest publications of Funk & Wagnalls are: (1) *The Moral Law, or the Theory and Practice of Duty*, by Edward John Hamilton, D. D., Late Professor of Philosophy in the State University of Washington (Pages, x, 464. Price, \$1.60 net); and (2) *Captain Jinks, Hero*, by Ernest Crosby,—a satire on the recent Spanish war and its attendant and consequent expressions of popular sentiment and national policy. (Pages, vii, 392. Price, \$1.50 net.)

From the press of Félix Alcan we also beg to acknowledge the receipt of a work on the *Logic of the Will*, by Dr. Paul Lapie, Lecturer in the Faculty of Letters of the University of Rennes. The problem which the author has set himself to solve is the character of the intellectual ethics that precede acts of volition and the nature of the part which they play in the production of acts of volition. (Pp., 400. Price, 7 francs 50.)

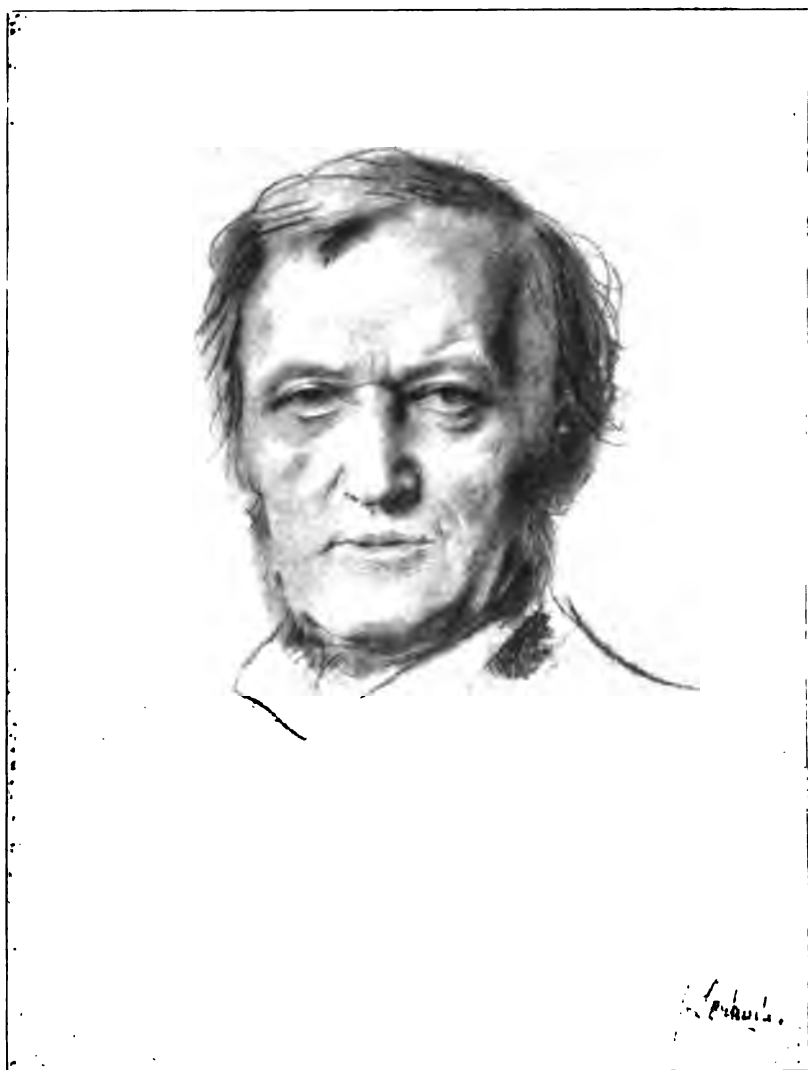
In *Shakespeare's Macbeth and the Ruin of Souls*, Dr. William Miller, Principal of the Madras Christian College, Madras, has critically analysed Shakespeare's great tragedy and shown the ethical lesson which it involves. The pamphlet is published by G. A. Natesan & Co., Esplanade Row, Madras. (Pages, 126. Price, 2 shillings.)

Dr. George Stuart Fullerton, of the University of Pennsylvania, has been making a thorough investigation of the doctrine of space and time in the pages of the *Philosophical Review*, and has had his articles reprinted in separate pamphlet form. (*The Philosophical Review*, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.)

The J. B. Lippincott Company, of Philadelphia, issued last year a second edition of Dr. I. W. Heysinger's *Solar Energy; Its Source and Mode Throughout the Universe*. The book is packed with *résumés* of astronomical theories. We have not the space to give it exhaustive consideration; it will be sufficient to state the author's conclusions, the chief of which are as follows: (1) That "the presence in space of an incandescent solar orb is of itself proof conclusive that it is surrounded with a family of dark planets, or a single planet, perhaps, rotating axially and circling round it, and that these rotating and revolving planets constitute the mechanism by means of which the sun glows with its own light and heat;" (2) "That, since solar energy, with its radiant light and heat, is due to planetary motions and not to gradual condensation of a gaseous nucleus under gravitation, there will be, on the contrary, no cessation or diminution of such light and heat so long as the planets shall continue to rotate and circle around their suns, as they now do in our own system; that is to say, our solar system will continue on, as it now is, indefinitely, one might almost say eternally, in the future." (Pages, 351.)

Dodd, Mead & Co., of New York, publish a work treating of the history of the origin and growth of Mormonism, by I. Woodbridge Riley. The essay is entitled: *The Founder of Mormonism; A Psychological Study of Joseph Smith, Jr.*, and was offered to the philosophical faculty of Yale University as a thesis for the degree of doctor of philosophy. Dr. Ladd contributes a preface to the work and characterises Mormonism as one of the most remarkable phenomena of the nineteenth century, and as deserving of investigation from the point of view of abnormal psychology. The reader may expect to find, therefore, in the present work an investigation which endeavors to do full justice to the myriad factors of diseased imagination and judgment, fraud, self-deception, and shrewdness of insight involved in the career of Joseph Smith, the founder of Mormonism. (Pages, vii, 446. Price, \$1.50.)

A cable notice from Calcutta announces the death of Swami Vivekananda, the Hindu monk who represented a Pantheistic Brahmanism at the Chicago Parliament of Religions in 1893. His philosophy is a modernised Vedantism which he explained in a booklet entitled *Raja Yoga*. His admirers collected money to build a place for him in India where he could teach his religious views. There, at his beautiful residence on the banks of the Ganges near Calcutta, he died July last at the premature age of forty years. It remains to be seen whether his life work possesses sufficient vitality to survive him. It seems that he was more an advocate of Vedantism to the West than a prophet and reformer of his own countrymen in the East. And certainly, his propaganda was most successful, not in India, but among the lovers of Oriental mysticism in the West, especially in America.



RICHARD WAGNER.

From a drawing by Franz Von Lenbach ; owned by Frau Cosima Wagner.

Frontispiece to The Open Court.

THE OPEN COURT

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

**Devoted to the Science of Religion, the Religion of Science, and
the Extension of the Religious Parliament Idea.**

VOL. XVI. (NO. 10.)

OCTOBER, 1902.

NO. 557

Copyright by The Open Court Publishing Co., 1902.

RICHARD WAGNER.

BY E. P. EVANS.

MORE than twenty years ago a German physician and psychiatrist, Dr. Puschmann, then residing in Munich, Bavaria, published a study of Richard Wagner, in which he endeavored to



VIEW OF WAGNER'S HOUSE WAHNFRIED IN BAYREUTH.

From a photograph by Bruckman.

prove that the distinguished composer was suffering from a variety of mental disorders and especially from that peculiar form of insanity called *Größenwahn* or megalomania. The publication of such a pamphlet during the life-time of the person subjected to so

ruthless dissection was denounced as impertinent and in very poor taste even by those who thought there might be some truth in it, and did not add to the reputation of its author, who, if he had treated Ludwig II. of Bavaria in the same manner, as he might have done with far better right, would have been convicted of lese-majesty and sent to prison, "There's such divinity doth hedge a king," even when his wits begin to turn.

The evolution of the musical drama and the growth of public appreciation of it since 1873 have also rendered many of Dr. Puschmann's statements not only wrong, but ludicrously wrong, and sapped the foundations of the reasoning by which he arrived at his startling conclusions. Thus we are told that a characteristic symptom of megalomania is a sort of psychical degeneration, which is often the forerunner of more deep-seated disturbances of the intellectual powers. The patient is in a state of exaltation, entertains extravagant notions of his own importance, and indulges in strange illusions concerning his own personality, believing himself to be a prince or prophet, a reformer and redeemer of the world, and cherishing impossible plans and projects, the execution of which seems to him perfectly easy. This hallucination becomes more intense and absorbing in direct proportion to the decay of the intellectual faculties, so that when the afflicted man imagines himself to be a god, he is really a hopeless idiot.

Dr. Puschmann quotes several authorities in confirmation of his general diagnosis and then proceeds to make a practical application of it to the case in question. *Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg*, *Tristan und Isolde*, *Rheingold*, and the rest of the tetralogy, so far as then completed, are adduced, not only as indicating sad aberrations in artistic taste, but also furnishing conclusive evidence of psychical deterioration and decrepitude. With the exception of occasional echoes of his earlier works, they are all said to bear the stamp of mental mediocrity, hastiness, incompleteness and "wild dilaceration," and are very far from reaching the height attained by *Lohengrin* and *Tannhäuser*, being "both in substance and form, in text and tone, ill-favored, shabby and slipshod." "If Wagner once unjustly pronounced *Rienzi* an 'artistic sin of his youth,' we should like to know what judgment he would pass upon his most recent productions; for the artist is evidently extinct in him and only the ambitious and imperious courtier remains." Dr. Puschmann even grows melancholy over the result of his researches and exclaims in a minor strain of sentimental regret—"Alas, the Wagner we loved is dead; he expired with the swan-song in *Lohen-*

grin; and the form which we now see before us is that of an unhappy and imbecile old man, to whom we listen with compassion as he painfully seeks to revive faint reminiscences of the departed master." The anxiety of our humane and tender-hearted psychiatrist is not confined to the illustrious lunatic himself, but generously extends to his deluded disciples, who have

"eaten of the insane root
That takes the reason prisoner,"

and are rapidly becoming candidates for bedlam. He expresses the hope that his admonition may be heeded by those who are not already incurably infected and that they may thereby be freed from this amazing infatuation and through sobermindedness recover soul's health.

It would be hardly necessary to call attention to this queer little treatise, which, if ever read by its author in the light of subsequent events, must have an extremely depressing effect upon his mind, were it not for the completion and recent translation into English of Max Nordau's *Entartung* (Degeneration), in which Richard Wagner, Henrik Ibsen, Leo Tolstoy, and Friedrich Nietzsche are chosen as the most conspicuous illustrations of his theme and the most striking examples of modern degeneracy and mental decay. Nordau's allegations and analyses do not differ essentially from Puschmann's, but he makes a more sweeping application of them, stigmatising nearly the whole intellectual evolution of the present time, especially in its literary and artistic development, as "degenerate," and selecting the representative men just mentioned as the most painful exemplifications of this decadence. Wagner, however, stands in this respect supreme and is declared in not very elegant phraseology to be "full-laden with a greater mass of degeneration than all the others put together." He discovers in the famous composer distinct marks or "stigmata" of this morbid condition, that are astonishingly complete and quite "uncanny" in their rankness and rancidity. Of course, these abnormal manifestations are all pathognomonic symptoms of the central malady megalomania or what in common parlance would be called inordinate and chronic self-conceit. Springing from the tap-root of egotism and ramifying in various directions are such secondary indications of mental disease as excessive subjectiveness, the fixed idea of being unappreciated by the public and persistently persecuted by unknown enemies (*Verfolgungswahn*), emotional eccentricity showing itself in confused and quixotic notions of philanthropy and impossible schemes of social and political reform,

anarchism, erotomania and semi-religious sentimentalism, intense contumaciousness and opinionativeness, "graphomania" vulgarly termed scribbler's itch, *cacoethes scribendi* in an aggravated form, resulting in the lack of logical continuity of thought, flightiness and the oracular utterance of bombast and balderdash.

Having thus formulated his accusations Nordau proceeds to substantiate them by a bitter and extremely invidious criticism of Wagner's works, denouncing them as obscene and debasing and denying that they give the slightest evidence of creative genius or of genuine musical talent. He deems it very creditable to the native simplicity and moral purity of the German nation that Wagner's operas can be represented on the stage without exciting a storm of indignation. "How innocent must be the matrons and maidens, who can witness these pieces without turning fire-red and sinking into the earth for very shame! How guileless are the husbands and fathers, who permit their wives and daughters to be present at the theatrical performance of such bawdy scenes! Evidently they find nothing offensive in the conduct of these persons, and have not the slightest conception of the feelings awakened in them, the meaning of their words and actions and the end they have in view. In a less naïve and childlike public no one would venture to lift his eyes to his neighbor or be able to endure his glance." The enjoyment of these musical dramas by the cultivated classes of other nations, including the French, would imply that they too are still living in a state of primitive innocence. Of course there are exceptions everywhere, like our author, persons of superior culture and intimate knowledge of the world and demi-world, whose scent of obscenity has grown overkeen and to whom the purest things savor of nastiness. The accusation that Wagner glorifies incestuous passion on account of the relations of Siegmund to Sieglinde in *Die Walküre* is a criticism as absurd as the assertion that his cannot be "the music of the future" because his themes are taken from a remote and legendary past. Deductions of this sort imply an amazing confusion of ideas and lack of logical discrimination. Indeed it may be justly questioned whether this tendency to discuss art and literature from a psycho-pathological point of view is not in itself symptomatic of "a mind diseased."

It is not the purpose of the present paper to vindicate the character of any of these men, whether mystics, or neocatholics, or prerafaelites, or symbolists, or other degenerate scions of German romanticism, as Nordau calls them. Whatever may be the essence and influence of "Tolstoy-ism" or the merits of Nietzsche

as a philosopher ; whether Ibsen's dramatic creations are real men and women or mere homunculi conjured into semblance of life by a cunning magician, "theses on two legs" intended to illustrate certain extravagant theories of their author; whether Wagner is a born poet, musician, and dramatist, or merely a superior playwright endowed with the picturesque imagination of "a first-class historical painter" and a marvellous talent for the scenical grouping of costumed lay figures in imitation of life, are all of them subjects proper to critical investigation, but lying wholly outside of the province of the psychiatrist. Let us take the case of the composer, to which Nordau gives special prominence, and try to trace in outline the course and continuity of his intellectual and artistic evolution.

* * *

Richard Wagner was a peculiarly interesting, if not altogether admirable, character. Unfortunately his real personality has been greatly obscured and distorted by the persistent efforts of his friends to conceal, and of his enemies to magnify, his faults. He was a Saxon by birth and possessed in a marked degree the physical and mental qualities which distinguish that branch of the German race and are due in part to an intermixture of Slavonic blood. He was eminently typical of the stock from which he sprung, just as Bismarck is the foremost representative of the Prussian or Brandenburg type with a possible tinge of Vandal blood in his veins.

Wagner was a man of low stature with a large and remarkably intellectual head, an abnormally long occiput, a lofty brow finely arched, a protuberant nose of the aquiline type, rather deep-set eyes, high cheek-bones, a firm but somewhat sensual mouth, and a strongly projecting and exceedingly stubborn chin, which seems to have been a family heirloom. His body, which was of the average length and breadth and evidently planned for a person of middle size, was supported by short and slender legs, quite elegant in themselves, but not suited to the superincumbent frame, so that the whole figure resulting from this union of incongruous parts produced an unpleasant impression of squattiness. When seated he looked like a gentleman of ordinary dimensions, but underwent a surprising transformation and dwindled into comparative dwarfishness as soon as he rose to his feet. He was uncommonly agile and far more athletic than many a giant; in his youth he was an accomplished gymnast and age did not destroy his muscular vigor and elasticity; in his sixtieth year he could turn somersaults and

stand on his head with as much ease as when he was a schoolboy at the Kreuzschule in Dresden.

The photographs taken at different periods of his career naturally vary in expression, since they represent passing phases in his many-sided development. In this respect there is a marked contrast between "the counterfeit presentment" of the revolutionist in Dresden, the fugitive in London, the exile in Zurich, the royal favorite in Munich, and the world-renowned denizen of Bayreuth enjoying the realisation of his artistic ideals in a cosmopolitan circle of incense-burning worshippers. It is in the portrait of Hubert Herkomer that the permanent traits which form the essential character of the man are most completely and harmoniously combined and can be most satisfactorily studied.

Wagner was constitutionally good-natured and tender-hearted, as shown in his conspicuous kindness to animals and in his readiness to relieve the necessities of his fellow-men even at the sacrifice of his own material comfort, never failing to share his bread with the hungry, although he might not have a penny with which to buy another loaf. His capability of strong and enduring attachment is beautifully exemplified by his ardent and adoring affection for his mother. The shabby treatment of his first wife presents a less pleasant picture of this side of his nature; and it is one of the most pernicious and persistent effects of his wrong-doing that his biographers have systematically traduced the lady as the best means of extenuating his conduct towards her. It is doubtless true that Frau Minna did not fully appreciate the genius of her husband and failed perhaps to understand the immense significance of his musical and poetical achievements, but she was by no means the simpton than many Wagnerites would fain make us believe her to have been, and in the complicated relations of private and public life showed herself in several important instances far superior to him in keenness and clearness of insight. It is also to Wagner's credit that he never sought to palliate his desertion by depreciation of her and resented any attempt of flatterers to disparage her in his presence. It would be well if his admirers would imitate him in this *ex post facto* loyalty, which is good so far as it goes.

Wagner's extreme sensitiveness rendered him easily excitable and somewhat touchy, and in later years, as he grew nervous from overwork, degenerated into a chronic irritability that made him at times anything but a cheerful and congenial associate. This morbid irascibility was aggravated by an equally morbid ingenuousness and utter lack of consideration for the conventional cour-

tesies and diplomatic arts and polite evasions, which lubricate the machinery of society and diminish the friction incidental to conversational intercourse between positive and pertinacious opposites. In this respect he was the very antithesis of the urbane and well-bred Liszt, whom he frequently embarrassed by his blunt behavior and painful plain-speaking and the unconscious perverseness with which he thwarted the cleverest attempts to turn the current of discourse into less perilous channels.

A prominent trait of Wagner's character was an utter contempt of money inconsistently combined with an intense love of the luxuries which money alone can procure. It was not the philosophical indifference of the sage nor the ascetic aversion of the saint that inspired him with so deep disdain of filthy lucre, but a constitutional want of common thrift and an eager desire to gratify extravagant tastes, which he was ever ready to indulge to the utmost limit of his own pecuniary means or of the generosity of his friends and patrons; in short he was in such matters a queer union of Skimpole and Sardanapalus. He hated the sight of the "pale metal" and hastened to get rid of it as soon as possible without the slightest thought of an economical provision for the future. He had a feminine fondness for rich attire and the lustre of silk and satin, adorned his rooms with costly furniture, gorgeous hangings and rare objects of *virtù* and declared that a sumptuous environment was essential to give an elevated tone to his thoughts and to put him into the proper frame of mind for the creation of his musical dramas. It was this passion for finery and ostentation of grandeur that led superficial observers to look upon him as a clever charlatan and to speak of him as a "musical Cagliostro"; but nothing could be more unjust than such a judgment.

Numerous attempts have been made by Wagner's countrymen to trace the successive stages of his evolution as a man and an artist and to discover what the Germans call his *Weltanschauung*, a concise and convenient term for the philosophical lenses through which he was wont to view the universe at different periods of his life and from which his conceptions of it took form and color. The most elaborate and comprehensive effort of this kind is Dr. Hugo Dinger's biographico-philosophical work to be completed in two volumes, of which only the first has as yet appeared.¹

Herr Dinger divides Wagner's career into two principal periods: that of his bondage to operatic traditions and conventionalities and his struggle out of them, extending to 1849, and that of

¹ *Richard Wagners geistige Entwicklung*. Von Hugo Dinger. Leipzig: Fritzsche. 1892.

his artistic independence, extending from 1849 to his death in 1883. It is hardly necessary to state that such a chronological periodification cannot be strictly correct and must be accepted and applied only in general terms. It is impossible to measure spiritual growth in this way or to define the limits of intellectual development by hard-and-fast lines of demarcation. Besides the evolution of the mental faculties determining the individual's advancement in different directions is seldom coetaneous and symmetrical; progress in one department of thought does not imply a corresponding progress in another department of thought, just as Strauss was a radical in religion and a conservative in politics.

In early life Wagner's religious creed was a sort of musical mysticism, which he himself characteristically summed up as follows: "I believe in God, Mozart, and Beethoven."¹ This comprehensive confession of his faith was not a mere *jeu d'esprit*, but a serious declaration of the inestimable value and the extreme importance which he attached to music as a divine revelation. Elsewhere he exclaims: "Three cheers (*Dreimal hoch!*) for music and its high-priests! Eternally revered and adored be the God of joy and happiness, the God who created music! Amen!" His conception of the Deity seems to have been that of an infinite Beethoven, who composed and now conducts that sublime and ethereal cosmic symphony, the music of the spheres, and has sent great creative musicians into the world as his inspired apostles and truest interpreters. Gradually he came to regard himself as the predestined prophet of this exalted Being especially commissioned to proclaim the glad evangel of the music of the future and to exhort men everywhere to turn from the trivialities of French and Italian operas and to receive the new gospel of the musical drama.

Like all mystics, Wagner was inclined at this time to follow the leadings of the spirit and had strong faith in the efficacy of prayer, not only as an edifying and elevating influence, but also as an actually wonder-working power. Thus Rienzi fervently entreats the "Almighty Father" to endue him with strength for the accomplishment of his mission and not to permit the work which he has undertaken to perish from the earth; Elsa's pure orisons are answered in the form of an immaculate and invincible knight of the Holy Grail hastening to her rescue; Lohengrin bends his knee in mute supplance on the shore before his departure, thereby calling down the miraculous dove from heaven and breaking the evil en-

¹ *A Pilgrimage to Beethoven. With Portrait of Beethoven. By Richard Wagner. English translation. The Open Court Pub. Co.*

chantments of the sorceress Ortrud; the prayer of Elizabeth at the Virgin's shrine saves the polluted soul of Tannhäuser, overruling the hard decision of the pope, who had declared his sin to be unforgivable. In Wagner's journal and other records of his early life, as well as in his poetic and musical compositions, the mystical virtue of prayer is everywhere assumed and constantly acted upon. He describes the pilgrim to Beethoven's home as fasting and praying two days before venturing to enter the house of the revered master; and here, as in the earnest and sublime prayer of the Roman Tribune, he gives utterance to his own devout thoughts and feelings. During his first stay in Paris he suffered all sorts of privations, and was once reduced to such destitution as to be compelled to subsist upon roots, which his wife dug in a suburban forest; but love presided over his "dinner of herbs" and consoled him for the absence of the "stalled ox."

It is said that Frau Minna was driven by stress of poverty to ask alms on the Boulevards; a grocer to whom she applied for aid and who did not know that she was married, tried to take advantage of the necessities of the handsome young woman, but on learning the true state of the case was inspired with a nobler and more generous admiration and supplied her gratuitously with food for her household as a reward for conjugal devotion and fidelity. It was this faithful woman whom Wagner had the heartlessness to repudiate as soon as he began to be celebrated, because he thought she failed to comprehend the greatness of his genius and the grandeur of his artistic creations, and whom his overzealous followers have been busy in slandering ever since. Meanwhile Wagner felt deeply humiliated in being compelled to earn such sour and scanty bread as he could by composing gallopades, quadrilles, and pieces for the cornet-a-piston and selling them for what he could in a market already glutted with wares of this sort.

These distressful circumstances naturally served to stimulate and strengthen his religious emotions, which, more or less blended with his passion for music, often rose to enthusiasm, taking a visionary and ecstatic character and pouring itself forth in a medley of pious and poetic rhapsody. In his *Pariser Fatalitäten für Deutsche*, first published in the periodical *Europa* (1841, III., p. 433 sqq.) under the pseudonym W. Freudenfeuer and reprinted in the *Bayreuther Taschenkalender* for 1892, he says: "It is a glorious thing to be a German sitting cosily at home with Jean Paul and discussing Hegel's philosophy and Strauss's waltzes over a mug of Bavarian beer;" but the life of a struggling artist in the

French metropolis proved to be a very different matter. Such a pitiful career is portrayed in *Ein Ende in Paris*, purporting to be the autobiography of a striving and starving German musician, in which Wagner describes in the form of a novel his own aspirations and adversities and what threatened at one time to be his own unhappy fate. He sums up his own firm though fantastic faith in the words uttered by the dying hero of his story, who exclaims: "I believe that I shall be rendered supremely happy by death. I believe that I was on earth a dissonance, which after my bodily dissolution will be resolved into a glorious and pure accord. . . . I believe that the true disciples of our sublime art will be transfigured into a heavenly unison of bright and balmy tones and be eternally united with the divine source of all harmonies."

Nothing was more common than for Wagner to give utterance to these transports of joy and hope in a prospective life of perfect bliss beyond the grave free from all the discords and deficiencies incident to the present state of existence. It was not until he read Ludwig Feuerbach's little volume entitled "Thoughts on Death and Immortality"¹ that he underwent a sudden revolution of thought and violent revulsion of feeling on this subject, completely losing the faith which had comforted and consoled him under the severest trials and which as the pervading motive of Tannhäuser finds its purest and most poetical expression in Elizabeth's prayer and Wolfram's song to the evening star.

As early as 1834, when Wagner was only twenty-one years of age, he strongly sympathised with the radically democratic and socialistic aims of the secret association known as "Young Europe." As the fermentative period in German literature known as "Storm and Stress" took its name from Maximilian Klinger's drama *Sturm und Drang*, so Heinrich Laube's novel *Das junge Europa* was greeted as the gospel in which the spirit of this international and cosmopolitan movement was most fully embodied and most freely and fearlessly expressed. The German branch of this revolutionary organisation, of which Mazzini was the founder and director, was called "Young Germany" and numbered among its members Wienbarg, Gutzkow, Mundt, Stifter, Laube, Heine, Börne, and Auerbach. The aim of the secret league, which was controlled by a central committee at Paris, was to establish an international republic or United States of Europe on a democratic-socialistic basis. In Germany the movement took not only its

¹ *Gedanken über Tod und Unsterblichkeit*. First published anonymously at Nuremberg in 1830.

name, but also its moral tone, from Laube's novel, which taught as the true philosophy of life a cynical, frivolous and lascivious hedonism, the gratification and glorification of what was called "genial and healthy sensuality," and sought in this sort of "freedom" the individual and political regeneration and salvation of the race.

Wagner was a warm personal friend of the author of this fantastic and licentious fiction and became an ardent apostle of the new scheme of human redemption, to the proclamation of which in the domain of music he now devoted himself with passionate enthusiasm. He had already written *The Fairies*, a shallow and utterly conventional production in the romantic style of Weber and Marschner, which since his death has become the exclusive property of the Munich stage, where its success has been due solely to the splendor of the scenic decorations and must be regarded as a tribute to the theatrical genius of Lautenschläger rather than to the musical genius of Wagner. It was under the powerful influence of the ideas and aspirations of "Young Europe" that he composed his second opera, "The Interdiction of Love" (*Das Liebesverbot*), which he himself afterwards justly characterised as "a wild, revolutionary, recklessly sensuous transformation of Shakespear's serious 'Measure for Measure.'" This work, which in its decidedly indelicate treatment of an extremely delicate subject is scarcely more than a coarse caricature of the English play, has never been printed or represented on the stage and is known to the public chiefly through references made to it by Wagner in the first volume of his "Collected Writings" (pp. 20-31). A brief critical analysis of the plot is also given by Dinger, who had an opportunity of studying the entire opera in a manuscript copy revised by the composer himself and now the property of Professor Kietz of Dresden.

In Laube's novel one of the principal characters expresses his firm conviction that all nationalities will gradually disappear and give place to a universal cosmopolitan republic, one and indivisible, —a visionary prospect, the realisation of which is about as probable as that all languages will die out and be superseded by Volapük. As this ideal was to be attained by the diffusion of political liberty through the establishment of liberal constitutions, and as France had already advanced farthest in this direction, it was thitherward that the faces of "Young Europe" were turned radiant with hope. Wagner confesses that Germany seemed to him at that time "a very small part of the world," "the schoolroom of Europe," as he called it, a nursery of theories, for the practical application of

which they looked to Paris. It was therefore quite natural and almost inevitable that Wagner should renounce his early enthusiasm for Beethoven as narrow and provincial, and that his second opera should be musically a mere echo of the favorite French and Italian masters, Auber, Bellini, Rossini, etc. It was under the same strong impulse that he soon afterwards wrote "Rienzi," which he intended to be represented at the Grand Opera at Paris, and which both in conception and execution marks the culminating point in this transition period of his artistic development. With this rash and quixotic purpose in view he sailed from Riga in 1839 and after a long and tempestuous voyage, during which, as the ship was driven by the storm along the Scandinavian coast, he heard for the first time from the sailors the weird legend of "The Flying Dutchman," he reached the French capital, the goal of his eager desires and destined to be the scene of bitter disappointments.

In Paris the illusions which he had so fondly cherished were as quickly and completely dispelled as were those of Luther on his pilgrimage to Rome. His artistic instincts revolted against the unartistic and conventional dilettanteism and degrading commercial spirit, which surrounded him on every side and looked down with disdain on his loftiest ideals. His letters written at this time reveal his profound disgust at the prevailing state of things. Art, he says, is the mere handmaid of politics, and the director of the Grand Opera holds his place as a sinecure for services rendered to the ministry. The holy of holies in this temple of the Muses is the ticket office; all persons connected with the theatre, manager, singers, musicians, souffleurs, scene-shifters, and claque are alike animated by the sole and absorbing purpose of making money. The only composer whom he did not find kneeling in abject worship before the shrine of mammon, was Berlioz, who paid the penalty of his independence by almost utter neglect. The vocal gymnastics of Italian tenors, the chief of whom, Rubini, then the favorite of the Parisian public, excited the wildest enthusiasm by his famous trill on B, provoked Wagner's intense disgust and convinced him that there could be no true development of dramatic music so long as it was overladen with floriture and specious flitter of this sort. "If I should compose an opera answering my idea, people would run away from it, for they would find there no arias, duets, and trios, and none of the stuff with which operas nowadays are patched together, and what I should put in the place of them no singer would sing and no public would listen to." Here we have

perhaps the first clear and concise statement of his conception of the musical drama, together with a certain fearful looking forward to the manner in which it would probably be received.

Meanwhile he wrote "The Flying Dutchman," the ghostly mariner, whose fruitless search for his long-lost home symbolised Wagner's own revived longing for his native land. This work marks an epoch in his career and is the forerunner of a new era in the history of German music, not on account of any striking peculiarity or originality of composition, for in this respect it is essentially a romantic opera in the style of "Der Freischütz," but be-



THE FLYING DUTCHMAN.

After a painting by Hermann Hendrich.

cause of the nature of the theme, which powerfully impressed his imagination and turned his thoughts towards that wonderful world of German legend, whose treasures it was henceforth to be his artistic mission to rediscover and reveal. His cosmopolitanism, which was in reality only a thinly disguised Gallomania and usually found expression in some high-flown galimatias, now gave place to an ardent and emotional patriotism, which he frankly confesses he had never before felt or even dreamed of and which he declares to have been free from every political tinge.

[TO BE CONCLUDED.]

THE MISINTERPRETATION OF TOLSTOY.

BY AYLMER MAUDE.

THE July number of *The Open Court* contains an article fatuously entitled "A Nearer View of Count Leo Tolstoi" (with the name spelt wrong) by Mrs. Evans, founded on a German book by Frau Anna Seuron.

Nobody who knows and understands Tolstoy has ever, I think, taken Frau Seuron's book seriously; but as this is not the first time a magazine of good standing¹ has admitted an article based on her work, a short explanation may not be out of place.

The fact is first to be remembered that Frau Seuron was summarily dismissed by the Countess for disgraceful conduct, and that her unsupported testimony is contradicted by all the Tolstoy family and by every one else who knows Tolstoy well enough to be a competent witness.

One of the people referred to by Frau Seuron once asked one of Tolstoy's daughters to mark in the book the statements she personally knew to be untrue. I am told that they numbered *sixty*, and as they only represented the misstatements *one* person happened to be able to detect, the total number is probably very much larger.

As to the letter from Tolstoy which Frau Seuron parades as evidence of her competence to speak, the fact is that she was naïve enough to send part of her manuscript to Tolstoy for his correction—and he being much too busy to read and re-write all the nonsense that is sent him returned the manuscript with a good-natured note saying, in effect, that she might write whatever she liked and that he felt sure she would not write what should not be written. That, in the event she did not come up to his estimation of her, can hardly be put to his debit.

¹G. Calderon's article in *The Monthly Review* of May, 1901, for instance.

Frau Seuron's book, and the articles concocted out of it, are not worth many pages of refutation, and I will therefore confine myself to passages reproduced in the article now under review.

Almost at the start we are told that Tolstoy published his first writing "when he was only twenty years old. He was then an ensign in the army, engaged on active service," etc. Now Tolstoy was born in 1828, entered the army in 1851, and his first work, *Childhood*, appeared in 1852, when he was twenty-four. What are we to think of the accuracy of a work that begins so carelessly? But no careful reader, after perusing a few pages, will expect accuracy from Frau Seuron; she tries merely to be sarcastic and smart.

Mrs. Evans, from whose article I take my quotations, remarks: "Her narrative, divested of its fantastic setting and subjected to chronological order and to condensation of form, *displays various salient aspects of Tolstoy's character which constitute sufficient explanation of his course!*" And she has other remarks which all tend to show that she has read Frau Seuron's book and made use of it, without in the least suspecting its real character.

Frau Seuron was a German governess in the Countess Tolstoy's employ, but Mrs. Evans should tell us what reason she has for supposing that she had Tolstoy under "daily and *hourly*" observation, was a "trusted companion," and "apparently" assisted the Countess in publishing his works.

We are not likely to get "sufficient explanation" of Tolstoy's course from information such as the following: "A school was opened in which members of his family gave regular lessons, also an A-B-C book for the people was prepared and published; but the proceeds were small, and the whole enterprise was allowed to dwindle and fall into disuse."

Now, the fact is that Tolstoy organised *several* schools in his neighborhood, devoted much time and attention to them, engaged masters to assist him in the work, wrote articles on the theory of education, and gave himself up largely to educational work for several years. The schools were not abandoned until one generation of children of a school-going age in the neighborhood had learned pretty well as much as they and their parents thought necessary, nor until the Government by vexatious restrictions had begun to make it almost impossible to continue the work, and Tolstoy's own health had broken down so that he needed a complete change and rest.

The undertaking, besides being an expense to Tolstoy, was a

tax on his time and strength which, had it continued, would have deprived the world of works we could ill spare. The A-B-C book has had, and still has, a very large circulation.

Now for a specimen of Frau Seuron's profound reflections.

"He (Tolstoy) is first and above all a *man of moods*; . . . because he has a mind that is continually growing, and *growth implies change*." This is as true as that $2 + 2 = 4$; all who do not stagnate are "men of moods," if one pleases to use the words in that unusual way. But what are we to think of a woman who, like Mrs. Evans, supposes that such remarks help us to "a sufficient explanation" of Tolstoy's course? Mrs. Evans kindly assures us that "it is greatly to Tolstoy's (I correct her orthography) credit that . . . this *unprejudiced and severe critic* admired and revered him and was able to retain her faith in his entire honesty of purpose." But really if anything could shake one's assurance of Tolstoy's sincerity it would be this unsolicited testimonial from Frau Seuron,—for she is so frequently wrong, and so seldom right, that anything she says is open to suspicion for the very fact of her having said it.

We are asked to believe that Tolstoy's whole movement is "confusion, mystical dogma, disease," out of which some "pearl of truth may be developed," but "not in this century."

We have often been told by hostile critics that, except as a novelist, Tolstoy had little influence in Russia until almost the time of his excommunication last year: let us hear, however, what this German governess, who lived at the Tolstoy house from about 1882 to 1888 has to say on that subject.

"Many young noblemen deserted their rightful places in society and married peasant women, or lived with them unmarried, descending to their level and finally drinking themselves to death. Others . . . devoted themselves so ardently to menial work . . . that they lost their health and strength and perished by the way . . . It was no unusual sight to see nobly born ladies going out in the early morning . . . to fill dung carts and spread manure upon the dewy fields. In short, there were abundant instances of . . . disaster . . ." And she tells us of "aristocratic families who by this means had lost promising sons or been socially disgraced by the eccentric behavior of sisters and daughters."

That certainly does not sound as if Tolstoy had no influence, but it does not seem to occur to Frau Seuron that Russian noblemen ever drank themselves to death before Tolstoy denounced the use of stimulants! Tolstoy writes books, and noblemen die of excess: both things happen at the same time and in the same coun-

try, and as that is the extent of Frau Seuron's knowledge, and it is impossible to maintain that Tolstoy wrote because other people drank, there is, it seems, nothing left but to assert that the people drank because Tolstoy wrote ! Frau Seuron's thoughts are delightfully simple. There is never any complexity or hesitation : when she dislikes anything (and she dislikes very much indeed the views she attributes to Tolstoy), she never hesitates to assert that every misfortune she hears of is the direct result of the things she dislikes.

The lapse of time since Frau Seuron had Tolstoy under her "daily and hourly observation" has played havoc with some of her pet theories, and it is a little hard on her that Mrs. Evans should drag them into further publicity at this time of day. For instance, we are told that : "*Once he made trial with the vegetarian system. For more than a year he followed the rule, yielding only now and then so far as to partake of bouillon. His health suffered from the change, and he was persuaded to include poultry in his bill of fare.*" Then follows a delightful touch, thoroughly characteristic of Frau Seuron and her methods of "hourly observation" : "*Often, too, the roast beef . . . was found to have been well eaten into during the night, and the Count was suspected of being the eater, although he never would acknowledge the deed !*"

The real fun of this passage, to those who know Tolstoy's open nature and readiness to tell a good story at his own expense, lies in the fact that Frau Seuron does not notice that this record of suspicions reveals, not Tolstoy's character, but her own.

But let us hear her further on the same subject : "This plan of living soon lost its force, and the Count returned gladly to the fleshpots . . . A few years later he made another attempt . . . also the daughters of the house resolved to try, but in less than a year the girls grew thin and pale, and the whole company of converts went back to their former mode of living."

It is not wonderful that Tolstoy, who was then well over fifty, and whose wife was opposed to the change, should not have succeeded with a vegetarian diet at the first attempt. When I knew them in 1894-97, his two eldest daughters were vegetarians and Tolstoy himself was a very strict vegetarian. He had then been so for some years and has not altered since. He was also a remarkably vigorous man for his age.

With reference to the use of tobacco the case is similar. Anna Seuron's evidence, if we accept it, merely goes to show that he did not break the habit easily or at the first attempt. Subsequent

events show how entirely mistaken she was in supposing that what Tolstoy could not do easily he would never succeed in doing at all.

Frau Anna Seuron has a curious trick, common to loquacious people who have never taken pains to think correctly, of mixing up into one sentence a number of heterogeneous errors, so that while one fallacy is being elucidated the others have a chance to escape. It would need several large volumes completely to expose the sophistries she has packed into her one small book. Let us take, however, as a fair average specimen, a single paragraph and submit it to analysis:

"His whimsical industries, such as lighting his own fire, blacking his own boots, working as a shoemaker, digging in the fields, driving the plough, carting manure, were so many ways of refreshing his mental energies through bodily exercise."

That is just what Tolstoy had said in his writings: he found he could do better mental work when he varied it with a large amount of manual labor. But the particular point Tolstoy insists on, viz., that it is better to do useful rather than useless work, Frau Seuron carefully avoids. The work he approves of seems to her "whimsical," and the paragraph proceeds: "He gave up riding after being obliged to sell his favorite horse; he gave up hunting after adopting vegetarian principles,—he says too that he dared not go out alone with a gun, for fear he should be tempted to shoot himself,—and so he turned to more plebeian methods of letting off steam, so to speak, for the health and safety of his spiritual as well as physical nature."

But why not tell us what "obliged" him "to sell his favorite horse"? And why jumble that up with the fact that when he felt it wrong to take life he abstained both from eating flesh and from hunting? And why, again, mix all these up with a totally different matter: the fact that *several years previously* Tolstoy had, as he tells us in *My Confession* (1879), been so baffled and perplexed in his efforts to discern the meaning of life (quite clear to him in the years Frau Seuron is writing about) that he had been tempted to commit suicide? Perhaps Frau Seuron cannot help writing in this way—it may be due to something peculiar in the formation of her brain—but if she does it on purpose she is a most accomplished sophist.

Here is another specimen of her critical methods:

"He (Tolstoy) was naturally inclined to be superstitious, and this habit of mind, together with a lack of thorough education, in-

terfered with the ability to form just conclusions respecting the social problems which he was trying to solve."

What she means is that she disagrees with his opinions and wishes to discredit them. She first says (what is probably untrue) that he is "naturally superstitious"; she then assumes (what is ridiculously and evidently untrue) that superstition is his present "habit of mind," and, finally, she asserts that he suffers from "a lack of thorough education," which is a safe assertion, for no one knows what a "thorough" education is. If the possession of a university diploma be the test, then poor Tolstoy stands condemned as incompetent "to form just conclusions respecting the social problems." But before we brush him and his works quite aside as valueless, let us recall the fact that he has shown some capacity for expressing himself in his own language, and has also written an article or two in French; that he can converse in four languages, and reads at least seven (not counting Hebrew, in which tongue he, with the aid of the Moscow Rabbi, read much of the Old Testament); that he made a prolonged and ardent study of Russian history, as a preparation for three historical novels (of which only one, *War and Peace*, was ever written); that he has been an omnivorous reader of Russian and of foreign literature; that he has studied the problems of education for years, both practically and theoretically; that he is a keen lover of music, and used to be an admirable accompanist on the piano; that the problems of art, in all its branches, have received his careful attention; that he has analysed the dogmas of the Church and written a very able work on the subject; that his knowledge of comparative religions—Eastern and Western—is considerable, and that he has devoted earnest and unremitting labors to the translation and interpretation of the Gospels. To the investigation of social and economic problems, therefore, he brings a mind neither unexercised nor over-specialised, and if he still lacks the "thorough education" which would enable Frau Seuron to feel confidence in his conclusions, he has at least gone through a fairly extensive preliminary course: a fact which may, perhaps, be pleaded in mitigation of her sentence that the mind he possesses is "not a highly cultivated mind; hence his conclusions are necessarily empirical."

But enough! Frau Seuron is not the only silly woman in the world. Instead of exposing any more of her nonsense, let us rather ask what gave her her bias and shut her out from all comprehension of Tolstoy's meaning.

She almost answers the question herself. She lets us see,

plainly enough, that she was a very narrow-minded German woman of strong class-prejudices, mentally and morally incapable of escaping from the social superstitions in which she had been brought up, and also that she did not at all understand the Russian life that went on around her. For instance: fires are very frequent in Russian villages; the houses are of wood, and the peasants are careless. A fire occurred in the village of Yásnaya Polyána, and Frau Seuron wondered, "Why did he (Tolstoy) not *ensure safety by the purchase* of a fire-engine?"—quite oblivious of the fact that buying a fire-engine does not ensure the safety of a Russian village! The peasants have their own way of doing, or not doing, things; and a fire-engine in a Russian village would be pretty sure to be entirely neglected and to be unusable by the time it was wanted. Tolstoy knows what he is talking about when he says that the economic distress in Russia is caused by the superstitions of the Church. What is wanted, even to prevent fires, is, primarily, not the purchase of fire-engines, but the growth of a different spirit among the peasants.

In some places it is difficult to understand what Frau Seuron wants us to believe, e. g., we are told: "There was a gathering place for poor people seeking advice or assistance. . . . It came generally; but not from the head of the family. The Countess dealt out medicine and lint; other members of the family gave clothing and money; but the Count remained invisible, or *passed through the waiting group unrecognised, with a scythe over his shoulder, or an axe in his belt.*"

The suggestion that Tolstoy is to blame for not doing everything and being everywhere, is quite characteristic of Frau Seuron; but does she seriously wish us to believe that when he took his scythe over his shoulder he ceased to be recognisable by the peasants who had known him almost all his life and among whom he frequently worked in the fields?

She has some funny stories about Tolstoy's dislike of using money: and we need not doubt that the inclination to avoid the use of money did, with a man of his strength of will and tenacity of purpose, give rise to strange scenes—even though he never made a hard and fast rule for himself on the subject. She tells us of a poor boy to whom the Count promised, but failed to give, fifty kopéykas (equal, by the bye, to twenty-five cents, and not "about thirty-two cents"). Frau Seuron herself gave the boy "what she could spare," but he went away and never came back again, and "died not long afterwards of consumption in the hospital," but

whether because Frau Seuron's gift fell too far short of Tolstoy's promise, is not expressly mentioned.

Tolstoy once wanted an overseer for his Samára estate and Frau Seuron "came to the rescue" by trying to get him to engage a German, whom she introduced. The man came three or four times from some place about fifteen miles distant, but did not secure the post, having roused Tolstoy's suspicions by wanting money in advance. Frau Seuron makes the most of her compatriot's disappointment, and tells us that though he "had long been in charge of an important estate in another part of Russia" and "was furnished with abundant testimonials, . . . it was two years before he secured a situation for the support of his family. From which one is tempted, in spite of Frau Seuron's testimony, to conclude that, in other people besides Tolstoy, the man failed to inspire confidence. Indeed, Frau Seuron's own ideas of honor are somewhat peculiar, as one gathers from a little story she tells :

"A stranger came to see Tolstoy and to offer him his immense fortune for benevolent purposes." A friend of Frau Seuron had a large forest to sell and was willing to pay a commission of five thousand dollars if a purchaser could be found. So Frau Seuron calmly requested Tolstoy to "mention the matter to his visitor." "But the Count only laughed, and said: 'Are you trying to make money?' and did not say a word to the man. . . . And so the opportunity was lost," and in due course Frau Seuron's memoirs were written and the world was told how strongly she disapproves of the Count's ideas and practices. But as the man came to consult Tolstoy—whom he trusted—it would have been outrageous to hand him over to the tender mercies of Frau Seuron.

But Frau Seuron, in her condemnation of Tolstoy is strengthened, she lets us see, by the support of people in the best society. Her son wished to be engaged as a tutor for the sons of "a Prince, occupying an influential position at Court," but when this Prince "heard that the young man had lived several years in Tolstoy's house he broke off the negotiations immediately." Now, after a Prince, "influential at Court" had disapproved of Tolstoy, and Frau Seuron herself had seen him doing "plebeian" work in the fields, what respect could she be expected to feel for his books or his opinions? And what better use could she make of her opportunities than to write a spiteful book about him, thereby perhaps recovering a little of the five thousand dollars to which he might so easily have helped her?

But there are few things in this world so bad that one can find no good in them if one looks for it. Even Frau Seuron's book—poor stuff as it is—is not altogether valueless. In the first place it rightly contradicts the hasty conclusion some people jump to, that all the practices Tolstoy commends in any of his books have been thoroughly tested in practice by him and have completely succeeded. She overshoots her mark, but when she says that visitors "found a luxurious home, a generous table, servants, equipages, in short, the usual surroundings of a wealthy and titled landed proprietor," she is only exaggerating somewhat. The property belongs, now-a-days, not to the Count but to the Countess and to the children, but it has neither been distributed broadcast nor allowed to go to ruin. Even such a sentence as this: "What did it matter if Tolstoy wore a blouse, and made his own shoes and drove a plough, when he had only to return home to find himself surrounded by all that makes life enjoyed by the rich and envied by the poor?" serves at least to contradict the common misconception referred to above; though it might have occurred to a more intelligent woman that when a man spends little on himself, eats and dresses with great simplicity, and tries, without coercion, to influence his own family and others in the same direction, devoting, moreover, his time and talent, quite freely to the service of others,—it does matter a great deal! In fact, the more conspicuous external changes that are, from time to time, accomplished in society would not come about were it not for the moral efforts of those who persevere in spite of partial failure, and many discouragements, and of much misunderstanding at the hands of those who do not discriminate between the externalities that surround a man and the spirit that animates him in his work.

Another merit of the book is that Frau Seuron tells some good stories; though these she too often spoils by thrusting in remarks of her own which have neither wit nor sense. For instance: Tolstoy "went once to the Institute where her son was a pupil in order to escort the boy to his mother, who was ill." Frau Seuron "telegraphed. . . . that the Count would arrive at a certain hour, and, accordingly, the Director and the whole corps of teachers waited at the main entrance to receive the distinguished guest. But nobody came, excepting an old man in a sheepskin jacket, who was told to sit down on a bench in the hall, while the teachers passed up and down, wondering why the Count did not appear." Not till the boy turned up and, exchanging greetings in French with the man in the sheepskin coat, went away with him, did it dawn on the minds

of the Faculty that the bearded man in the sheepskin was Tolstoy himself! "The Count added the story to several other similar incidents for the amusement of the home circle, deducing the conclusion that rank is not written on the face." And then followed Frau Seuron's own comment, "by way of a hit at Tolstoy's peasant costume,—'No, but on the back!'"

Now and then she makes a remark worth making, as when she speaks of the keen glance of Tolstoy's grey eyes, and says that his manner of scrutinising people reminded her of "a photographic apparatus"; nor does she omit from time to time to testify to his kindliness and keen sense of humor, as well as to his sincerity and desire to do good.

If one were tied down to give a short, simple, clear report on Frau Seuron's book, one would have to say it was a very worthless production, grossly inaccurate, and written by a woman evidently quite incapable of appreciating Tolstoy's view of life. But, looking more closely at the matter, I have tried to show that there are some crumbs and scraps of digestible matter to be found in it. And so strangely complex is human nature that it is possible Frau Seuron, together with the prejudices and personal motives that influenced her, may have been, to some extent, moved, in her attacks on Tolstoy, by a desire that right (as she saw it) should triumph.

Let me try to make this complex supposition plain. Frau Seuron, I take it, saw that many people read Tolstoy and were moved by what they read. Whether it was by the force of the arguments, or by the spiritual fervor of his appeals, or by the artist's gift of compelling the readers to share his feelings, certain it is that Tolstoy stirred many men and women as no other writer stirred them. Further than this, Frau Seuron saw that the people who yielded to his influence did not usually become more amiable, more reasonable, or easier to coöperate with. She saw, in Tolstoy's own family as well as elsewhere, that the new movement caused strife, misunderstandings, and distress. She probably saw also (what any one may see who cares to look) that the movement—like any strong intellectual or spiritual movement—seemed sometimes to tear people from their roots, to rush them along, and then to leave them stranded in some backwater, uprooted and out of place. And with that lack of discrimination which is so common a failing: that eagerness to consider things absolutely good or bad,—white or black,—which so hinders us from getting at the real truth of things, she seems to have made up her mind that Tolstoy's teaching was harmful. His arguments did not appeal to her, and the

test of experience seemed to her decisively against him. So she has,—perhaps,—told her fibs with a moral purpose. She has done what harm she could to Tolstoy's reputation as a thinker, in order to prevent people from coming under his sway, and marrying beneath them or drinking themselves to death!

But her end does not justify her means. We do not want the pendulum swung violently backwards and forwards; but would rather see where it will finally hang in equilibrium.

Still,—putting Frau Seuron aside,—now that some twenty years have passed since Tolstoy began to expound his system of Christian Anarchism, experience—that great verifier of theories—does not show us that, in the qualities of cohesion, tolerance, capacity to coöperate, and mutual helpfulness, his most ardent followers are superior to other men. And those of us who are not mere partisans, but are honestly and primarily in search of *truth*, have to ask themselves how it is that the practical result of so great a teaching is, in our own case, not better.

We do not get any satisfactory reply from our friends, the extremists: the people who, like Frau Seuron, try scornfully to laugh Tolstoy off the scene, or those fervent disciples who would still seek to extract from Tolstoy's works some rigid *external* code of rules and tests, by urging which upon mankind they would inaugurate the millennium. We have, I think, rather to look for a sane criticism which, while gladly recognising the immense value of Tolstoy's colossal work (which amounts to nothing less than the elucidation of the relation in which the various sides of our modern life stand to one another and to true progress) will not be afraid to discriminate between the first, second, and third quality flour that comes from his mill, or to remove the grit which prevents the mill from grinding smoothly.

It is as though we had a wonderful new machine that works with much friction and has caused sad accidents. Quite a number of hysterical people denounce it, and say (like Frau Seuron) that it will certainly do no good until it has been left to rust for a hundred years. Others are in such ecstasies over the machine that their one and only idea is to get up more steam and to drive it harder and faster. What is really wanted is, to get practical mechanics carefully to overhaul the machine, to test the parts, to see they are well adjusted, to lubricate the bearings, and to see that the friction is minimised.

Mrs. Evans, who wrote the article in *The Open Court*, apparently knows nothing about Russia and nothing about Tolstoy. She tells

us that Rs. 150 equal about \$100. They really equal about \$75 and never, since the Russo-Turkish war of 1877, have equalled the amount she names. There is no excuse for this blunder now that the value has for some years been fixed on a gold basis of a trifle over 50 cents for 1 ruble.

She adds a couple of pages of her own criticism of Tolstoy's opinion, and she succeeds in making it abundantly evident that she either has not read his later works, or has failed to understand them.

Tolstoy does not, as Mrs. Evans erroneously states, decline to recognise evolution, but he says that the upward evolution in human conceptions of duty is not—like the heel of certain rubber goloshes—"self-acting," but is one in which we should all play the part, not of automata, but of conscious and willing co-workers with the Eternal.

THE DOCTRINE OF THE MITHRAIC MYSTERIES.¹

BY PROFESSOR FRANZ CUMONT.

[CONCLUDED.]

THE god with whom Mithra first measured his strength was the Sun. The latter was compelled to render homage to the superiority of his rival and to receive from him his investiture. His



Fig. 1 a. MITHRA BORN FROM THE ROCKS.

Holding in his hand the grape which replaces in the West the Haoma of the Persians.



Fig. 1 b. SOL THE SUN-GOD

Installed by Mithra as the governor of the world. To the right the globe of power.

conqueror placed upon his head the radiant crown that he has borne in his daily course ever since his downfall. Then he caused him to rise again, and extending to him his right hand concluded

¹ Extracted by the author from his *Textes et Monuments figurés relatifs aux Mystères de Mithra* (Brussels: H. Lamertin). Translated by T. J. McCormack.

with him a solemn covenant of friendship. And ever after, the two allied heroes faithfully supported each other in all their enterprises.

The most extraordinary of these epic adventures was Mithra's combat with the bull, the first living creature created by Ormuzd. This ingenuous fable carries us back to the very beginnings of civilisation. It could never have risen save among a people of shepherds and hunters with whom cattle, the source of all wealth, had



Fig. 2. THE TAUROCTONOUS (BULL-SLAYING) MITHRA AND THE TAUROPHOROUS (BULL-BEARING) MITHRA; BETWEEN THEM THE DOG.

Clay cup found at Lanuvium.

become an object of religious veneration. In the eyes of such a people, the capture of a wild bull was an achievement so highly fraught with honor as to be apparently no derogation even for a god.

The redoubtable bull was grazing in a pasture on the mountain-side; the hero, resorting to a bold stratagem, seized it by the horns and succeeded in mounting it. The infuriated quadruped, breaking into a gallop, struggled in vain to free itself from its

rider; the latter, although unseated by the bull's mad rush, never for a moment relaxed his hold; he suffered himself to be dragged along, suspended from the horns of the animal, which, finally exhausted by its efforts, was forced to surrender. Its conqueror then seizing it by its hind hoofs, dragged it backwards over a road strewn with obstacles (Fig. 2) into the cave which served as his home.

This painful Journey (*Transitus*) of Mithra became the symbol of human sufferings. But the bull, it would appear, succeeded in making its escape from its prison, and again roamed at large over the mountain pastures. The Sun then sent the raven, his messenger, to carry to his ally the command to slay the fugitive. Mithra received this cruel mission much against his will, but submitting to the decree of Heaven he pursued the truant beast with his agile dog, succeeded in overtaking it just at the moment when it was taking refuge in the cave which it had quitted, and seizing it by the nostrils with one hand, with the other he plunged deep into its flank his hunting knife.

Then came an extraordinary prodigy to pass. From the body of the moribund victim sprang all the useful herbs and plants that cover the earth with their verdure. From the spinal cord of the animal sprang the wheat that gives us our bread, and from its blood the vine that produces the sacred drink of the Mysteries. In vain did the Evil Spirit launch forth his unclean demons against the anguish-wrung animal, in order to poison in it the very sources of life; the scorpion, the ant, the serpent, strove in vain to consume the genital parts and to drink the blood of the prolific quadruped; but they were powerless to impede the miracle that was enacting. The seed of the bull, gathered and purified by the Moon, produced all the different species of useful animals, and its soul, under the protection of the dog, the faithful companion of Mithra, ascended into the celestial spheres above, where, receiving the honors of divinity, it became under the name of Sylvanus the guardian of herds. Thus, through the sacrifice which he had so resignedly undertaken, the tauroctonous hero became the creator of all the beneficent beings on earth; and, from the death which he had caused, was born a new life, more rich and more fecund than the old.

Meanwhile, the first human couple had been called into existence, and Mithra was charged with keeping a watchful eye over this privileged race. It was in vain the Spirit of Darkness invoked his pestilential scourges to destroy it; the god always knew how to balk his mortiferous designs. Ahriman first desolated the land by

causing a protracted drought, and its inhabitants, tortured by thirst, implored the aid of his ever-victorious adversary. The divine archer discharged his arrows against a precipitous rock and there gushed forth from it a spring of living water to which the suppliants thronged to cool their parched palates.¹ But a still more terrible cataclysm followed, which menaced all nature. A universal deluge depopulated the earth, which was overwhelmed by the waters of the rivers and the seas. One man alone, secretly



Fig. 3. BAS-RELIEF OF APULUM, DACIA.

In the center, the Tauroctonous Mithra with the two torch-bearers; to the left, Mithra mounted on the bull, and Mithra taurophorous; to the right, a lion stretched lengthwise above a cup (symbols of fire and water). Upper border: Bust of Luna; new-born Mithra reclining near the banks of a stream; shepherd standing, with lambs; bull in a cabin and bull in a boat; underneath, the seven altars; Mithra drawing a bow; bust of the Sun. Lower border: Banquet of Mithra and the Sun; Mithra mounting the quadriga of the Sun; the Ocean surrounded by a serpent.

advised by the gods, had constructed a boat and had saved himself together with his cattle in this ark buoyant upon the broad expanse

¹ See the curved border in centre of frontispiece to *The Open Court* for June, 1902, and the picture of the bas-relief of Mayence, to be published in a subsequent number.

of waters. Then a great conflagration ravaged the world and consumed utterly both the habitations of men and of beasts. But the creatures of Ormuzd also ultimately escaped this new peril, thanks to celestial protection, and henceforward the human race was permitted to wax great and multiply in peace.

The heroic period of history was now closed, and the terrestrial mission of Mithra accomplished. In a Last Supper, which the initiated commemorated by mystical love feasts, he celebrated with Helios and the other companions of his labors the termination of their common struggles. Then the gods ascended to Heaven. Borne by the Sun on his radiant quadriga, Mithra crossed the ocean, which sought in vain to engulf him, and took up his habitation with the rest of the immortals. But he never ceased from the heights of Heaven to protect the faithful ones that piously served him.

This mythical recital of the origin of the world enables us to understand the importance which the tauroctonous god enjoyed in his religion, and to comprehend better what the pagan theologians endeavored to express by the title "mediator." Mithra is the creator to whom Jupiter Ormuzd committed the task of establishing and of maintaining order in nature. He is, to speak in the philosophical language of the times, the Logos that emanated from God and shared His omnipotence; who, after having fashioned the world as demiurge, continued to watch carefully over it. The primal defeat of Ahriman had not reduced him to absolute impotence; the struggle between the good and the evil was still carried on on earth between the emissaries of the sovereign of Olympus and those of the Prince of Darkness; it raged in the celestial spheres in the opposition of propitious and adverse stars, and it reverberated in the hearts of men,—the epitomes of the universe.

Life is a battle, and to issue forth from it victorious the law must be faithfully followed that the divinity himself revealed to the ancient Magi. What were the obligations that Mithraism imposed upon its followers? What were those "commandments" to which its adepts had to bow in order to be rewarded in the world to come? Our incertitude on these points is extreme, for we have not the shadow of a right to identify the precepts revealed in the Mysteries with those formulated in the Avesta. Nevertheless, it would appear certain that the morals of the Magi of the Occident had made no concession to the license of the Babylonian cults and that it had still preserved the lofty character of the ethics of the ancient Persians. Perfect purity had remained for them the cult

toward which the life of the faithful should tend. Their ritual required repeated lustrations and ablutions, which were believed to wash away the stains of the soul. This catharsis or purification both conformed to the Mazdean traditions and was in harmony with the general tendencies of the age. Yielding to these tendencies, the Mithraists carried their principles even to excess, and their ideals of perfection verged on asceticism. Abstinence from certain foods and absolute continence were regarded as praiseworthy.

Resistance to sensuality was one of the aspects of the combat with the principle of evil. To support untiringly this combat with the followers of Ahriman, who, under multiple forms, disputed with the gods the empire of the world, was the duty of the servitors of Mithra. Their dualistic system was particularly adapted to fostering individual effort and to developing human energy. They did not lose themselves, as did the other sects, in contemplative mysticism; for them, the good dwelt in action. They rated strength higher than gentleness, and preferred courage to lenity. From their long association with barbaric religions, there was perhaps a residue of cruelty in their ethics. A religion of soldiers, Mithraism exalted the military virtues above all others.

In the war which the zealous champion of piety carries on unceasingly with the malign demons, he is assisted by Mithra. Mithra is the god of help whom one never invokes in vain, an unfailing haven, the anchor of salvation for mortals in all their trials, the dauntless champion who sustains in their frailty his devotees in all the tribulations of life. As with the Persians, so here he is still the defender of truth and justice, the protector of holiness, and the intrepid antagonist of the powers of darkness. Eternally young and vigorous, he pursues them without mercy; "always awake, always alert," it is impossible to surprise him; and from his never-ceasing combats he always emerges the victor. This is the idea

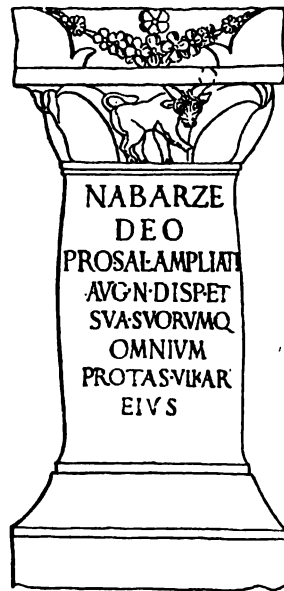


Fig. 4. DEDICATORY INSCRIPTION OF MITHRA NABARZES (VICTORIOUS).
Found at Sarmizegetusa.

that unceasingly recurs in the inscriptions, the idea expressed by the Persian surname *Nabarzes* (Fig. 4), by the Greek and Latin epithets of *ἀνίκητος*, *invictus*, *insuperabilis*. As the god of armies, Mithra caused his *protégés* to triumph over their barbarous adversaries, and likewise in the moral realm he gave them victory over the instincts of evil, inspired by the Spirit of Falsehood, and he assured them salvation both in this world and in that to come.

Like all the Oriental cults, the Persian Mysteries mingled with their cosmogonic fables and their theological speculations, ideas of deliverance and redemption. They believed in the conscious survival after death of the divine essence that dwells within us, and in punishments and rewards beyond the tomb. The souls, of which an infinite multitude peopled the habitations of the Most High, descended here below to animate the bodies of men, either because they were compelled by bitter necessity to fall into this material and corrupt world, or because they had dropped of their own accord upon the earth to undertake here the battle against the demons. When after death the genius of corruption took possession of the body, and the soul quitted its human prison, the devas of darkness and the emissaries of Heaven disputed for its possession. A special decree decided whether it was worthy to ascend again into Paradise. If it was stained by an impure life, the emissaries of Ahriman dragged it down to the infernal depths, where they inflicted upon it a thousand tortures; or perhaps, as a mark of its fall, it was condemned to take up its abode in the body of some unclean animal. If, on the contrary, its merits outweighed its faults, it was borne aloft to the regions on high.

The heavens were divided into seven spheres, each of which was conjoined with a planet; a sort of ladder, composed of eight superposed gates, the first seven of which were constructed of different metals, was the symbolic suggestion in the temples, of the road to be followed to reach the supreme region of the fixed stars. To pass from one story to the next, each time the wayfarer had to enter a gate guarded by an angel of Ormuzd. The initiates alone, to whom the appropriate formulas had been taught, knew how to appease these inexorable guardians. As the soul traversed these different zones, it rid itself, as one would of garments, of the passions and faculties that it had received in its descent to the earth. It abandoned to the Moon its vital and nutritive energy, to Mercury its desires, to Venus its wicked appetites, to the Sun its intellectual capacities, to Mars its love of war, to Jupiter its ambitious dreams, to Saturn its inclinations. It was naked, stripped of every

vice and every sensibility, when it penetrated the eighth heaven to enjoy there, as an essence supreme, and in the eternal light that bathed the gods, beatitude without end.¹

It was Mithra, the protector of truth, that presided over the judgment of the soul after its decease. It was he, the mediator, that served as a guide to his faithful ones in their courageous ascent to the empyrean; he was the celestial father that received them in his resplendent mansion, like children who had returned from a distant voyage.

The happiness reserved for these quintessentialised monads in a spiritual world is rather difficult to conceive, and doubtless this doctrine had but feeble attraction for vulgar minds. Another belief which was added to the first by a sort of superfœtation offered the prospect of more material enjoyment. The doctrine of the immortality of the soul was rounded off by the doctrine of the resurrection of the flesh.



Fig. 5. MITHRAIC CAMEO.

Showing Mithra born from the rocks between the Dioscuri, surrounded by Mithraic symbols, among them the cup and bread of the Eucharist.

The struggle between the principles of good and evil is not destined to continue into all eternity. When the age assigned for its duration shall have rolled away, the scourges sent by Ahriman will compass the destruction of the world. A marvellous bull, analogous to the primitive bull, will then again appear on earth, and Mithra will redescend and reawaken men to life. All will sally forth from the tombs, will assume their former appearance, and recognise one another. Humanity entire will unite in one grand assembly, and the god of Truth will separate the good from the bad. Then in a supreme sacrifice he will immolate the divine bull; will mingle his fat with the consecrated wine, and will offer to the just this miraculous beverage which will endow them with immor-

¹This Mithraic doctrine has recently been compared with other analogous beliefs and studied in detail by M. Bossuet. "Die Himmelfahrt der Seele" (*Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, Vol. IV., 1901, p. 160 ff.)

tality. Then Jupiter Ormuzd, yielding to the prayers of the beatified ones, will cause to fall from the heavens a devouring fire which will annihilate all the wicked. The defeat of the Spirit of Darkness will be consummated, and in the general conflagration Ahriman and his impure demons will perish and the rejuvenated universe enjoy unto all eternity happiness without end.

We who have never experienced the Mithraic spirit of grace are apt to be disconcerted by the incoherence and absurdity of this body of doctrine, such as it has been shown forth in our reconstruction. A theology at once naïve and artificial here combines primitive myths, the naturalistic tendency of which is still transparent, with an astrological system whose logical structure only serves to render its radical falsity all the more palpable. All the impossibilities of the ancient polytheistic fables here subsist side by side with philosophical speculations on the evolution of the universe and the destiny of man. The discordance between tradition and reflection is extremely marked here and it is augmented by the contrariety between the doctrine of fatalism and that of the efficacy of prayer and the need of worship. But this religion, like any other, must not be estimated by its metaphysical verity. It would ill become us to-day to dissect the cold corpse of this faith in order to ascertain its inward organic vices. The important thing is to understand how Mithraism lived and grew great and why it failed to win the empire of the world.

Its success was in great part undoubtedly due to the vigor of its ethics, which above all things favored action. In an epoch of anarchy and emasculation, its mystics found in its precepts both stimulus and support. The conviction that the faithful ones formed part of a sacred army charged with sustaining with the Principle of Good the struggle against the power of evil, were singularly adapted to provoking their most pious efforts and transforming them into ardent zealots.

The Mysteries exerted another powerful influence, also, in fostering some of the most exalted aspirations of the human soul: the desire for immortality and the expectation of final justice. The hopes of life beyond the tomb which this religion instilled in its votaries were one of the secrets of its power in these troublous times, when solicitude for the life to come disturbed all minds.

But several other sects offered to their adepts just as consoling prospects of a future life. The special attraction of Mithraism dwelt, therefore, in other qualities of its doctrinal system. Mithraism, in fact, satisfied alike both the intelligence of the educated

and the hearts of the simple-minded. The apotheosis of Time as First Cause and that of the Sun, its physical manifestation, which maintained on earth heat and light, were highly philosophical conceptions. The worship rendered to the Planets and to the Constellations, the course of which determined terrestrial events, and to the four Elements whose infinite combinations produced all natural phenomena, are ultimately reducible to the worship of the principles and agents recognised by ancient science, and the theology of the Mysteries was, in this respect, nothing but the religious expression of the physics and astronomy of the Roman world.

This theoretical conformity of revealed dogmas with the accepted ideas of science was calculated to allure cultivated minds, but it had no hold whatever upon the ignorant souls of the populace. On the other hand, these were eminently amenable to the allurements of a doctrine that deified the whole of physical and tangible reality. The gods were everywhere, and they mingled in every act of life; the fire that cooked the food and warmed the bodies of the faithful, the water that allayed their thirst and cleansed their persons, the very air that they breathed, and the light that illuminated their paths, were the objects of their adoration. Perhaps no other religion ever offered to its sectaries in a higher degree than Mithraism opportunities for prayer and motives for veneration. When the initiated betook himself in the evening to the sacred grotto concealed in the solitude of the forests, at every step new sensations awakened in his heart some mystical emotion. The stars that shone in the sky, the wind that whispered in the foliage, the spring or brook that babbled down the mountain-side, even the earth that he trod under his feet, were in his eyes divine; and all surrounding nature provoked in him a worshipful fear for the infinite forces that swayed the universe.

THE TRINITY.

BY THE EDITOR.

LUCIAN mentions in his interesting essay *De Syria Dea*, § 33, the fact that in a temple at Hierapolis there stood the statues of Zeus and Hera and between them a third one called σήμειον, viz., a sign or token. Obviously Zeus and Hera are the Hellenised names of Syrian divinities, the god-father or heaven, and the god-mother, the *magna dea* or the deity of life and love and fertility. But what can have been the sense of having a Semeion or a sign erected between them, and what may have been its shape? Was it a pole or *ashera*, a stone pillar, or any other monument? Who can tell? The sense of the passage seems lost beyond redemption. Yet the idea suggests itself that the word Semeion may have been the name or a corruption of the name of a god for whom Lucian could not find an appropriate Greek expression, and this suggestion finds good support in the fact that כַּעַל שֶׁמֶן, i. e., the Lord Shaman, is the Syrian Hercules, the divine god-child and saviour, who corresponds to the Babylonian Samas, the Hebrew Samson and the Greek Heracles.

If this conjecture is tenable, the three statues at Hierapolis were nothing else than a representation of the ancient trinity which was revered almost all over Hither Asia.

The trinity conception is very ancient and is based upon natural as well as human analogies. It represents the sky, the earth, and the sun; god-father, god-mother, and god the son, the creator and ruler of the world, the life and fertility of the earth, and the god-man, or the hero-god.

This trinity conception was not always nor in all countries of Hither Asia clearly retained. As the religious notions were not scientific but mythological, the sun-god and sky-god were frequently identified, which produced confusion. The *dea magna* was now the earth goddess, now the moon goddess, and again a Pros-

erpine, a vegetation-goddess. Local modes of worship made prominent here one, there another, trait, and the differences of local names served to obscure the original identity of different versions of the same dogma.

Zoroastrian rigor antagonised the old forms of paganism, yet even under Persian rule the old trinitarian belief came to the front. The trinity Ahura Mazda, Anahita, Mithra is in its origin decidedly un-Zoroastrian and may be regarded as an adaptation of the Persian monotheism to the prevalent trinitarianism of their conquered nations.

The same notions prevailed in Egypt where the trinity of Osiris, Isis, and Hor is probably the echo of still older views of the same kind.

In the Book of Wisdom, Sophia or Wisdom (originally a synonym for *Logos*) is spoken of as the spouse of God, being privy to his counsels; and the Messiah is her son.

We know from the Koran that the Christian trinity conception known to Mohammed was the trinity of the family, God, Mary, and Christ, and a quotation from the lost Gospel of the Hebrews speaks of the Holy Ghost as the mother of Christ.

The trinity conception of God-father, God-mother, and God-son was apparently rejected by the Western Church for the sake of the sanctification of family life implied thereby. Primitive Christianity was strongly biased by asceticism and monachism, and woman was regarded as temptation incarnate. Nothing could be more pagan to an African or Roman monk than the belief in a God-mother, and thus the Holy Ghost lost its sexual character and developed into a neuter whose definite relation to God the Father and God the Son was rendered indistinct and finally formulated as an influence proceeding from both of them. The less offensive names God-father and God-son, with the omission of God the Mother, i. e., her replacement through the uncompromising Holy Ghost, have been retained to the present day.

Mary, the mother of God, so called by both the Greek and Roman Catholic Churches, practically still plays the part of the God-mother, the *θεὰ ἄγνα*, the holy goddess of the ancient nations; and this persistency of the trinity idea is not surprising at all, first because of conservatism in matters religious, but then also on account of the natural foundation which it finds in the facts of life.

THE HOPE OF THE NEGRO.

BY JOHN L. ROBINSON.

WHAT are the possibilities of the negro? What is the duty of the white man toward him?

These questions can best be answered by a careful study of the negro's past and present. We turn to the family tree of humanity and find that the negro is on the lowest lateral branch which is supposed to indicate, on the theory of evolution, the greatest simplicity of organisation. On examination we find that there are in the negro, not only fewer convolutions of the brain but other characteristics which show that he is less highly organised than some other races.

In no period of time and in no country has he built up a civilisation. He has domesticated no animal, has made no important discoveries or developments, and has made no use of iron or stone in the construction of walls, aqueducts, or temples. In the ten thousand years or more that he has been on the earth no one of the race has reached the heights of statesmanship, barring the possible exception of Toussaint L'Ouverture whose friends claim that he was a pure-blooded negro.

It is not necessary, however, to reach the conclusion that the negro has not a future of indefinite improvement; but these are the plain facts of history which we cannot ignore, nor explain away, and which must be taken into account in the study of the subject before us. It makes a difference whether or not a race in all the years of its past has accomplished these things.

There is another preliminary subject which we must briefly consider; namely, race prejudice, or race antipathy. Race prejudice is not something of recent growth, but is one of the most notable features of ancient history. It is not a peculiarity of Anglo-Saxons, nor is the negro the only race against whom it is directed. The Jews, the Chinese, and other races have felt its poisonous

shafts or unwelcome blows. Race antipathy has grown out of dissimilarities in color, religion, mode of life, and intelligence. Multiply the number of points in which people differ and you intensify the antipathy; reduce the points and you increase the possibilities of sympathy and social contact. We dislike the Chinaman largely because he wears a cue, dresses differently from us, eats differently, is of a different color, and is different in his religious beliefs. The same things in greater or less degree underlie all race prejudice.

Whether there is a good and indispensable element in race prejudice or not, or how far it may be used without abuse, are subjects not necessary to discuss here. But race prejudice has existed some ten thousand years, and whatever may be the unreason in it we must take it into account in our dealing with different peoples. It has been here so long, is so wide-spread and so persistent, that it would be folly to ignore it. Attempts to do this invariably end in deepening the prejudice and in delaying the good which was intended to be accomplished.

With this much premised as a basis upon which to build let us consider the things which lie nearest to the negro in the development of his character and usefulness.

The hope of the negro lies in his own self-respect, and in his efforts to maintain it. If a people be content to live thriftlessly—in dirt and rags—it will create no surprise if the world withhold that mead of respect which would otherwise be due. The negro must have, of course, the moral and financial support of his more prosperous neighbor, the white man, but it must be drilled into him from every quarter that his salvation depends upon himself. He must begin at the lowest round of the ladder, as all races have done, and not look upon it as menial. There is nothing in the negro's past to warrant the belief that he can advance speedily to the ranks of scholarship and statesmanship. Forced efforts in these respects end in humiliating defeat, and leave the whole situation worse. He must first be master of small things before he can master large things. He must improve his material surroundings before he can hope to make great progress in things intellectual.

The things he needs to teach himself at the present time more than all else are cleanliness of person, cleanliness of surroundings, a clean moral life, how to raise good crops, how to take care of a horse or a cow, how to husband his resources, and at the same time carry with him the conviction that he is not degrading his manhood in doing these simple things. President Booker T. Wash-

ington is doing the negro race an inestimable benefit by his intelligent insistence that these things come first.

Whether the negro should look no higher than a good practical knowledge of industrial affairs and a good English education is a question entirely premature. Let these things come first and come surely, and then other so-called higher things will follow naturally, if they follow at all. Until the negro has made substantial progress in the things indicated above, his motto should be: "This one thing I do."

The negro must be made to see—the whole world for that matter—that no good thing is menial as the word is commonly used—that there is nothing low except in a moral sense. The day-laborers in the common walks of life, the men who make clean, healthy, and beautiful our cities, are as necessary and as worthy, as far as their vocation is concerned, as the men who make our laws, or the minister who proclaims the Gospel. Sensible people must cease making invidious distinctions between men of different occupations and different wages, when those occupations are absolutely essential to human health, happiness, and well-being. The man who lives an upright life, and adds something to the food supply, the health, or happiness of the world is a nobleman, and should be made to feel it. The negro is filling a worthy place now. The vast majority of the race can never rise higher than day-laborers; but in this respect millions of their white brothers are no better off.

Much of the restlessness and unhappy discontent in the world is due to the flattering, vague exhortation "come up higher," when it is very evident that the only possibility of coming up higher with a vast number of people is the attainment of more thoroughness, more skill, more self-respect, and more rational contentment in those things which some inconsiderate people call menial.

Politics has many snares even for those races which have longest been accustomed to political affairs; and the novice is confronted with extraordinary temptations to play the part of the "cat's paw" for unscrupulous politicians. The negro's elective franchise, so far, has been of little help to him, if not a positive disadvantage. He should not be deprived of his right to vote, but he must show to the world that he appreciates the responsibility of suffrage by taking an honorable, unbiased interest in the affairs of government.

Mistaken philanthropy has contributed its share toward obstructing the progress of the negro. This was perhaps quite natural. The help which has come to the negro since his emancipa-

tion was intended to offset as far as possible the years when his labor counted nothing for his material prosperity. But the philanthropist must see to it, as far as it is in his power, that his help does not end in pauperism—a dreadful evil. When the leading seminaries in this country are exercising more than usual care in the distribution of their benefactions to white students surely it is not out of place to exercise equal care in our help of the negro. The best help we can give any one is to enable him to help himself.

The negro must be taught to seek his well-being among the white people with whom he lives. He should vote with them and for their best interests, for the interests of both are identical. He will never be numerous in the North. The climate and the products of the soil are against him. Long summers, and cotton, corn, rice, potatoes, and tobacco are the things upon which he thrives. His greatest opportunities are in the South. There thousands of negroes own farms, stores, and are otherwise prosperous. Nor are his educational needs neglected. I quote from the *Boston Transcript's* special correspondent at Tuskegee, Alabama, February 21, 1902 at a conference of educators: "He (Mr. George Foster Peabody) thought that the people of the North were coming to see how great a mistake had been made in not understanding the attitude of the white people of the South in the matter of education, and their earnestness for the education of all the people of the South, of both races.

"It was an interesting commentary on what Mr. Peabody had said that later in the meeting Pres. W. H. Lanier, of Alcorn College, Mississippi, reported that whereas the State appropriation for his school had been \$27,000 a year for the last two years, it had just been raised to \$50,000 a year for the next two years. This amount is so very generous that it attracted special attention, and I am told that Mississippi among Southern States has always been notably liberal for its support of its negro institutions."

The South needs the co-operation and sympathy of the North ; for the negro question is a national one. The South should not object to criticism if that criticism is discriminate and friendly. In years past there has been too much of a disposition in both sections of the country to make war on each other over the negro's shoulders, and the result has been hurtful to all concerned. A better day has dawned. The best people are seeing things together, and Pres. Booker T. Washington has had a large share in bringing about this condition of things, for in a straightforward,

manly way he is giving the former slave-owners and their sons credit for sympathy and help in his work at Tuskegee.

The friend of the negro must see to it that he does not come into sharp competition with the white man for his bread. This is not a sectional question. It is as true in Illinois and Indiana as it is in any Southern State. There is no necessity for hurtful competition. There is plenty of room and work for all. Dotted here and there all over the South are farms of eighty, a hundred, acres or more upon which negroes are living happily, and they are not in the white man's way. This class of negroes are good citizens. They are the ones upon whose sons the white farmer can depend for his hired man, and upon whose daughters the white farmer's wife can depend for nice clean laundry.

In the towns, too, quite a number of negroes have groceries and dry-goods stores. Some are doctors, and some school-teachers, and they are not in the way of the white man.

A mistake is made by some unthinking people in looking upon negroids as the advance guard of the negro race. Negroids are a class to themselves, and in no true sense representatives of the negro race. Upon the theory that negroids are representatives of the negro race too much is expected of negroes, their possibilities are overrated. In this country it is only the negroids who have been intrusted with responsible positions in education and government affairs.

The statement has recently been made that "no two races have ever lived in the same country on terms of equality and mutual respect unless they were capable of intermarriage." In reply it was said that "the races must remain on terms of inequality or, by the intervention of a higher law, equality and mutual respect will come without the necessity of intermarriage." The crux in these statements is the word "equality." What does it mean? It is used in a very loose sense—sometimes rhetorical, often sentimental. The statement must be re-written with the word "equality" left out, for it is very plain that no matter how much respect and consideration one race may have for another yet if that race refuses close social intercourse and intermarriage with the other race equality is logically and necessarily excluded.

There will never be much social and marital contact between the two races. That has been settled ten thousand years or more. The North is no more in favor of a closer social union than the South, and I am glad to say the negroes do not want it. What is

needed is that the white man treat the negro with patience, kindness, and justice.

The progress of the negro lies in the gradual improvement of human nature. Everything cannot be done in one generation or several. The people among whom he lives will improve and he will improve with them. Neither mob law nor sentimental philanthropy has come to stay. They will both give way before intelligence and wisdom. The greatest lesson of all the ages is that from time immemorial there has been well-nigh unbroken progress in human nature and in human institutions. But this progress has been very gradual. It is the unwise philanthropist who would force human nature and human institutions as one would force a hot-house plant. It is the philosopher who knows that the great laws of evolution are true, that the permanently good is slow in coming, and he is therefore willing "to labor and to wait."

ALPHA AND OMEGA.

BY THE EDITOR.

IN the catacombs the Chrisma¹ is commonly combined with the letters α and ω , the latter for unknown reasons always written in cursive script, not α but ω , while the former is a capital. The α and ω are intended to symbolise him who says, "I am the alpha and the omega, the first and the last" (Rev. i. 11).

The idea of comparing God to letters of the alphabet is foreign to the Greek mind and reminds one of the arguments of Brahman sages who philosophise on the letters of the syllable *Aum*, the first letter of the alphabet in whose praise hymns were sung, as containing seed-like all the revelations of the Vedas.

The sanctity in which the Egyptians held the sound *Iao*, as being the god with the Adorable Name (i. e., Abraxas) may have impressed the early Christians. Observe that the name $\text{I}\alpha\omega$ is also (like the Christian symbol $\alpha\omega$) spelt with a cursive ω , not with the capital Ω . We can easily understand that the *I*, being a mere dash, was dropped.

There are a great number of Abraxas gems bearing the name of $\text{I}\alpha\omega$ in a script which closely resembles the Christian symbols $\alpha\omega$. Since the *Iao*-worship is older than Christianity we may assume that Christians being reminded thereby of the passage in St. John's Revelation, adopted the use of the letters.²

It seems probable that the $\alpha\omega$ is a symbol that is older than Christianity and had a pagan significance before it was interpreted as an illustration of Revelation i. 2, but nothing definite is known and we can only make suggestions.

¹ In the catacombs the earliest well-dated inscription with the Chrisma is of the year 71 A.D., the last ones belong to the sixth century.

² Another hypothesis which, though less probable, is by no means impossible, may find a place in a footnote. The soul (called in Egyptian $\kappa\alpha$) is spelled in Koptic script $\kappa\omega$ which bears close resemblance to the Greek $\alpha\omega$. But a derivation of the symbol $\alpha\omega$ from *Iao* seems more probable than from $\kappa\alpha$.

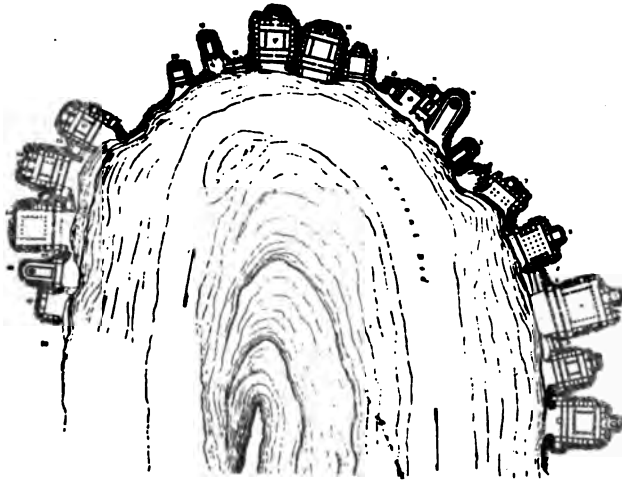
MISCELLANEOUS.

MAHÂYÂNA DOCTRINE AND ART.

COMMENTS ON THE STORY "AMITABHA." ¹

(CONCLUDED.)

The story *Amitâbha* characterises that phase in the development of Buddhism which may be called "the rise of the Mahâyâna," or "the origin of Buddhist theology." The age in which this process took place is the beginning of the Christian era, and the main events of our story are based upon historical traditions.



THE GENERAL PLAN OF THE AJANTÂ CAVES.

The philosophy of the Mahâyâna which finds expression in the philosophy of Aṣvaghosha may be regarded as orthodox Buddhist metaphysics. King Kanishka is a historical personality. His war against Magadha is mentioned in the *Records of the Western World*, written by the Chinese pilgrim Hsüen Tsang. The conditions of peace imposed upon the king of Magadha are related in our story exactly as they are mentioned by this Chinese author.

¹ See *The Open Court* for July, August, September.

The monastic life described in the first, second, and fifth chapters of the story *Amiddha* is a faithful portrayal of the historical conditions of the age. The admission and ordination of monks (in Pāli called Pabbajja and Upasampada) and the confession ceremony (in Pāli called Uposatha) are based upon accounts of the Mahāvagga, the former in the first, the latter in the second, Khandaka (cf. *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XIII.).



A MOTHER LEADING HER CHILD TO BUDDHA.
(Ajanta caves.)

Kevaddha's humorous story of Brahma (as told in *The Open Court*, No. 554, pp. 423-427) is an abbreviated account of an ancient Pāli text. The verses as well as Brahma's speech and most of the other details are all but literally translated. (Cf. Warren, *Buddhism in Translation*, § 67.)

The period of transition from the old Buddhism to the Mahāyāna is repre-



THE CALF-BEARING HERMES.
Archaic Prototype. (From Baumeister,
Denkm. des cl. Alt.)



A CHILD OFFERING GIFTS
TO BUDDHA.
(Fresco in the Ajanta caves.¹)



THE GOOD SHEPHERD OF THE
LATERAN.²



LAMB-BEARER IN THE
GANDHÂRA SCULPTURES.

¹ Reproduced from a photograph kindly lent me by Prof. Charles S. Lanman.

² From Kraus, *Geschichte der christlichen Kunst*.

sented by the "Milindapañha" (Questions of King Milinda), a famous treatise full of deep thought in which the Buddhist philosopher Nagasena discusses the several problems of psychology, philosophy, and ethics with the Greek King Menandros, or, as the Indians called him, Milinda. This Greek King lived in the second century before the Christian era and is known to have favored Buddhism. He, or kings of his line, seem to have encouraged Buddhist art, for Greek artists were imported into India to work out in marble the ideals of the new religion. Greek influence is especially noticeable in the formation of the face of Buddha, which (as Huc and Gabet remark) bears decidedly Western features, even in those regions of Thibet and Tartary where the artist never could have seen a European.



RAM-BEARING HERMES.

The Greek prototype of Christian and Buddhist Sculptures.¹

regarding both as chiseled after a common Greek model which must have been analogous to the *Hermes Kriophoros*.²

The Gandhāra sculptures presuppose in their turn an older school of painting of which little can be surmised and nothing is positively known; for the halo of the Gandhāra Buddha statues cannot (as Grünwedel has pointed out) have been invented by sculptors, but can only be considered as an imitation of a painted halo which is known to have been first used in the Alexandrian period as an attribute of the solar deities and luminary heroes of ancient Hellas.

Monasteries, such as the one which Charaka entered, were frequent in India, and the art of ornamenting them with statues and wall paintings is an obvious imitation of the Gandhāra style, showing traces of Greek influence. It cannot be accidental that the lamb-bearing Christ of the Lateran has an exact equivalent among the ancient Gandhāra sculptures which can scarcely be younger than the first century before the Christian era. We can only explain this striking similarity by

¹ For other illustrations in the same line see *The Open Court*, Vol. XIII., pp. 710-730.

² For further details see *Buddhistische Kunst in Indien* (Berlin: W. Spemann, 1895), by Albert Grünwedel, who proves not only the Greek influence on the Gandhāra school, but also that the Greek artists must have found an Indian prototype of Buddha. They modified it, however, according to the notions of Greek art and modeled their conception of Buddha after the type of Apollo. The signs of Buddhahood on the Buddha statues (which are Hindu conceptions) are preserved, but modified when they would otherwise have an unartistic effect, especially the intelligence bump on Buddha's head which is covered with a Grecian knot after the Greek fashion of hair dressing at the time when first the original of the Apollo Belvedere was made.



VIEW FROM A GALLERY IN THE AJANTA CAVES.

There are ruins of many ancient Buddhist monasteries still preserved, all of the same style and inspired by Gandhāra prototypes, the best ones being the so-called cave temples of Ajantā. They are much later than the Gandhāra sculptures and some of their ornaments may be as late as the sixth century.

We here reproduce a general map of the site of the place with its twenty-eight chaityas (i. e., churches or assembly rooms), surrounded by cells and having ornamental portals and verandas. They are fast falling into decay and only part of their wall decorations have been preserved in Griffith's valuable two volume *édition de luxe*, from which we here reproduce a few of the most interesting pictures.



SAMPLE OF CEILING-DECORATIONS.
(Ajanta caves.)

The artistic work in the cave temples is most attractive, and, in spite of their shortcomings in perspective and other details of technique, decidedly superior to most Oriental work of a similar kind. Mr. Griffiths says:

"After years of careful study on the spot, I may be forgiven if I seem inclined to esteem the Ajantā pictures too highly as art. In spite of its obvious limitations,

¹ Material in the same line, illustrations of Gandhāra sculptures, Christian representations of the Good Shepherd, etc., will be found in the author's article entitled "The Nativity. Similarities in Religious Art," published in *The Open Court*, Vol. XIII., No. 12, pp. 710-730.

¹ The Paintings in the Buddhist Cave Temples of Ajantā, by John Griffiths. Made by order of the Secretary of State of India in Council. London, 1896.

I find the work so accomplished in execution, so consistent in convention, so vivacious and various in design, and full of such evident delight in beautiful form and color, that I cannot help ranking it with some of that early art which the world has agreed to praise in Italy.

THE TEMPTATION. (From Scenes in the Life of Buddha in the Ajanta caves.)



"Mr. Fergusson, who visited the caves in 1838-1839, wrote:

"The style of the paintings cannot, of course, bear comparison with European painting of the present day; but they are certainly superior to the style of

Europe during the age in which they were executed: the perspective, grouping, and details are better, and the story better told than in any painting anterior to Orcagna and Fiesole. The style, however, is not European, but more resembles



TYPES OF WORSHIPPERS.
(Ajanta caves.)



NOBLE WOMEN WITH FLOWER OFFERINGS.
(Ajanta caves.)

Chinese art, particularly in the flatness and want of shadow. I never, however, in China saw anything approaching its perfection.'

"With regard to the painted ornament, the same authority said:

" 'It is not at all unlike that still existing in the Baths of Titus.' "

As to the patience displayed in the excavation of these caves, Mr. Griffiths says:

"It is only when face to face with the basalt cliff, case-hardened at the time of the fiery birth, that a just appreciation of the enormous labor, skill, perseverance, and endurance that went to the excavation of these painted palaces can be formed. We are accustomed to associate a gentle and tranquil indolence with what we know of Buddhist creed. But here, at least, is evidence of a different range of qualities, combined with surprising boldness of conception, and a hardy defiance of difficulty foreign to our experience of modern Oriental character.

"Taking Cave 1 as an example, it may be possible by a mere enumeration of its dimensions to give some idea of the labor undertaken in only one—and that by no means the largest—of the series of excavations. They must have begun by marking out on the rock the width of the cave front, sixty-five feet, and then proceeded to cut away the face, leaving in the first place a projecting mass about fourteen



PRINCE SIDDHĀRTHA DISTINGUISHING HIMSELF IN MANLY EXERCISES.
(From the Ajanta caves.)

feet wide and nineteen feet high to form a porch, surmounted by an elaborately carved entablature and supported by two columns. The porch projected from a verandah formed of six columns and two pilasters with bracket capitals. This open verandah was ten feet from the front wall of the hall, which was pierced with three doors and two windows. The central door had an opening of five feet wide by ten feet high, and was richly carved. The great hall, nearly sixty-four feet square, with a colonnade of twenty pillars marking surrounding aisles ten feet in width, was next attacked. Then opening from the aisle, the numerous cells for the accommodation of the monks were excavated. Beyond the great hall was hewn an ante-chamber nineteen feet wide and twelve feet deep, with elaborately carved pillars and doorway leading still further into the sanctuary itself, where was fashioned a colossal statue of Buddha. By the time that this is reached a total depth of a hundred and twenty-one feet had been excavated."

Whatever we may think of Mr. Griffiths's estimate as to the artistic value of

the Ajantâ cave paintings, they reflect a noble and refined culture. Mr. Griffiths says:

"In striking contrast to most early Hindu work is the entire absence, not merely of obscenity, but of any suggestion of indecency or grossness. Modern England is perhaps somewhat eager to condemn the ancient fashion of regarding certain facts of humanity revealed in the sculptures of Hindu temples, but at Ajantâ there is absolutely nothing to shock the purist."

The purity and decency of Buddhism, the loftiness of its tone, is so unique that in this respect the Buddhist scriptures are superior to any other religious literature, the Bible not excepted. The artistic work of the cave temples proves that the purity of thought inculcated by Buddhism exercised its influence even upon the artist whose profession naturally inclines toward the sensuous.

The samples here reproduced from the specimens selected by Mr. Griffiths are considerably reduced and can give only an approximate idea of the originals; yet they will give a better description of the taste displayed in ancient Buddhist art than can be done in words, and may help our readers to form a vivid conception of the spirit of the age in which the Buddhist Mahâyâna prospered in India.

The decorations of the Ajantâ caves are an artistic expression of the moral loftiness of Buddhism, best characterised in the Dhammapâda, from which we translate stanza 183 in these lines:

"Commit no evil. But do good
And let thy heart be pure.
That is the gist of Buddhahood,
The lore that will endure."

P. C.

CONFERENCE OF THE ASIATIC CREEDS.

A religious conference of the Asiatic creeds will be held at Kioto, Japan, the middle of October next, under the name "Prajna Paramita Meeting." The tenor of the meeting will, as the name indicates, be Buddhistic, for *Prajna Paramita* is the title of a Buddhist canonical book which is considered as orthodox by almost all the Mahâyâna Churches. *Prajna Paramita* means "the perfection of intelligence," and among the many Paramitas, or virtues of the Buddha, the *Prajna Paramita* is his chief attribute. It has been personified as a kind of female deity, whose picture we published as a frontispiece to *The Open Court*, for June, 1901. She plays a similar part in Buddhist literature as Sophia or Wisdom plays in early Christian and Gnostic literature. She is the companion of the Buddha, privy to his councils in forming the creation. As such she is a kind of female counterpart of the eternal Logos.

The Buddhist canonical book entitled *Prajna Paramita* belongs to the Mahâyâna school; it is supposed to date back to the very beginning of Buddhism, and the followers of the Mahâyâna regard it as inspired. At any rate, the book dates back to the beginning of the Christian era, for in the second or third century after Christ Nagarjuna, a famous Buddhist philosopher, wrote a commentary to it which is still extant and regarded as orthodox.

The *Prajna Paramita* has been lost and forgotten in its original home India, but it is preserved in Nepaul and also in Chinese and Thibetan translations. It has not yet been translated into English, but the contents are very similar to other Mahâyâna publications, some of which have been published in the *Sacred Books*

of the East, and the "Diamond Cutter"¹ is supposed to come closest to its philosophy, the underlying idea being that Buddha existed from the beginning as the primitive principle of the world to become incarnated in Gautama Siddhartha. Prajna Paramita, however, is the spirit (similar to the Christian Holy Ghost) through whom the world-formation takes place and in whom the divine dispensation of the course of events finds a representation.

At the Prajna Paramita Conference other Asiatic religions are welcome, and among them the Hindus of East India have been especially invited. Mr. Babu Norendronath Sen will be the authorised delegate of the Hindus, and he, although a Brahman, is for this occasion very probably the most appropriate representative of his country, for on several occasions he has exhibited his friendliness toward Buddhism; when the Maha Bodhi Society, on the full moon day of May, celebrated the Buddha's enlightenment, he presided over the meeting and made the following remarks: "We have no cause of quarrel with Buddhists. Let us be friends and brothers once more. The study of Buddha's life and teachings will do Hindus nothing but good. Considering the relations that obtained between them for many centuries, Hindus and Buddhists should try to be friends again. Hinduism and Buddhism remained side by side in peace and amity throughout India for several centuries."

ELISHA BEN ABUYA.

The Chicago Israelite with reference to the Rev. Bernard M. Kaplan's article² on the famous Jewish apostate Elisha Ben Abuya, surnamed Acher, says:

"Following the modern method of essay writing, and combining, as Rabbi Kaplan did, the historical and the romantic, I am rather surprised that he did not take advantage of the character of Elisha's daughter, mentioned in at least two places in the Talmud. I look for an amplification of this article by Rabbi Kaplan, or by some aspiring Zangwill, who is searching for rich and original material in Jewish folklore."

We agree with our contemporary that the character of Acher is an exceedingly good subject for a historical novel; but in calling attention to this tempting project we venture to state our own conception of the famous Jewish apostate. The strange fact that to his dying day he remained a friend of the greatest and most prominent rabbis of his age, in our opinion contradicts the statement made that he turned traitor to his own kin and served as a spy to the persecutors of his people. A man of his enormous learning cannot have been a vulgar criminal, nor if he remained in constant friendly contact with the leading men of his race, can he have been a traitor of Jewish tradition and nationality. The easiest explanation of the contradictory character seems to be that being a philosopher and probably a radical free thinker, he was hated and despised by the Jewish bigots who denounced him as an unbeliever, an atheist, and a traitor to Jewish tradition. We know very well how far the hatred went against Spinoza, and fanatics never distinguished between unbelief and crime. The suggestion that he would be capable of betraying his countrymen would easily change into an actual denunciation that he did it; and if Roman persecutors succeeded in discovering that the Jews continued in their Jewish habits and customs, they would naturally turn on him and declare that he had been the man who betrayed them. He may have had faults, he may even

¹ *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XLIX.

² Published in *The Open Court* for August 1902 under the title "The Apostate of the Talmud."

have been a libertine, but in my opinion it is not probable that the report of his treason is reliable, or its historicity even probable.

Rabbi Kaplan calls gnosticism the last flicker of dying paganism, and in this connection we call our readers' attention to our articles on gnosticism and kindred subjects which appeared some time ago in *The Monist*. Gnosticism, in our opinion, is indeed a last flicker of paganism, but it is at the same time the dawn of Christianity. Gnosticism is a religious movement which may be regarded as the initiation of a new faith. When through the conquest of Persia by Alexander the Great, the barriers of the several nationalities, especially that between the Greeks and the Asiatics, broke down, people of different race and religion met for the first time in a friendly exchange of thought, and by contrasting their different beliefs a powerful fermentation set in which, moreover, was fertilised by thoughts of Indian missionaries who preached the doctrines of the great religious leaders of Brahmanism, Buddhism, Jainism, and other Eastern faiths. Thus, the doctrines of the ancient Babylonian religion, purified by Zoroastrian monotheism, were mixed with Indian, Syrian, Jewish, Greek, and Egyptian notions, and the result was a movement the intensity of which came to a climax in the time of Christ. Gnosticism antedated Christianity, and when Christianity appeared Gnosticism at once fell in with it, but with the growth of the Christian Church it soon came to be considered as a mere Christian sect.

That Elisha Ben Abuya was affected by gnosticism is but natural; that it should have been the cause of his apostasy may be true according to our conception of gnosticism, for gnosticism is different according to our definition of it. If we consider it as the whole movement in its full breadth, we ought to look upon it as one of the most powerful factors that produced Christianity. If, however, we take it in the sense in which the Church Fathers understood it, it is a mere Christian sect the vagaries of which provoked criticism and caused its early disappearance from the pages of history.

That the story of Elisha Ben Abuya is a most exquisite subject for a Zangwill or a Franzos, or any scholarly author who writes novels depicting Jewish life, there is no doubt; but if anyone undertook the task it would be highly desirable that he should delineate the character of Acher in a sympathetic spirit and in the light of analogous Jewish characters, viz., Spinoza, Mendelssohn, Heine, etc.,—men who dared to advance far beyond their own time, who read the traditions of their people in the light of a higher philosophical understanding, and thus became suspected as apostates, without necessarily thereby becoming traitors to their own people.

BOOKS FOR THE YOUNG.

Vast as juvenile literature is, selection for critical and classical taste is not easy, and a glance at the ordinary publishers' or literary list will show that the emphasis is only too seldom placed on what is best and noblest in literature. We are glad therefore to be able to commend to the attention of our readers four books from recent juvenile literature that meet the most exacting requirements. Three of these books are new prose versions of the classic tales of the *Odyssey*, the *Æneid*, and *King Arthur*; the fourth is a new compilation,—*A Book of Verses for Children*, by Edward Verrill Lucas.¹

This anthology of verse for the young is not the first successful compilation

¹ Henry Holt & Co., New York. Pp., 548. Price, cloth, \$2.00.

that Mr. Lucas has attempted, and it bids fair to rival his former and later ventures. The selections cover a wide range, and are drawn, in overwhelming majority, from British, as distinguished from American, literature. While this is intelligible in the case of the great poets, we wish that Mr. Lucas had spared us some of the effusions in the style of Elizabeth Turner and Ann and Jane Taylor; surely, something more virile, and yet perfectly suited to the infantile mind, might have been found even in American literature, to match the real gems of children's poetry which the author has selected. But we will not be captious: there is so much here that is of highest value, culled from the purest and soundest sources, and all so difficult of access in its diffusion, that the book must be regarded as a decided boon to parents and teachers desirous of cultivating, as all from a real religious duty should, the nascent germs of a taste for poetry in children. The infantile in this book is easily separated from the juvenile, and so a wide range of choice suited to all the ages of childhood is possible. As a gift to a child, one could not imagine a more sensible one. Mr. Lucas's work is far from definitive; its volume could, without loss of quality, probably be doubled (only one of the numerous songs and ditties of Shakespeare is included). But what has been done, has been done well, and no one is more conscious of the limitations of the book than the compiler himself. He says:

"I want you to understand there is a kind of poetry that is finer far than anything here; poetry to which this book is, in the old-fashioned phrase, simply a 'stepping-stone.' When you feel, as I hope some day you will feel, that these pages no longer satisfy, then you must turn to the better thing."

Dr. Edward Brooks has retold for boys and girls the stories of the *Æneid*¹ and King Arthur.² Dr. Brooks has not minced his English, nor stooped to his audience. His "boys and girls" must know the language if they are to enjoy his stories. But the human interest of these famous classics is so intense that younger readers will be carried by sheer enthusiasm over the difficulties of the vocabulary. Of the *Æneid* we need not speak,—it has both delighted and bored centuries of readers. The original story of King Arthur is much less read. Let us hear Dr. Brooks's comment on it: "The Story of King Arthur is a tale of absorbing interest to both young and old. It tells of knightly encounters and valorous deeds and acts of courtesy, that touch the imagination of youth and inspire their hearts with heroic impulses. Youth is a time for hero-worship, and nowhere in literature can be found nobler examples of lofty heroism than in this story. The events, moving in a shadowy past, give the work a charm of romance and mysticism that appeals to the youthful mind which delights in peopling wood and dale with the creations of its imagination."

Then again the doctor speaks of its moral influence: "The work not only affords a story of surpassing interest for youth, but one that carries with it an influence for noble ideals and actions. While it deals with the conflicts of arms where the spear and the sword are in constant evidence, yet it does so usually for high and noble purposes,—to deal justice and to right the wrongs of the weak and unfortunate. Nearly all the characters are moved by noble impulses and are types

¹ *The Story of the Æneid, or The Adventures of Æneas.* For Boys and Girls. By Dr. Edward Brooks, A. M., Superintendent of Schools of Philadelphia. Philadelphia: The Penn Publishing Co. Pages, 366.

² *The Story of King Arthur and the Knights of the Round Table.* For Boys and Girls. By Dr. Edward Brooks, A. M., Superintendent of Schools of Philadelphia. The Penn Publishing Co. Pages, 383.

of courage, courtesy, and generous actions. The noble order of the Table Round was a shrine of virtue in that early age of darkness and injustice. King Arthur, Sir Galahad, Sir Percivale, and others are model knights of worthiness who are ever striving to act 'worshipfully' and to be true to their knightly vows; and Sir Lancelot, 'the flower of chivalry,' was a model of courtesy, gentleness, and courage,—possessing all those traits that call forth the admiration of the young for noble and heroic deeds. No boy can read the story of King Arthur as here presented without having aroused within him a noble purpose of true and knightly living. That it may bring many happy hours to those who may chance to read it, kindle in their hearts a love of truth and virtue, and awaken high ideals of a life of courtesy and courage and knightly deeds, is the sincere wish of the author."

Dr. Brooks has also told the tales of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. Many are yet to know the fund of inspiration and ennobling thought that lies in these olden epics, and how necessary a knowledge of them is to an appreciation of the world's literature and culture. Yet it is not too much to say that young people can gain more of this inspiration from such versions in their own language as these we have here noted, than they can from the garbled study of a few books or passages of the originals.

We turn to a version of the *Odyssey*¹ for boys by Walter Copeland Perry. Mr. Perry's tale was written for his son Evelyn when in his seventh year. It is based on the translation of Messrs. Butcher and Lang,—being carried in the same style and affecting the same archaic diction: Evelyn must have been, indeed, a precocious youth. Why a modern translation of the *Odyssey*, intended for modern readers, should be couched in the language of the Bible and of Chapman, with much of which we are not familiar save through literature, is difficult to understand. Chapman would scarcely have made his translation into Anglo-Norman; and the translators of the King James's Bible would doubtless not have viewed the proposition with favor to translate the Bible into Anglo-Saxon. But to literary fetishism there be no bounds. And one cannot deny that there is to it all (to its *gal him up's*, its *yea now's*, and its *dight's*) a certain æsthetic titillation. Mr. Perry has, fortunately, preserved but little of Mr. Lang's sixteenth century English, though possibly more than was necessary to impart flavor, vigor, and dignity to his style; and while versions in the style of Charles Lamb's (which should not be forgotten) are more to our taste, yet so conscientious has Mr. Perry's work been, and so sure his emphasis on the vital parts of the story, that no one can err in selecting for their children's reading this version of the immortal Greek classic.

T. J. McCORMACK.

MR. MAUDE'S ARTICLE ON TOLSTOY.

The article on the "Misinterpretation of Tolstoy," by Mr. Aylmer Maude, in reply to Mrs. Evans's article on the Russian reformer, published in *The Open Court* for August, was forwarded to the editor by Mr. Ernest Howard Crosby, of New York City. Mr. Crosby, while returning to New York from an international appointment in Alexandria, Egypt, visited Count Tolstoy at his home in Russia, and has, since this meeting, under the influence of Tolstoy's writings, devoted considerable attention to social reform. Mr. Crosby writes that the author of the article

¹ *The Boy's Odyssey*. By Walter Copeland Perry. London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1901. Pages, 204.

Mr. Aylmer Maude, a prominent and well-to-do business man of Moscow,—an Englishman,—became interested in Tolstoy's writings some ten years or more ago and is now an intimate friend of the Count. Under the influence of his teaching he abandoned his business and is now living near Chelmsford in Essex, England engaged among other things in bringing out a complete edition of Tolstoy's works, of which two volumes, *Sebastopol* and *Resurrection*, have already been published by Grant Richards. He is also the author of *Tolstoy and His Problems*, and is recognised as the Englishman who stands closest to Tolstoy. Mr. Maude's work is indispensable to the student of Tolstoy's life and labors. It is published, in America, by the A. Wessels Company, 7-9 W. 18th St., New York, and in England by Grant Richards. In view of the recent alarming reports concerning Tolstoy's health, it may be interesting to our readers to learn from a letter from Mr. Maude, dated August 26th at Tolstoy's home, Yásnaya Polyána, Russia, that while Tolstoy is still far from strong, he can write three or four hours most days and walks sometimes two or three miles at a time. A doctor is, however, in constant attendance, both in case of emergency and to check Tolstoy's rashness; he having been so strong and active until two years ago, finds it difficult to exercise due moderation in his exercise and to follow a strict régime.

BOOK REVIEWS.

PRINCIPLES OF WESTERN CIVILISATION. By *Benjamin Kidd*. New York: The Macmillan Company. London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd. 1902. Pages, vi, 538. Price, \$2.00.

Mr. Benjamin Kidd created a considerable stir by his first work, *Social Evolution*, and he has doubtless been moved by the success of this venture to give to the world a system of philosophy. The first volume of this series lies before us entitled *Principles of Western Civilisation*. It may appear paradoxical to say that it is necessary to read Mr. Kidd's work in order to determine precisely what his purpose in writing it has been, for he has given us neither preface, introduction, nor conclusion explanatory of his motives or of what "Western civilisation" has to do with "evolutionary philosophy." This critical state of affairs is heightened by the fact that Mr. Kidd's language in the present work is more distinctly metaphysical and artificial than it was in his first work, assuming at times even a mystical strain,—at least such is the impression that a superficial reading of his work gives.

The idea dominating Mr. Kidd's discussions, while in many respects sound and lofty, does not appear to us to be novel. After remarking that the entire life and activities of our Western civilisation have begun to be involved in a tumultuous conflict, he affirms that the principle which shall evolve order out of this chaos (and its most characteristic results are already visible) is what he terms the law of projected efficiency by "which, in human society, the present is destined to be in the end controlled, not by its own interests, but by interests in the future beyond the limits of its political consciousness." As in the biological world, so analogously in the social and political world, "the interests of the existing individuals, and of the present time, as we now see them, are of importance only in so far as they are included in the interests of this unseen majority in the future."

The ascendancy of present interests in the economic processes of the past and in our own time has been the real clog on genuine endeavor in national and inter-

national spheres. Upon the party representing the cause of progress in Western history devolves the task of lifting this conflict to a higher stage,—a stage where the future shall dominate the present. This is the goal which has been inherent from the beginning in the organic process of development of Western civilisation : it is the principle "with which the advance of the peoples destined to maintain a leading place in Western civilisation must continue to be identified. No human foresight could, even at a period recent in history, have predicted, without insight into such a cause, the world-embracing future to which, irrespective of race, position, population, wealth, or natural resources, the action of this principle was about to raise in a comparatively brief period of time the small group of English-speaking peoples, otherwise so insignificant a component in our Western civilisation."

Nevertheless, all attempt to judge the future from the past are vain and meaningless. In the ancient civilisations, the universal empire toward which the world moved had one meaning that controlled all others, viz., the culminating fact of the "ascendency of the present" in the process of human evolution. But "the universal empire towards which our civilisation moves—that universal empire the principles of which have obtained their first firm foothold in human history in that stupendous, complex, and long-drawn-out conflict of which the history of the English-speaking peoples has been the principal theatre in modern history—has a meaning which transcends this. It represents that empire in which it has become the destiny of our Western Demos, in full consciousness of the nature of the majestic process of cosmic ethics that has engendered him, to project the controlling meaning of the world-process beyond the present. All the developments that have hitherto taken place in our civilisation are but the steps leading up to the gigantic struggle now closing in upon us, as the ruling principle of a past era of human evolution moves slowly towards its challenge in the economic process in all its manifestations throughout the world."

μ.

The Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution for the year ending June 30, 1900, has just appeared with its usual interesting essays in general science. The papers describe and illustrate collections in the United States National Museum, but they embrace much material and many experiences only indirectly connected with these collections. Thus, Mr. William Henry Holmes has supplied an extensive study of the Anthropology of California, giving many excellent pictures of the household arts and industries of the aborigines of the Pacific Coast. Mr. Otis Tufton Mason has contributed a study in ethnic distribution and invention entitled "Aboriginal American Harpoons," analysing the primitive yet complicated mechanism of these important weapons of coast tribes. Mr. Alfred E. Hhippsley, commissioner of the imperial maritime customs service of China, has given us an illustrated sketch of the history of the ceramic art of China; Charles Kasson Wead has made some contributions to the history of the musical scales; Walter Hough has written briefly on Hopi ceremonial pigments: and Mr. Wirt Tassin has given a minute catalogue and description of the collection of gems in the United States National Museum. The Smithsonian Institution has also issued, as Bulletin 26 of the Bureau of American Ethnology, a collection of Kathlamet texts and translations made by Frank Boas. These texts were collected by Mr. Boas from 1890 to 1894. The Kathlamet is a dialect of the upper Chinook, spoken in the region from Astoria and Gray's Harbor to Rainier. When it is remembered that so far as Mr. Boas has been able to ascertain there are only three persons that speak the Kathlamet dialect, the importance of his having rescued from oblivion the texts of these

stories will not be underrated. It is seldom that three lone Indians receive so much Government attention as to have an expensive monograph devoted—to the memory of their language. (Government Printing Office: Washington, D. C.)

Students of contemporary German literary activity may be pleased to have from the pen of Dr. Eduard Lessen a little pamphlet treating of the life and labors of Adalbert Svoboda, an Austrian polyhistor and critic of high standing. Svoboda it was that discovered the poetic talent of Peter Rosegger, one of the foremost of living German writers. (16 pages.)

We have from Watts & Co., 17, Johnson's Court, Fleet St., E. C., London, a copy of the 101st edition of George Jacob Holyoake's pamphlet *The Logic of Death*, first issued a half century ago; and also the first installment, in the form of a brochure, of a rationalistic free-thinking story entitled *The King Who Wouldn't be a Pagan*, by Rashleigh Cumming Forward. (Pages, 32. Price, Sixpence.)

Readers with a leaning to mysticism will find material in justification of their faith in a German pamphlet by Dr. Rudolf Steiner, entitled *Die Mystik*, as considered in connection with the intellectual life of the present. Dr. Steiner believes that one may still be a passionate votary of scientific method and doctrine while pursuing "studies of the soul" directly leading to mysticism as properly understood. The book deals with the mysticism of the Middle Ages, and expounds the ideas of Jacob Boehme, Eckhart, Paracelsus, etc., with a view of rendering them acceptable and helpful to the science and religion of to-day. (Berlin: Verlag von C. A. Schwetschke und Sohn. Pages, 118. Price, 2 M.)

The Heretic is the title of a new novel published by the Abbey Press, of New York, and written by Irwin Burnett. It is a semi-historical novel presenting in incident and example the rigid type of religion which pervaded the United States to a great extent soon after the close of the Revolution. The plot of the story is laid in New Jersey, A. D. 1799. The author has shown the hopes, fears, delusions, and illusions of fanatical religious belief; the heart-aches, trials, and disappointments which came, and come frequently to-day, where love is defeated, happiness is turned to bitterness, and high hopes are blasted, because of credulity and unreasoning faith in an un-christlike religion. (Pages, vi, 347. Price, cloth, \$1.50.)

The Missouri Botanical Garden has issued its thirteenth *Annual Report* containing, in addition to the administrative statements of the officers, the results of research work performed by the Garden staff or in connection with the institution. The Missouri Botanical Garden is located at St. Louis, and is not a State establishment, but a gift to the community by a wealthy and philanthropic citizen, the late Henry Shaw. It is considered a great natural ornament of the city of St. Louis, and is an exemplary institution of its kind in all the United States. The scientific paper presented in connection with the present report is on the Yuccæ, plants of the lily family native in the southern United States, Mexico, and Central America. Most of the species of these plants are in ornamental cultivation and are known as "Adam's needle," "bear grass," "Spanish bayonet," etc. The paper is profusely illustrated.

S. Laing's work on *Modern Science and Modern Thought* has earned a deserved reputation for the clear and concise view which it gives of the principal results of modern science and of the revolution which they have effected in modern thought. The book never pretended to be more than an exposition, and as such it has served its purpose admirably. Recently it has been revised and brought to date by a well-known scientific author, Edward Clodd, who has supplied a brief biographical note, and published in cheap paper form at the price of 6d. by Watts & Co., 17, Johnson's Court, Fleet St., London.

We beg to acknowledge the receipt of the fourth volume of the proceedings of the International Congress of Philosophy, held in Paris during the World's Exposition of 1900. The volume is devoted to the history of philosophy and contains essays by: M. E. Boutroux on "Object and Method in the History of Philosophy"; M. J.-J. Gourd on "Progress in the History of Philosophy"; M. René Berthelot on "The Idea of Mathematical Physics Among the Greek Philosophers"; and similar studies by MM. Victor Brochard, Lionel Dauriac, Louis Couturat, David G. Ritchie, F. C. S. Schiller, Paul Tannery, Georges Lyon, François Picavet, P. Landormy, J. Delvolvé, Henri Delacroix, Victor Delbos, Reinhold Geijer, Gustave Belot, and H. Vaihinger. (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin, 5, rue de Mézières. Pages, 528. Price, 12 fr. 50.)

Dr. S. Karppe publishes a work entitled *Essai de critique et d'histoire de philosophie* which may interest students of the history of religion and formal philosophy. The subjects treated are such as the following: Philo and the Patristic Philosophy; The Ideas Current at the Birth of Christianity: Maimonides and Spinoza; Monotheism and Monism; and the Spinozism of Goethe. The author has discovered in Herder a precursor of Darwin, but this discovery is by no means a new one, as Herder has long been known to have held in common with Kant, Goethe, and Oken ideas which adumbrated the theory of evolution. (Paris: Félix Alcan, Éditeur. 1902. Pages, 224. Price, 3 fr. 75.)

The same house has issued a second edition of an extensive philosophical treatise on *The Reality of the Sensible World*, by Dr. Jean Jaurès; it is in itself a recommendation for this purely metaphysical treatise that a new impression of it should have been called for. (Paris: Félix Alcan, Éditeur. 1902. Pages, 429. Price, 7 fr. 50.)

At last we have a comprehensive study of Nietzsche from a purely objective and philosophical point of view. This study has been furnished by the Russo-Belgian philosopher M. Eugène de Roberty, author of many well-known works and inaugurator of a system of philosophy. M. de Roberty has studied, not Nietzsche's personality, but his work and the more durable elements of his philosophy and sociology. Not to say that he has not had due regard for Nietzsche's mobile and disturbed temperament, his alert artistic imagination, his excessive sensibility, but he is of the opinion that it is more fitting to pass readily over the eccentricities which have fascinated the majority of Nietzsche's critics, in order to show forth the net result and ultimate product of this strange and extraordinary case of intellectual and psychical fermentation. He is far from believing that he has given a definitive estimate of Nietzsche's labors, but he is convinced that he has some conclusions to offer which bear lessons of instruction for the present generation. (Paris: Félix Alcan, Éditeur. 1902. Pages, 212. Price, 2 fr. 50.)

Good Without God is the title of a rationalist pamphlet by Robert Chamblet Adams, President of the Montreal Pioneer Freethought Club. It is an arraignment of current Christianity from the standpoint of the freethinker, technically so called. (New York: Peter Eckler, Publisher. Pages, 113. Price, 25 cents.)

The phallic derivation of religion has been briefly and vigorously treated by Jabelon in a pamphlet published by Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton Kent & Co., of London. Many of the author's analogies are far-fetched and uncritical. The exposition is not without its pertinent remarks, but it is hard to understand that from the 1400 books and papers which the author says he used in the preparation of his essay more apposite material could not have been adduced and sounder conclusions reached on this important subject. (1902. Pages, 48.)

The literary diary of Ezra Stiles, President of Yale College during the Revolutionary War, having recently been issued by Scribner's of New York, Mr. George Alexander Kohut has taken advantage of the occasion to cull from the work passages relating to the Jews and Judaism. It appears that Dr. Stiles was a passionate Hebraist, going so far as to compel his family to learn the sacred language, and presenting his graduates on graduation day with a small edition of the Bible in Hebrew and Greek. His diary, therefore, has afforded much material in commendation of Jewish ideals and traditions. (New York: Philip Cowen, Publisher. 1902. Pages, 155.)

NOTES.

We just learn on the authority of Prof. A. H. Sayce, that the Assyriological scholar Father Scheil is said to have unearthed the Code of Laws of Hammurabi, the Biblical King Amraphel and contemporary of Abraham. A picture of Hammurabi was published in *The Open Court* for April, 1902, page 210, in the article "Babel and Bible" by Professor Delitzsch.

We learn from *The Indian Mirror* of July 26th last that the orthodox Hindus have agreed to discuss the evils of Hindu child-widow remarriage at Benares, in a conference where the orthodox as well as the liberal partisans shall be duly represented. Several Maharajahs will be present, and the Maharajah of Calcutta will preside. Three English gentlemen well versed in Sanscrit and Hindustani will be appointed as umpires, and all parties have agreed to accept their decision. The Vedas will be used as authoritative books, and no other language will be spoken except Hindi and Sanscrit, the latter for purposes of quotation.

Attempts have been made to reform the Hindu customs through laws, but the best course seems to be that the reforms should come from the Hindus themselves, and be endorsed by representatives of the orthodox parties.

MAJOR JOHN WESLEY POWELL.

DIED SEPTEMBER 23, 1902.

As we are going to press, we find in the daily papers the following dispatch from Washington, dated September 23:

"Prof. John Wesley Powell, director of the bureau of ethnology, who died to-day at Haven, Me., was well known in Illinois, where he lived in early life,

In the last quarter century he won for himself a high standing in scientific circles as director of the geological survey and by his researches in American ethnology.



JOHN WESLEY POWELL.

He was born at Mount Morris, N. Y., March 24, 1834; attended school in Ohio, Wisconsin, and Illinois, graduating at the Illinois Wesleyan University and occupying the chair of geology there. He served through the Civil War in the Second Illinois Artillery, reaching the rank of major and losing the right arm at Shiloh.

"Major Powell's most notable scientific work, from the viewpoint of scientists here, was his exploration of the Grand Canyon of the Colorado in the sixties. His fellow-workers say that he was not only the first man who ever went through the Colorado canyon, but the only one who so far ever has travelled its entire length from Green River station to the mouth of the canyon. This exploit, scientists say, was one of the most notable geographical, geological, and ethnological explorations and surveys in the history of North America.

"In 1879 he was appointed director of the bureau of ethnology. In the following year he also became director of the geological survey, and discharged the dual duties until 1894, when he retired from the geological survey, retaining his position at the head of the bureau of ethnology."

Major Powell was a rare man, a brave soldier, a clear thinker, a great leader and path-finder, an amiable superior, a faithful friend, and a gifted speaker. He held the foremost rank among the geologists and anthropologists, not only of this country, but of the world, and was identified since the early sixties with the scientific work of the United States government. His philosophy, which forms the corner-stone of his scientific views, is embodied in a book entitled *Truth and Error*,¹ and he shows himself here, as in his scientific labors, both original and suggestive. As may be expected from the idiosyncracies of his mind, Major Powell was also a poet, and his poems are distinguished by loftiness and a trend of scientific thought. He was conscious, however, that his muse would not cater to a large public, but appealed only to a few thinkers, which caused him to withhold his lines from publication, and therefore the greatest part remained unpublished.²

We intend to publish in *The Open Court* at an early date a sketch of Major Powell's life which will contain many interesting facts that throw light upon the career of this extraordinary man.

¹ Chicago, 1898.

² One long philosophical poem, "The Soul," by Major Powell was published as an Appendix to Vol. V., No. 3, of *The Monist* (April, 1895).



THE DEATH OF SIEGFRIED.

(NIBELUNG-RING.)

After a Painting by Hermann Hendrich.

Frontispiece to The Open Court.

THE OPEN COURT

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

**Devoted to the Science of Religion, the Religion of Science, and
the Extension of the Religious Parliament Idea.**

VOL. XVI. (NO. II.)

NOVEMBER, 1902.

NO. 558

Copyright by The Open Court Publishing Co., 1902.

THE THEORY OF HEAT.

A CRITICAL AND HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF ITS
DEVELOPMENT.¹

BY DR. ERNST MACH.

INTRODUCTION.

IT is a commonplace of history that the modes of thought with which a given period is conversant and which have been acquired by the labors of generations past, are not always conducive to the advancement of science, but frequently act as a clog on its progress. Time and again have inquirers who stood aloof from the schools, like Black, Faraday, and Julius Robert Mayer, been the originators of gigantic scientific advances,—such as could only have sprung from their lack of bias and their freedom from the traditional professional views. And though the intellectual vigor and unconstraint demanded by such performances are not the outcome of either art or education, but are distinctively a product of nature and the exclusive gift of individuals, nevertheless the mobility and untrammelled play of our thoughts may be greatly enhanced by scientific *education*, at least if it looks beyond the fostering of talents requisite merely for the mastery of the problems of the day. Historical studies are a very essential part of a scientific education. They acquaint us with other problems, other hypotheses, other modes of viewing things, as well as with the laws and conditions of their origin, growth, and eventual decay. Under the pressure of other facts, which stood formerly in the foreground, other notions than those obtaining to-day were formed, other problems arose and found their solution, only to make way in their turn for

¹ Translated from Mach's *Prinzipien der Wärmelehre* by Thomas J. McCormack.

the new ones that were to come after them. Once we have accustomed ourselves to regard our ideas as merely a means for the attainment of definite ends, we shall not find it difficult to perform in our own thought the transformations that may be necessary.

A view, of which the origin lies bared before us, ranks in intimacy with one that we have personally and consciously acquired, and of whose growth we possess the distinctest memory. It is never invested with that immobility and authority which those ideas possess that are imparted to us by education. We change our personally acquired views far more easily.

Historical study affords still another advantage. A consideration of the development, mutations, and decay of ideas leads directly to the discovery, scrutiny, and criticism of the developmental process of *our own unconsciously formed views*. These latter, when their process of growth is not understood, confront us with all the *insuperable might* of some alien power.

The purpose of the present series of articles, which is similar to that of my *Mechanics*,¹ is to trace the evolution of the concepts which form the theory of heat. This task has been facilitated somewhat by a number of preliminary researches, but the undertaking is upon the whole a far more complicated one than that set in my earlier work. Whereas the development of the fundamental principles of mechanics was accomplished by three men within the brief space of nearly a century, the growth of the theory of heat took an entirely different course. Many investigators took part in the elaboration of this department of physics. Slowly and searchingly, by devious and uncertain ways, one little advance after another was made, and only very gradually did our knowledge of these phenomena attain to its present magnitude and solidity.

And the reason is apparent. The motions of bodies are immediately accessible to the senses of sight and touch, and admit of exact scrutiny in their entire behavior. Phenomena of heat, on the other hand, lend themselves far less readily to observation. They are accessible to one sense only, are perceptible only discontinuously and under special conditions, and usually only when they are observed intentionally; they therefore play a far more subordinate rôle in both our intellectual and our perceptual life. They can be brought within range of the dominant senses of sight and touch only indirectly and intricately. The devices for their inves-

¹ *The Science of Mechanics. A Critical and Historical Account of Its Development* Translated from the German by Thomas J. McCormack. Second, greatly enlarged edition. With 359 cuts and illustrations. Pages, xx, 605. Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Co.

tigation therefore were from the very outset of a predominantly intellectual character, and there were thus insinuated into the very first observations of the subject much subconscious bias and many obscure metaphysical conceptions.

HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF THERMOMETRY.

Of the sensations which we assume to be provoked in us by surrounding bodies, the *sensations of heat* form a distinct series of elements bearing a definite relationship to one another. They are denoted by the words *hot, warm, cool, cold*, and so forth. The bodies which produce these sensations likewise exhibit, both as to themselves and as to other objects, a distinctive physical deportment, definitely associated with these sensational *indicia*. A very hot body glows, gives forth light, melts, evaporates, or burns away; a cold body congeals. A drop of water on a hot plate evaporates with a hissing noise; on a cold plate it freezes, etc. This collective physical behavior of a body corresponding to our sensational criteria of heat (its collective reactions) is termed its *thermal state*, or state with respect to heat.

We should be unable to follow the physical processes here involved with anything like definiteness if we were restricted to sensations of heat as our criteria of thermal states. Pour cold water from *A* (Fig. 1) and hot water from *C* into a third vessel *B*, and after holding the left hand for a few seconds in *A* and the right hand for the same length of time in *C*, plunge both hands into *B*; the *same* water will feel warm to the left hand and cold to the right. The air of a deep cellar feels cold in summer and warm in winter, although it can be definitely shown that its physical thermal reaction remains approximately the same the year round.¹

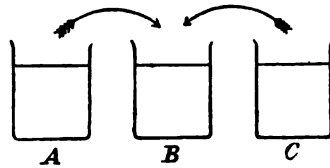


Fig. 1.

As a matter of fact, the sensation is determined not alone by the body producing it, but partly also by the condition of the perceiving sensory organ, the susceptibility of which is always appreciably affected by its antecedent states. In the same way the light of a lamp seems bright on coming from a dark room, but dull on coming from the sun-light. The sensory organs have, in fact, been

¹ Like considerations were early advanced by Sagredo (Letter to Galileo, February 7th, 1615). Cf. Burckhardt, *Erfindung des Thermometers*, Basel, 1867.

biologically adapted not for the advancement of science but for the maintenance of favorable conditions of life.

Where sensation alone is concerned, sensation alone is decisive. It is then an indisputable fact that a body reacting physically the same does feel at one time warm to us and at another cold. It would be utterly unmeaning to say that a body that we feel to be hot is really cold. But where the physical deportment of a body with respect to other bodies is concerned, we are obliged to look about us for some distinguishing characteristic of this deportment which shall be independent of the variable and intricate action of our senses; and such a distinguishing characteristic has been found.

It has long been known that the *volumes* of substances increase or diminish, other circumstances remaining the same, according as the sensations of heat produced by them are greater or less. In the case of air, this alteration of volume is striking in the extreme. It was familiar even to Hero of Alexandria.¹ It was Galileo, however, the great founder of dynamics, that appears to have first conceived the felicitous thought of employing the volume of air as a criterion of the thermal state, and of constructing on the basis of this idea a thermoscope or thermometer. It was taken for granted

that an instrument of this kind would indicate the thermal condition of the bodies with which it was in contact, on the principle that bodies which are unequally warm soon provoke exactly the same feeling of warmth when touched.

The dilatation of air by heat was employed by Hero mainly for the performance of conjuring-tricks. Figure 2, taken from page 53 of the Amsterdam edition of his work (1680), illustrates one of these devices. A fire being kindled

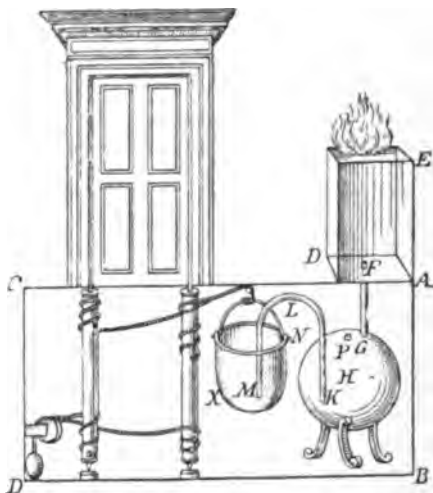


Fig. 2.

air in the enclosure expands, and, pressing against the water in the globe beneath, forces the same through a tube into a pail, which

¹ *Heronis Alexandrini spiritalia liber*, Amsterdam, 1680.

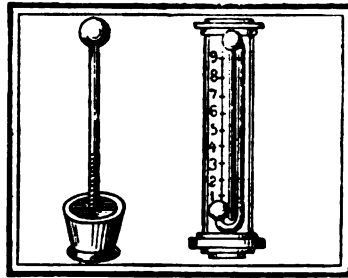
by its descending weight opens the door of the temple. When the fire is extinguished, the door closes.

Experiments of this character were quite to the liking of Cornelius van Drebbel, of Alkmaar in Holland, who enjoyed in his day the reputation of a magician. In his *Treatise on the Nature of the Elements, Winds, Rain, etc.*,¹ published in 1608, the experiment illustrated in Figure 3 is described. From a heated retort, the neck and orifice of which are plunged under water, air is expelled in bubbles, and is replaced, after the retort cools, by the inrushing water. The same experiment was described earlier by Porta,² who went so far even as to determine the amount of expansion of the air by marking the limits of the occupied space before heating and after cooling. But Porta did not light on the idea of making a thermoscope. In a translation by Ensl³ of the *Recreations ma-*



Fig. 3.

PROBLEMA LXXXIII

Fig. 4. *De Thermometro, sive instrumento Drebbeliano.*

thématiques,⁴ page 132, the invention of the thermometer is ascribed, in the description appended to the cut reproduced in Figure 4, to Drebbel. But it appears from the researches of E. Wohlwill⁵ and F. Burckhardt⁶ that this supposition is entirely groundless. Neither is Santorio of Padua, to whom important applications of the thermoscope are rightly credited, the inventor of this instrument.⁷ Viviani states in his biography of Galileo that the latter physicist invented the thermometer in 1592. Galileo himself claims the invention, and this opinion is shared by Sagredo, who knows Santorio, in a letter to Galileo of March 15, 1615.

¹ According to Burckhardt, *loc. cit.*, there is a German edition of this book bearing the date of 1608.

² *I tre libri de spiritali di Giambattista della Porta*, Naples, 1606.

³ *Thaumaturgus mathematicus*, Cologne, 1651.

⁴ First edition, 1624.

⁶ Burckhardt, *Die Erfindung des Thermometers*.

⁵ *Pogg. Ann.*, Vol. 124, p. 163.

⁷ Cf. Burckhardt, *loc. cit.*

From Burckhardt's investigations, which we are here following in the main, it appears indisputable that Galileo was the first to employ the dilatation of air for registering states of heat, and that he therefore is the inventor of the thermometer. The form of this thermometer, as well as of those patterned after it, is given in its essential features in Figure 5. The chief inconvenience of the instrument is that its indications depend on the pressure of the atmosphere, for which reason only observations made in immediate succession furnish comparable results. The division of the scale is mostly quite arbitrary. Here begins the real history of the development of scientific thermometry, of which it is our purpose to give a brief sketch in the following pages. In



Fig. 5.

doing this, it shall be our endeavor so to array the facts that the mode in which each idea provoked its successor, and each step prepared for the one that came after it, shall be at once apparent.

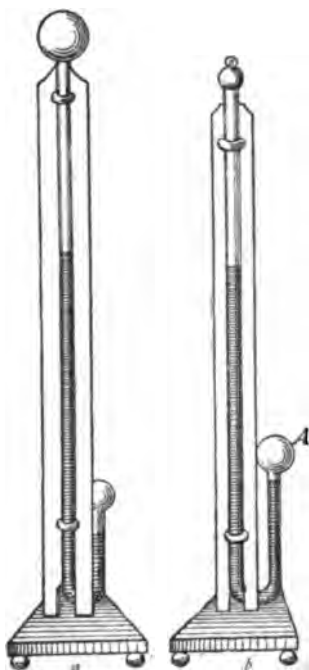


Fig. 6.

The form of the air-thermometer has undergone many modifications. Guericke's thermometer differs from the original type, above described, in external construction only, and by its greater expenditure of mechanical force.¹ The instrument described by Sturm,² on the other hand, is a closed differential thermometer and is independent of the pressure of the atmosphere. The air in the bulb (Fig. 6a) is confined by a column of liquid, which, on the temperature's rising, is forced into the longer tube, the air-space of which is shut off from the outside atmosphere.

A siphon-shaped air-thermometer closed at both ends and similar in form to the differential thermometer, but having only *one* bulb filled with air, the other containing a *vacuum*, was invented by the Frenchman Hubin³ (Fig. 6b). A similar but less perfect arrangement we owe to Dalencé.⁴

¹ Guericke, *Experimenta Magdeburgica*, 1672.

² *Collegium experimentale sive curiosum*, Nürnberg, 1676.

³ Cf. Reyher, *Pneumatica*, 1725, p. 193.

⁴ *Traité des baromètres et thermomètres*, 1688.

Entirely novel ideas were introduced into thermometry by Amontons.¹ His thermometers consist of a glass ball *A* about eight centimeters in diameter (Fig. 7), almost filled with air. This air is excluded from the atmosphere by a column of mercury, which partly fills the ball *A* and the thin vertical tube *BC* (1 mm. wide). When the ball is heated, the volume of the air contained in it is only very slightly altered, while its expansive force is increased greatly as is also the height of the column of mercury, *mn*, which it bears.

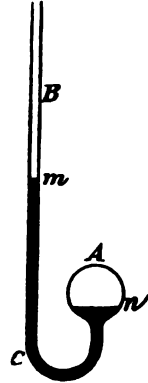


Fig. 7.

Amontons, who is acquainted with the works of Mariotte and makes reference to them, discovers that the total pressure, inclusive of that of the atmosphere, which a quantity of air in *A* will bear when immersed in cold water is *increased by one-third* of its amount when *A* is plunged into boiling water. This augmentation of pressure always amounts to exactly one third of the total initial pressure, whatever the latter be and whatever the quantity of air in the ball. On the strength of this experiment Amontons concluded that the temperature of boiling was constant. To obtain a greater range of pressure, he filled the ball with air by a simple contrivance until it bore at the boiling temperature the total pressure of a column of mercury 73 inches in height. With the air "tempered," as he phrased it, the column was some 19 inches shorter.

These air-thermometers are not independent of the pressure of the atmosphere, but the resulting errors admit of rectification by the barometer. Amontons discussed the great lack of conformity in the readings of the spirit-thermometers then in use, and made the attempt to graduate them more accurately by comparison with his own. He also endeavored to make determinations of high temperatures, by heating one extremity of an iron bar to white heat and ascertaining by the air-thermometer the temperature of the point at which tallow just begins to melt, the temperatures of the remaining points being determined by methods of intraposition and extrapolation not entirely beyond criticism.

In one of his memoirs² Amontons actually declares the expansive force of the air to be the *measure* of the thermal state (temperature), and advances the conception that the lowest possible degree of cold answers to an expansive force of zero. In his view, accord-

¹ *Histoire de l'Académie des Sciences*, Paris, 1699, 1702, 1703.

² *Mémoires de l'Académie*, Paris, 1703, page 50 ff.

ingly, the greatest summer-heat was to the greatest winter-cold, in Paris, as 5:6.

A remarkable instance of bias is exhibited by Amontons in his adopting, in addition to the boiling-point of water, and in the face of his brilliant conception of an absolute zero-point of temperature, —the totally unreliable and unnecessary test of "cold" water for indicating a *second* fundamental point.

Amontons also gives expression to other interesting views. Having observed that the increase in the expansive force on a rise of temperature is proportional to the density of the air, he suggests explaining earthquakes by assuming very dense and heated layers of air in the interior of the earth. He computed that air at 18 leagues' depth would have the density of mercury. Nevertheless, the compressibility of air has in his opinion a limit, and cannot possibly extend beyond the point where the "springs" of which the air consists come in contact. Heat consists of "particles in motion."

It will be seen that the ideas of Amontons in so far constitute a decided step in advance as they permit of the construction of genuinely comparable thermometers. Subsequently Lambert actively espoused them. The scale of temperature at present in use actually coincides with that of Amontons.

Lambert¹ makes considerable use of the air-thermometer. Like Amontons he regards the expansive force of the air as the measure of the temperature, and he also assumes an absolute point of cold to correspond to the expansive force zero. But following Renaldini he selects the melting-point of ice and the boiling-point of water as the fundamental points of his scale, fixes the expansive force of the air at the first point at 1000 and finds it at the latter to be 1417, whence would follow for the coefficient of expansion, 0.417, as contrasted with the 0.375 of Gay-Lussac. In a later experiment, Lambert² actually obtained the figures 0.375. Lambert also graduated spirit-thermometers by his air-thermometer, and attached to the latter, in view of the variations of barometric pressure, a *moveable* scale.

More than a century after Amontons, in the year 1819, two investigators, Clément and Desormes, without a knowledge of Amontons's researches, hit upon exactly the same idea of an absolute zero of temperature.³

In recent times very perfect air-thermometers have been constructed by Jolly and others. The most ingenious and original

¹ Lambert, *Pyrometrie*, Berlin, 1799, pages 29, 40, 74.

² *Loc. cit.*, page. 47.

³ *Journal de physique*, Vol. 89.

forms are those devised by Pfaundler. The description of them, however, does not fall within the scope of the present work, which is restricted to considerations of principle.

It is not surprising that the pronounced alterations of the volume of air when heated should have first attracted attention and that the less conspicuous alterations of the volumes of liquids should not have been noticed until later. The difficulty of handling the first air-thermometers and their dependence on the pressure of the atmosphere could not fail to arouse the desire of supplanting them by some more convenient instrument. The philosophical impulse to extend the results of single observations to new and untried cases, the impulse to generalise, was never wanting. Said Galileo: "In the opinion of the schools of the philosophers it has been proved to be a true principle that the property of cold is to contract and the property of heat to expand."¹ Reflections of this character must have prompted investigators to inquire whether the property observed in connection with the air could not be demonstrated also in connection with liquids. In all likelihood, a French physician, Jean Rey (1631), was the inventor of the liquid thermometer.² Viviani attributes the invention to Ferdinand II., Grand Duke of Tuscany (1641). The latter constructed sealed spirit-thermometers. The oldest of these instruments registered twenty degrees in snow and eighty degrees at the greatest heat of summer. The degrees were marked with beads of enamel fused on the glass stem. The form is given in Figure 8.

The shape and mode of division of these thermometers underwent considerable modification at the hands of the Florentine Academy. Sealed thermometers were at first recommended in England by Robert Boyle,³ who also called attention to the importance of a comparable thermometric scale and to the constancy of the freezing-point of water. As a fundamental point of reference, however, Boyle gave preference to the congealing-point of aniseed oil, which Halley seems to have made extensive use of. The most rational division of the scale, in Boyle's opinion, was that which directly indicated the fractional increment of volume by which the spirit expanded from the fixed point,—a convention which actually dispenses with a second fundamental point.

In France, De la Hire (1670) conducted observations with a sealed thermometer constructed by Hubin. Dalencé (1688) selected

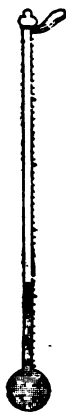


Fig. 8.

¹ Burckhardt, *l. cit.*, p. 19.² Burckhardt, *l. cit.*, p. 37.³ *Experiments Touching Cold*, 1665.

two points of reference, to the importance of which attention had been called by Fabri. Dalencé's fixed points were the freezing-point of water and the melting-point of butter, the distance between which he divided into twenty equal parts.

Halley¹ determined the amounts of expansion of water, mercury, and air between the points of intense winter cold and the boiling of water. He observed on this occasion that the temperature of the boiling-point was constant, and recommended mercury as a thermometric substance. Use of both the freezing and the boiling points for the graduation of thermometers was first made by Renaldini.² The same inquirer also proposed the taking of mixtures of definite weights of ice-cold and boiling water as standards for the graduation of thermometers.

The first really good comparable spirit-thermometers were manufactured, according to Ch. Wolff,³ in the year 1714, by Fahrenheit, who soon after also adopted mercury as his thermometric substance, and in 1724 made his method public.⁴ Fahrenheit denoted the temperature of a mixture of water, ice, and sal ammoniac by 0, that of melting ice by 32, and that of the blood by 96. He probably waived the use of the constant boiling-point of water.

Réaumur⁵ chose the freezing and boiling points for the construction of his spirit-thermometers, and divided the distance between them, which on the Fahrenheit scale occupies 180 divisions, into 80 divisions. Deluc retained Réaumur's scale, but substituted mercury for spirits. Celsius (1742) divided the interval between the fundamental points into 100 parts, calling the boiling-point 0 and the freezing-point 100. Strömer subsequently reversed this order, and produced the scale now in common use.

Most difficult to observe was the dilatation of solid bodies by heat. The first experiments in this direction were doubtless conducted by the Accademia del Cimento.⁶ It transpired that bodies which fitted exactly in orifices before heating could not be passed through them at all after heating. The difficulty of determining linear dilatations by the measuring rod was known to Dalencé (1688), Richer (1672), and others. Musschenbroek devised for this purpose in 1729 the well-known quadrant pyrometer, and S'Gravesande put the experiments of the Florentine Academy (the sphere and ring) into the form in which we now have them. Lowitz, in

¹ *Philosophical Transactions*, 1693.

² *Philosophia naturalis*, Padua, 1694.

³ *Acta Eruditorum*, 1714.

⁴ *Philosophical Transactions*, Vol. XXXIII.

⁵ *Mémoires de l'Académie des Sciences*, Paris, 1730, 1731.

⁶ *Saggi di naturali esperienze fatte nell' Accademia del Cimento*, Florence, 1667.

1753, measured in a very crude manner the elongation of a twenty-foot iron bar exposed to the noonday sun, and found its expansion to be the $1/2500$ part of its length.¹ In the case of solid bodies it was most natural to determine the linear dilatation, whereas with liquids and gases the voluminal dilatation was that most easily ascertained,—this being equal for slight expansions to three times the linear.

A comparison of the voluminal expansion, which alone has meaning when applied to *all* bodies, exhibits wide differences in the deportment of bodies. From the thermal state of melting ice to that of boiling water, air, and gases generally, expand roundly $1/3$ of their bulk, mercury $2/100$, lead not quite $1/100$, glass approximately $2/1000$. It is thus intelligible why first the dilatation of the air, then that of liquids, and lastly that of solids was exhaustively investigated.

The researches above summarised show distinctly the devious, laborious, and very gradual manner in which the fundamental facts of thermometry were reached. One inquirer discerns one important aspect, and another a single other. Things discovered are forgotten and must be rediscovered, in order to attain to permanent acquisitions. With the researches given, the period of preliminary tentative investigation ceases, and there succeeds a series of *critical* works, to which we shall next give our attention.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

¹ Lambert, *Pyrometrie*, Berlin, 1779, p. 121.

RICHARD WAGNER.

BY E. P. EVANS.

[CONCLUDED.]

WE spoke, at the conclusion of our former article, of Wagner's early cosmopolitanism and Gallomania, and of his conversion, on the appearance of the "Flying Dutchman," to an ardent and emotional patriotism.

In order to appreciate Wagner's subsequent course it must be remembered that this sudden fit of patriotic fervor had a purely personal origin and was only an individual application of the general maxim: *Ubi bene, ibi patria*. In Paris not one of the projects which he had so confidently entertained had been realised and he felt deeply humiliated and depressed as an artist and a man by the neglect and destitution he suffered during his sojourn in the French metropolis. In Dresden, on the contrary, the representation of his "Rienzi" had met with remarkable success, filling him with happy hopes and the inspiring thought that he had "now regained his Fatherland." It was with great joy, as he confesses, that he accepted at a small salary (1200 thalers) the position of musical director in the Royal Theatre of that city, since it opened to him the very field of activity he had so long desired. "On this occasion," he says, "I had within me the firm consciousness of the ability and power to accomplish whatever I might earnestly wish." But this strong conviction was of short endurance. The failure of the public to understand "The Flying Dutchman" and the sharp and somewhat invidious criticism to which he was subjected in the local press both as a conductor and a composer, and which he has satirised in "The Master-Singers of Nuremberg," thoroughly undeceived him and showed his vision to have been a mere Fata Morgana, in which he had seen everything magnified and inverted at a distance through the refracting medium of an excited and exalted imagination. Once when Jean Paul Richter and Goethe were to-

gether and fell into conversation concerning the scandalous gossip that was being circulated to their injury, the former remarked that he should pay no attention to it or at least should wait until he was accused of stealing silver spoons; whereupon Goethe replied that he should give no heed to it even then. Wagner refers to



RICHARD WAGNER AND SIGFRIED WAGNER.

From a photograph, 1880; in the possession of Frau C. Wagner.

this incident in a letter to a friend and adds, "Although I would not compare myself to Goethe, I am determined to act as he did;" but unfortunately his temper got the better of his judgment and overbore his resolution, and he began a conflict with those who

refused to recognise his claims, that was waged at first with extreme virulence and really ceased only with his life; but before he fell, victory had perched upon the standard he had raised and defended, and every year since his death has consolidated and extended his triumphs.

"In the midst of this bitterness against the existing condition of things," writes Wagner in an autobiographical sketch, "I found myself moved by the revolutionary spirit which was growing stronger and stronger all around me and which now enlisted my zealous sympathy." He believed that the degradation of art was due to the general and inveterate debasement of the social and political institutions of the time, and that the reformation which he had been vainly endeavoring to accomplish could be effected only by a radical change in the constitution of society and the state. The attempt made by Mr. William Ashton Ellis in his so-



WAGNER'S DOG *Marke*.

called "Vindication" to show that Wagner did not participate in the Saxon uprising of 1849, but that it was a journeyman baker of the same name who shouldered his musket and shouted sedition on the barricades is as foolish as it is futile. It is one of the penalties of his success and celebrity that the eminent composer now numbers among his adherents many persons of aristocratic tastes and severely conservative tendencies, who hold religiously to the doctrine of the divine rights of kings and regard all rebellion against the authority of the Lord's anointed as extremely wicked and, what is still worse, exceedingly vulgar. Wagner's biographers have uniformly passed over this characteristic and most instructive episode of his life in significant silence or with only the very slightest allusions to it. Glasenapp treats it as a mistake, not on the part of Wagner, but on the part of the Saxon government, whose issue of warrants for the capture of the fugitive was wholly un-

warrantable. Tappert has even the face to declare that "Wagner was never a revolutionist"; and, while admitting that he welcomed the movement because he hoped it would produce changes favorable to German art, adds: "Nowhere do I find any proofs of his participation in the insurrection, and all assertions of this kind bear the stamp of falsity." If Tappert had examined the records of the criminal court of Dresden instead of confining his investigations to the archives of the Royal Theatre, he would have found conclusive evidence of the truth of the statements which he so positively denies. There he would have discovered among other official documents bearing on the question the "Acts against the ex-musical conductor Richard Wagner, of this place, on account of participation in the insurrection of May 1849."¹ Doubtless some things done by other Wagners were naturally enough ascribed to the most famous man of this name. Thus Count Von Beust in

S t e d b r i e f.

Der unten etwas näher bezeichnete Königl. Kapellmeister
Richard Wagner von hier

ist wegen wesentlicher Theilnahme an der in hiesiger Stadt stattgefundenen aufrührerischen Bewegung zur Untersuchung zu ziehen, zur Zeit aber nicht zu erlangen gewesen. Es werden daher alle Polizei-behörden auf denselben aufmerksam gemacht und ersucht, Wagnern im Betretungsfalle zu verhaften und davon uns schleunigst Nachricht zu ertheilen.

Dresden, den 16. Mai 1849.

Die Stadt-Polizei-Deputation.
von Dypell.

Wagner ist 37 bis 38 Jahre alt, mittler Statur, hat braunes Haar und trägt eine Brille.

REDUCED FACSIMILE OF THE WARRANT OF ARREST ISSUED AGAINST WAGNER AND
PUBLISHED IN THE *Dresdener Journal*. From Dresden Municipal Library.

his reminiscences entitled "Aus drei Viertel-Jahrhunderten" accuses Wagner of having set fire to the "Prince's Palace" and states that there is among the acts of accusation in the possession of the government a letter written by Wagner himself, in which he boasts of the deed. "Whether he sang: '*Frisch, Feuerflamme, fröhlich und furchtbar*,' as an accompaniment to this performance, I am unable to say." Von Beust's mistake arose from the fact that there was among the revolutionists a low and disreputable fellow named Woldemar Wagner, a confectioner, who by order of Bakunin did attempt to burn the palace and sent to the provisional government a written report on the subject signed "Wagner." As the confectioner was an utterly obscure person, the discovery of this paper would inevitably implicate the distinguished composer.

¹ Akta wider den vormaligen Kapellmeister Richard Wagner, hier, wegen Bethelligung am hiesigen Mai-Aufstande im Jahre 1849.

It was unquestionably this brutal and blood-thirsty maker of com-fits who shot Lieutenant von Krug in front of the arsenal on the third of May, and who had to answer also to the charge of pillaging private dwellings.

According to a popular belief once widely spread and still lurking as a tradition in the minds of some credulous people, the destruction of the old Dresden opera house by fire on the sixth of May, 1849, was due to a conspiracy on the part of Richard Wagner and the eminent architect, Gottfried Semper. The origin of this story deserves mention as a striking illustration of the rise and growth of such quasi-historical fables. It was in the earliest stages of the revolutionary movement that Wagner one day met Semper on the street and referring to the projected representation of "Lohengrin," complained of the stage as not deep enough for an effective arrangement of the scenic decorations. The conversation was about the new opera house built by Semper, who somewhat irritated by this stricture on an edifice of which he was justly proud, replied sarcastically: "Yes, indeed, I should like to burn down the old booth at once." This remark uttered half testily and half jestingly was overheard by Wagner's envious colleague Reissiger and by the singer Chiarelli, who chanced to be in Meser's music store near the door of which the earnest colloquy took place. Rumors of this dreadful plot were whispered abroad, and when a short time afterwards the old opera house was actually devoured by flames, there could be no difficulty in determining who were the incendiaries.

There was also a third Wagner, a member of the municipal council of Schneeberg and delegate to the Saxon Diet, who took part in the insurrection and was finally forced to flee from Germany; and it is possible that public opinion may have held the already celebrated musician to some extent responsible for the words and actions of this comparatively unknown politician, which, however, appear to have been of an inconspicuous and rather harmless character.

But after making all due allowance for misapprehensions arising from the existence of these inconvenient and in part discreditable doubles, it is impossible for even the most subtle and sophisticated apologist to explain away stubborn facts and to reduce Wagner's rôle as a revolutionist to a mere "Comedy of errors." The long speech which he delivered in the *Vaterlandsverein*, June 14, 1848, and his contributions to the extremely radical sheet, Röckel's *Volksblätter*, which he has not seen fit to include in the

collected edition of his works, but which Dinger has printed in full, prove conclusively his ardent zeal for the cause and show clearly his conception of the aims and purposes of the revolutionary movement. "First of all," he says in his fiery and somewhat fantastic speech, "we must extinguish the last flicker of aristocracy." True, he adds, our nobles are no longer feudal lords, privileged to oppress and flay us according to their good pleasure; but in order to remove every cause of offence, they ought now to renounce all lingerings of class distinction and to lay aside betimes that robe of rank which on a hot day may easily become a shirt of Nessus and burn them to the bones. If ancestral pride and piety keep them from this renunciation of hereditary prerogatives, let them remember that the people too have forefathers, whose deeds are not recorded in family archives, but whose sufferings under all sorts of servitude are written with bloody ink in the history of the past thousand years. The abolition of the nobility would logically involve the abolition of the court with all its superfluous and expensive pomp and pageantry. Royalty was to be retained, the function of the sovereign being merely that of the chief public servant and first citizen of the state; while a disciplined militia, in the place of a standing army, provided for the national defense. It was also a part of his programme to eliminate the aristocratic element from the legislative body, which was to consist of a single homogeneous assembly of the representatives of the people elected by universal suffrage. There was to be no recognition of different estates of the realm and consequently no division of the parliament into an upper and a lower house.

Wagner's political ideal was a democratic and socialistic state, the head of which was to be an hereditary executive to be called king or president as the people might determine. On this point he was by no means strenuous, his own preference for a monarchy being due in a great measure to his personal love and esteem for Frederic Augustus, the king of Saxony. All talk of his deep ingratitude to this monarch is the sheerest nonsense. The one point, however, upon which he most earnestly insisted, was socialistic reform and the improvement of the condition of the working classes. In his eyes the worst of all tyrannies is a plutocracy, the tyranny of capital, the subjection of man to the soulless and heartless domination of "the pale metal." He wished to do away with an order of things which makes millions the slaves of a few, and these few the slaves of their own wealth, which causes labor to be a burden and enjoyment to be a vice, and renders one man wretched



FAFNER.

From the "Nibelung-Ring." (After a painting by Hermann Hendrich.)

through want and another wretched through superfluity. The curse attached to the treasure of the Nibelungen and the calamities it entailed upon its possessors even to the destruction of the gods symbolised to him the misery wrought among men by the inordinate greed of gold. The money power he declares to be the source of all discord and violence on earth, as the ring forged from the hoard of the Rhine was fatal to the peace and happiness of Valhalla and introduced hatred and contention into the abode of the immortals. In his speech he protests against any misinterpretation of his views: "Be not so foolish or malicious as to regard the necessary redemption of the human race from the coarsest and most demoralising servitude to filthy lucre as identical with the endeavor to carry out the silliest and absurdest of doctrines, namely that of communism." At the same time he prophesies that unless a serious effort shall be made to apply the principles of socialism, in the proper sense of the term, for the rectification of centuries of wrong, derided and despairing human nature will rise up in fierce conflict and with the wild battle-cry of communism succeed perhaps in overthrowing and obliterating all the highest achievements of civilisation for the last two thousand years. "This is not a threat," he adds, "but a warning."

The leading spirit of the Dresden insurrection was the Russian anarchist and nihilist, Michael Bakunin, who won Wagner's heart by declaring that in the coming cataclysm all existing institutions would be swept away and "everything perish except the Ninth Symphony." There is no reason to suppose that Bakunin felt any peculiar tenderness for this creation of Beethoven's genius or believed that it was endowed with imperishable qualities above many other musical masterpieces; but he had a keen eye for the crotchets and enthusiasms of those whom he wished to captivate, was quick to detect each individual's hobby-horse and had a charming way of praising it and gently patting it on the shoulder. He was without doubt a very strong and extremely fascinating character and possessed a rare gift of eloquence and almost irresistible powers of persuasion. Wagner was completely under his influence and firmly convinced that the realisation of his ideas would result not only in a most desirable political reconstruction of Europe, but also in the moral and social regeneration of mankind, which would of course bring with it as an inevitable sequence a marvellous revival and consummate evolution of art. It was to the coming of this golden age of superior enlightenment and culture that he looked forward with intense eagerness, regarding all other ac-

quisitions as mere means to this supreme end. In his subsequent utterances Bakunin spoke rather depreciatingly of Wagner, whom he regarded as a visionary. Nevertheless, as he admits, they often discussed political questions together and their intercourse remained cordial and intimate to the very last. Wagner was a regular attendant at the secret meetings held at Bakunin's rooms in the *Menageriegarten*, at which all the revolutionary plans were laid and arrangements made for the preparation of hand grenades, shrapnel shells, and other deadly explosives for insurrectionary uses. He also took an uncommonly lively interest in procuring these materials, which were stored on Bakunin's premises. Indeed, as we are informed by Röckel, at least one conference on this subject was held in Wagner's garden. After the movement had failed and Wagner was asked by his brother-in-law Wolfram at Chemnitz whether he had taken an active part in it, he replied: "No, only as a curious spectator!" A curious, in the sense of a queer sort of spectator, he certainly was.

Frau Minna Wagner recognised the great ability and energy of Bakunin, but feared him as the evil genius of her husband, whom she endeavored to keep out of the sphere of his influence, and, in fact, so far as possible out of the vortex of the revolution, predicting that it would end in public disaster and personal distress to themselves. It is difficult to determine to what extent Wagner was engaged in actual combat on the streets and behind the barricades. It is probable, however, that his valorous deeds of this kind were quite insignificant, and he once expressed to his wife his regret that he could not carry a gun,—a remark which, unless intended merely to deceive and pacify her, would imply that he did not bear arms during those stormy days of May. Perhaps he wished that she, too, should infer that he had nothing to do with the affair except as "a curious spectator." We have pretty conclusive evidence that the principal post of honor occupied by him at that turbulent time was a very high one, namely, the top of the tower of the Kreuzkirche, where he watched the progress of events and noted down his observations on slips of paper, which he wrapped in stones and threw to the soldiers below, who forwarded them to the head-quarters of the insurgents. From this lofty and responsible station he dispatched, on the morning of May 7, a messenger to his wife for a box of snuff and two bottles of wine. Somewhat distrustful she inquired whether her husband were alone, and on learning that Bakunin and a few other ultraists were with him, sent instead of the snuff and wine a brief and per-

empty note bidding him return home at once, or she would leave the house. He obeyed and did not get out again until the next day, Frau Minna having promptly locked the doors and purposely mislaid the keys. The uniformly sound judgment of this lady in all practical matters and the prudence and decision shown by her in effecting her husband's escape shortly after this quasi-comical incident indicate a person of unusual discernment and force of character, and not the mere goody portrayed by Wagner's ardent apologists. It was chiefly due to her timely and efficient intervention that Wagner was permitted to work out his musical theories and complete his musical dramas in his quiet retreat on Lake Zurich instead of spending the most fruitful years of his life gloomily meditating on the past in the penitentiary at Waldheim or in the fortress of Königstein.

In no other country is the individual course of life so completely and consciously governed and directed by strictly philosophical principles as in Germany. The key to every man's actions is his *Weltanschauung* or the peculiar color and curvature of the spherical lenses through which he contemplates the world. Conduct that cannot be brought into some definite correlation to the cosmic system is condemned as random and erratic; but no eccentricity is so extreme as not to be entitled to consideration and to command respect, provided it can answer the question: *Dic cur hic* by appealing to the nature of things and proving that it has reached its standpoint in obedience to the general laws and in harmony with the essential constitution of the universe.

While Hegel was still living his disciples were divided into three distinct sections, representing respectively supernaturalism, rationalism, and a sort of rationalistic mysticism, which claimed to have affinities with both the opposites and sought to mediate between them. If political terms may be used to express philosophical distinctions, these parties may be called the right, the left, and the centre of Hegelianism. The most radical and aggressive of these factions was known as the *Junghegelianer* or Neo-Hegelians, of whom Ludwig Feuerbach, Arnold Ruge, Daumer, and Echtermeyer were perhaps the most eminent and influential. Wagner belonged to this extreme left wing; and, indeed, the whole revolutionary movement of 1848 had its origin in Neo-Hegelianism and derived its inspiration and theoretical justification from this source. Notwithstanding the paternal care taken by the Emperor Nicholas to preserve his dear children from spiritual contamination through contact with the culture of Western Europe, the writings of this

advanced school were smuggled into Russia by Pavlov and Stan-kovitch, and Moscow soon became a seat of contagion for the entire empire. It was in this sacred city of the Muscovites that Granovski, Belinski, and Bakunin became first infected with this philosophy, from which they deduced the necessity of an European revolution and a Panslavonic confederation as the next stage in the evolution of human civilisation.

In his *Phenomenology of Mind* Hegel remarks that our age is clearly an age of transition to a new period; and this passage was evidently in Feuerbach's mind when he wrote, "our present time is the key-stone of a great epoch in the history of mankind, and therefore the starting-point of a new life." The postulation of a dawning era of radical reform and universal transformation was common to the whole school of Neo-Hegelians, who were eagerly looking forward to it and earnestly laboring to realise it each in his own sphere. Like speculators on the stock-exchange they all dealt in "futures." Friedrich Feuerbach and Daumer were interested in the religion of the future, Ludwig Feuerbach in the philosophy and ethics of the future, Ruge and Echtermeyer in the science of the future, Bakunin, Proudhon, and Röckel in the political, social, and industrial organisation of the future, while Wagner devoted all his powers to the development of the music of the future. During the latter half of the nineteenth century rapid progress has been made towards the realisation of these ideals at least in modified forms, except in cases where the advance of intelligence has set them aside as hopelessly Utopian; religion, philosophy, ethics, and science have passed through wonderful stages of evolution; the problem of the political and social constitution of the future is still a burning question constantly threatening to become incendiary; only in the province of art, which Wagner made it his mission to cultivate, has faith been turned into vision, and the goal of his aspirations actually attained both in the creation of the musical drama according to his conception of it and, what was perhaps still more difficult, in the growth of a national and international public capable of comprehending and appreciating it. It was for an ideal society of the future that he composed his works, which were to be rendered by dramatic singers existing as yet only in his mind's eye; and it is doubtful whether he ever expected to live to see them properly represented before sympathetic and enthusiastic audiences.

According to Dinger's tabulation of Wagner's views as a Neo-Hegelian, his philosophy was evolutionary materialism and sensual-

ism, his religion atheism, his ethics optimism and eudemonism, and his politics anarchism: a summary of isms sufficient to chill the marrow and curdle the blood of many a devout Wagnerite of to-day. The works, which derived their inspiration and took a more or less distinct tinge from these tenets, are the projected musical dramas, to which the text was written, but the music never composed: "Siegfried's Death" (afterwards embodied in the third part of the tetralogy), "Wieland the Smith," "Jesus of Nazareth," and the subsequently completed "Ring of the Nibelungen," although in this last-mentioned tragedy of the gods he has thrown a veil of symbolism over his ideas and presented them in a more artistic and therefore less aggressive form. His strong and cheerful optimism as to the glorious prospects of mankind here prevented him from looking beyond and seeking consolation in the magnified looming of human hopes on the bright sky of the hereafter. The expression of this feeling comes out very forcibly in his essays and especially in his personal correspondence. "The future generation," he writes, "will have no longer any need of God and immortality, since this life will satisfy all our hopes, so that we shall not have to direct our thoughts beyond the earth to an imaginary heaven." He characterises all such "religious presumptions" as "anthropomorphistic speculations, which are injurious and immoral, because they place the final purpose of man outside of himself," whereas he is only the supreme and crowning product of cosmic evolution and can "serve no other purposes than those of nature, which has produced him conformable to certain conditions of necessity." His spiritual superiority does not exempt him from the operation of the laws of development and dissolution which govern all other organisms.

In a volume entitled *The Destiny of Man* Mr. John Fiske endeavors to show the unreasonableness of supposing that "Man as the goal of Nature's creative work" should be only one of the many perishable forms of matter and destined to disappear with the rest, and asks: "Has all this work been done for nothing? Is it all ephemeral, all a bubble that bursts, a vision that fades?" To these indignant interrogatories Wagner would have replied: "No, indeed; man's immortality and eternal beatitude consists in the persistence and perfection of the spiritual element, not in the individual, but in the race; and there is no reason why the contemplation of this slow but unceasing process of evolution and its glorious consummation in the highest possible elevation of humanity, even though it be completed with the present life upon the

earth, should put any logical thinker to intellectual confusion." It is interesting to note how easily, in regions of speculation lying out of the range of scientific demonstration, diametrically opposite conclusions may be deduced from precisely the same premises. Liszt was greatly exercised at his friend's utter lack of faith and in his letters seeks to show him the error of his ways, quoting with a slight and suitable variation the exhortation in Elsa's song :

"Lass zu dem Glauben Dich neu bekehren :
Es giebt ein Glück,"

and beseeching him not to turn away contemptuously from this "only true and eternal bliss."

Wagner, however, was too much of a eudemonist, too thoroughly given up to the gratification of what he called his *Glückseligkeitstrieb*, to be greatly influenced by such admonitions. Ethically his philosophy of life might be summed up in Pope's exclamation.

"O happiness, our being's end and aim."

His bitter hostility to Christianity arose chiefly from its ascetic teachings, which put a barrier between man and the full exercise and enjoyment of the powers and passions with which nature has so lavishly endowed him and which are essential to his welfare and conservation. In "Jesus of Nazareth" he infers from the statement that "God is love," that love is supreme and absolute and knows no limitations. Indeed, the whole didactic purpose of the drama is to glorify love as the primal and universal law of the race in opposition to the restrictions imposed upon its manifestations by human enactments. In the crucible of this consuming and refining passion individual egotism is transformed into the altruism of domestic and social relations, thus fulfilling in the province of the emotions the alchemist's dream of transmuting base metals into gold. It endues Siegfried's sword with a magic power that shatters Wotan's spear, "the shaft of sovereignty" and symbol of conventional moral order, and urges the youthful hero onward through a sea of fire to the rescue and redemption of Brünnhilde.

Highly significant, too, is Wagner's enthusiasm for Hâfiz and Shelley. The former he declares to be not only "the most gifted poet," but also "the greatest and sublimest philosopher that ever lived." What attracted him so strongly to the Dîvân (known to him only in Daumer's fragmentary and rather imperfect translation) was the glowing sensuality that pervades all the ghazals, the warm erotic hues that color even the religious poems, and the unceasing denunciation of priestcraft and pietism. The motto of

Hâfiz: "Strive always after ready bliss," and his expressed preference of the tulip-cheeked beauties of Shîrâz to the promised houris of Paradise would commend themselves to Wagner as the quintessence of wisdom. As for Shelley, his admiration and also his knowledge of the English poet appear to have been confined to "Queen Mab," which charmed him by reason of its radically revolutionary spirit and atheistic tendencies.

About the year 1854 Wagner's *Weltanschauung* or mental attitude towards the universe underwent a rapid and fundamental change under the influence of Schopenhauer. It is reported of Professor Huxley that he once defined his philosophical position as that of "a materialist before dinner and an idealist afterward." Quite as sudden and extreme as this hypothetical transformation and originating in equally extraneous and accidental causes was Wagner's transition from the Neo-Hegelianism of Ludwig Feuerbach to the Post-Kantianism of Schopenhauer. So long as he was absorbed in setting forth his theories in literary essays and embodying them in musical compositions, he felt perfectly happy in dreams of future triumphs; but when he presented

these achievements to the world and saw them treated with coldness by the public and contempt by the critics, he began to despair. As the beautiful vision vanished, his serene optimism was superseded by a sullen pessimism; in this despondent state of mind he heard the censorious voice of the misanthropic sage of Frankfort exclaiming: "Vain man, do you think your fate is exceptional? Solitude and disparagement are the penalties of genius; suffering is the universal lot of man; pessimism is not a transient mood, but



RICHARD WAGNER AT THE REHEARSAL.

Sketch by Adolph Menzel.

a deep-seated principle, rooted and grounded in the very nature of things, and the only true philosophy of life." Wagner listened to this voice, which seemed to come from heaven, and received its glad tidings with unspeakable joy. "This man," he writes in a letter to Liszt, "was to me in my loneliness a gift from on high. He is the greatest philosopher since Kant, whose ideas he has thought out to their logical conclusion. German professors have prudently ignored him for the last forty years, but recently, to the disgrace of Germany, he was discovered by an English critic. What charlatans all the Hegels are in comparison with him!" The world is all vanity and vexation, despicable and delusive, "bad, bad, thoroughly bad," and to renounce it is the highest



THE FESTIVAL PLAYHOUSE AT BAYREUTH.

Photograph by Anna Chamberlain.

wisdom. He even prizes Christian asceticism as an anodyne and "quietive of the will," and has ceased to regard religion either as priestly fraud and fanaticism or as a supernatural revelation, but recognises its necessity and validity as a natural product of the human mind. Its sublimest existing forms are "Brahmanism with its offshoot, Buddhism and Christianity," in which the doctrine is taught that the way to life is through the negation of the will, whereas the Hebrew and Hellenic religions inculcate the affirmation of the will as the only road to happiness. For this reason he thinks Christianity has been perverted and discredited by being interpreted as a continuation and completion of Judaism,

since the two systems are wholly antagonistic in spirit. "Every attempt to unite these opposing elements has been fatal to Christianity and demoralising to society. What has the imperious and irascible tribal god, Jehovah, in common with the all-loving and all-suffering meek and lowly Jesus?" His ideal of humanity is no longer the Grecian Apollo, the type of physical strength and beauty, but the Oriental bikshu; and he expresses the highest veneration for Francis of Assisi. The fact, too, that the *Glückseligkeitstrieb* or instinctive seeking after happiness is never fully gratified here justly demands that there should be an hereafter.

Wagner's philosophy is now idealistic transcendentalism, and his politics what he calls "ideal conservatism" with strong leanings to aristocracy. The nobility, which in 1848 was the special object of his abhorrence, he esteems the most important factor and chief pillar of the state and of society, and thinks it ought to be firmly established and strengthened. He is heartily ashamed of his former rabid democracy and would gladly erase all records of it, declaring that he can explain his aberrations only on the assumption that he was then "in an utterly abnormal condition." Indeed, the violence of his intellectual revolt seems at first to have stunned him and to have paralysed for a time his creative powers. He informs Liszt that "out of love to the youthful Siegfried, the most beautiful dream of my life, I shall probably go on and finish the Nibelungen," but evidently his heart is not in it. He then adds: "I have in my head the project of a Tristan and Isolde, the simplest and yet the most full-blooded musical conception; with the black flag that waves at the end I will cover myself as with a shroud and die." The red flag, which a few years before he would fain follow to liberty or death, has now been lowered and permanently furled. Instead of the joyous and triumphant tones of Siegfried's horn we hear the melancholy and plaintive pipings of the shepherd's reed in the final scenes of Tristan and Isolde, both of whom, like genuine disciples of Schopenhauer, find their highest bliss in drowning their sorrows in the fathomless sea of oblivion:

"In des Welt-Athem's
wehendem All—
ertrinken—
versinken—
unbewusst—
höchste Lust!"

"Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg," written soon after Wagner's return from exile when the future again seemed bright to

him, is pervaded by a correspondingly cheerful spirit. It is a quasi-historical comedy with a distinctly polemical purpose, in which the Minnesinger Walther von Stolzing and the Mastersinger



TOWER OF THE MAGICIAN KLINGSOR.

From "Parzifal." (After a painting by Ferdinand Knab.)

Sixtus Beckmesser are opposed to each other as types of creative genius and dead traditionalism in art. In a satire of this sort, bearing a decidedly *pro domo* stamp, small scope could be given to

the illustration of philosophical principles lying beyond the immediate object in view; even the painful duty of renunciation is mitigated in the person of Hans Sachs by the humor of the general situation. In "Parsifal," on the other hand, the influence of Schopenhauer is plainly perceptible in the conception and execution of the drama, and his ideas would have doubtless found still fuller embodiment and expression in "Nirvâna," had Wagner lived to complete this projected work.

THE MITHRAIC LITURGY, CLERGY, AND DEVOTEES.¹

BY PROFESSOR FRANZ CUMONT.

IN all the religions of classical antiquity there is one feature which, formerly very conspicuous and perhaps the most important of all for the faithful, has to-day almost totally disappeared from our view. It is the liturgy. The Mysteries of Mithra form no exception to this unfortunate rule. The sacred books which contain the prayers recited or chanted during the services, the ritual of the initiations, and the ceremonials of the feasts, have vanished and left scarce a trace behind. A verse borrowed from one unknown hymn is almost all that has come down to us from the collections which anciently were so abundant. The old Gâthas composed in honor of the Mazdean gods were translated into Greek during the Alexandrian epoch, and Greek remained for a long time the language of the Mithraic cult, even in the Occident. Barbaric words, incomprehensible to the profane, were interspersed throughout the sacred texts and augmented the veneration of the worshippers for the ancient formulary, as well as their confidence in its efficacy. Such were the epithets like *Nabarse*, "victorious," which has been applied to Mithra, or of the obscure invocations like *Nama*, *Nama Sebesio*, engraved on our bas-reliefs, which have never yet been interpreted. A scrupulous respect for the traditional practices of their sect characterised the Magi of Asia Minor, and continued to be cherished with unabated ardor among their Latin successors. On the downfall of paganism, the latter still took pride in worshipping the gods according to the ancient Persian rites which Zoroaster was said to have instituted. These rites sharply distinguished their religion from all the others that were practiced at the same time in Rome, and prevented its Persian origin from ever being forgotten.

¹ Extracted by the author from his *Textes et Monuments figurés relatifs aux Mystères de Mithra* (Brussels: H. Lamertin). Translated by T. J. McCormack.

If some piece of good fortune should one day unearth for us a Mithraic missal, we should be able to study there these ancient usages and to participate in imagination in the celebration of the services. Deprived as we are of this indispensable guide, we are excluded utterly from the sanctuary and know the esoteric discipline of the Mysteries only from a few indiscretions. A text of St. Jerome, confirmed by a series of inscriptions, informs us that there were seven degrees of initiation and that the mystic (*μύστης*, *sacrat*) successively assumed the names of Raven (*corax*), Occult (*cryphius*), Soldier (*miles*), Lion (*leo*), Persian (*Perses*), Courier of the Sun (*heliodromus*), and Father (*pater*). These strange appellations were not empty epithets with no practical bearing. On certain occasions the celebrants donned garbs suited to the title that had been accorded them. On the bas-reliefs we see them carrying the counterfeit heads of animals, of soldiers, and of Persians (see Fig. 2, p. 675). "Some flap their wings like birds, imitating the cry of crows; others growl like lions," says a Christian writer of the fourth century;¹ "in such manner are they who are called wise shamefully travestied."

These sacred masks, of which the ecclesiastical writer exhibits the ridiculous side, were interpreted by pagan theologians as an allusion to the signs of the zodiac, and even to the doctrine of metempsychosis. Such divergences of interpretation simply prove that the real meaning of these animal disguises was no longer understood. They are in reality a survival of primitive practices which have left their traces in numerous cults. We find the titles of Bear, Ox, Colt, and other similar names borne by the initiates of the different Mysteries in Greece and Asia Minor. They go back to that prehistoric period where the divinities themselves were represented under the forms of animals; and when the worshipper, in taking the name and semblance of his god, believed that he identified himself with him. The lion-headed Kronos having become the incarnation of time, was substituted for the lions which the fore-runners of the Mithraists worshipped; and similarly the cloth and paper masks with which the Roman mystics covered their faces were substitutes for the animal skins with which their barbarous predecessors originally clothed themselves, be it that they believed they thus entered into communion with the monstrous idols which they worshipped, or that, enveloped in the pelts of their flayed victims, they attributed a purifying virtue to their bloody tunics.

To the primitive titles of Raven and Lion others were after-

¹ Ps. Augustine, *Quæst. vet. et novi Test.*, (T. et M., t. II, p. 8).

wards added for the purpose of attaining the sacred number seven. The seven degrees of initiation through which the mystic was forced to pass in order to acquire perfect wisdom and purity, answered to the seven planetary spheres which the soul was forced to traverse



Fig. 1. MITHRAIC KRONOS, OR PERSONIFICATION OF INFINITE TIME.

Here represented without the head of a lion, which appears on the breast of the figure. This is a Roman beautification of the horrific features of the Oriental God. (Bas-Relief of Modena.)

in order to reach the abode of the blessed.¹ After having been Raven, the initiates were promoted to the rank of Occult (*κρύφιος*).

¹ See p. 608 of *The Open Court* for October, 1902.

The members of this class, hidden by some veil, probably remained invisible to the rest of the congregation. To exhibit them (*ostendere*) constituted a solemn act. The soldier (*miles*) formed part of the sacred militia of the invincible god and waged war under his directions on the powers of evil. The dignity of Persian recalled the first origin of the Mazdean religion, and he who obtained it assumed during the sacred ceremonies the Oriental custom of donning the Phrygian cap, which had also been bestowed on Mithra. The latter having been identified with the Sun, his servitors invested themselves with the name of Couriers of the Sun (*Ἡλιοδρόμοι*); lastly, the "Fathers" were borrowed from the Greek Thiasi, where this honorific appellation frequently designated the directors of the community.

In this septuple division of the deities, certain additional distinctions were established. We may conclude from a passage in Porphyry that the taking of the first three degrees did not authorise participation in the Mysteries. These initiates, comparable to the Christian catechumens, were the servants (*ὑπηρεούμενοι*). It was sufficient to enter this order to be admitted to the degree of Ravens, doubtless so called because mythology made the raven the servitor of the Sun. Only the mystics that had received the Leontics became Participants (*μετέχοντες*), and it is for this reason that the grade of *Leo* is mentioned more frequently in the inscriptions than any other. Finally, at the summit of the hierarchy were placed the Fathers, who appear to have presided over the sacred ceremonies (*pater sacrorum*) and to have commanded the other classes of the faithful. The head of the Fathers themselves bore the name of *Pater Patrum*, sometimes transformed into that of *Pater patratus*, for the purpose of introducing an official sacerdotal title into a naturalised Roman sect. These grand-masters of the adepts retained until their death the general direction of the cult. The reverence and affection which were entertained for these venerable dignitaries are indicated by their name of Father, and the mystics placed under their authority were called brethren among one another, because the fellow-initiates (*consacranei*) were expected to cherish mutual affection.¹

Admission (*acceptio*) to the lower orders could be accorded even to children. We do not know whether the initiates were obliged to remain in any one of the grades for a fixed length of time. The Fathers probably decided when the novice was suffi-

¹ See the next *Open Court*.

ciently prepared to receive the higher initiation, which they conferred in person (*tradere*).

This ceremony of initiation appears to have borne the name of sacrament (*sacramentum*), doubtless because of the oath which the neophyte took and which was compared to that made by the conscripts enrolled in the army. The candidate engaged above all things not to divulge the doctrines and the rites revealed to him, but other and more special vows were exacted of him. Thus, the mystic that aspired to the title of *Miles* was presented with a crown on a sword. He thrust it back with his hand and caused it to fall on his shoulder, saying that Mithra was his only crown. Thereafter, he never wore one, neither at banquets nor when it was awarded to him as a military honor, replying to the person who conferred it: "It belongs to my god," that is to say, to the invincible god.

We are as poorly acquainted with the liturgy of the seven Mithraic sacraments as we are with the dogmatic instructions that accompanied them. We know, however, that conformably to the ancient Iranian rites, repeated ablutions were prescribed to neophytes as a kind of baptism designed to wash away their guilty stains. As with a certain class of Gnostics, this lustration doubtless had different effects at each stage of initiation, and it might consist according to circumstances either in a simple sprinkling of holy water, or in an actual immersion as in the cult of Isis.

Tertullian also compared the confirmation of his co-religionists to the ceremony in which they "signed" the forehead of the soldier. It appears, however, that the sign or seal impressed was not, as in the Christian liturgy, an unction, but a mark burned with a red-hot iron like that applied in the army to recruits before being admitted to the oath. This indelible imprint perpetuated the memory of the solemn engagement by which the person under vow contracted to serve in that order of chivalry which Mithraism constituted. On reception among the Lions, there were new purifications. But this animal being the emblem of the principle of fire, the use of water, the element hostile to fire, was renounced; and, in order to preserve the initiate from the blemish of sin, honey was poured on his hands and applied to his tongue, as was the custom with new-born children. It was honey also that was presented to the Persian because of its preservative virtue, as Porphyry tells us;¹ in fact, marvellous properties appear to have been associated with this substance, which was believed to have been pro-

¹ Porph., *De antro Nymph.*, c. 15 (*T. et M.*, t. II., p. 40).

duced under the influence of the moon. According to the ancient ideas, it was the food of the blessed, and its absorption by the neophyte made him a peer of the gods.¹



Fig. 2. MITHRAIC COMMUNION.

At the left the Raven and the Persian ; at the right, the Soldier and the Lion.
(Fragment of a bas-relief recently discovered in Konjiga, Bosnia.)

In the Mazdean service, the celebrant consecrated the bread and the water which he mingled with the intoxicating juice of the Haoma prepared by him, and he consumed these foods during the performance of his sacrifice. These ancient usages were preserved

¹The liturgic use of honey has recently been elucidated by Usener, "Milch und Honig" (*Hermes*, LVII), 1902, p. 177 ff.

in the Mithraic initiations, save that for the Haoma, a plant unknown in the Occident, was substituted the juice of the vine. A loaf of bread and a goblet of water were placed before the mystic, over which the priest pronounced the sacred formula. This oblation of bread and water, with which undoubtedly wine was afterwards mixed, is compared by the apologists to the Christian sacrament of the Lord's Supper. Like the latter, it was not granted until after a long novitiate. It is probable that only those initiates who had attained the degree of Lions were admitted to it, and that this is the reason that the name of "Participants" was given to them. A curious bas-relief recently published shows us the spectacle of this sacred repast (Fig. 2). Before two persons stretched upon a couch covered with pillows is placed a tripod bearing four tiny loaves of bread, each marked with a cross. Around them are grouped the initiates of the different orders, and one of them, the Persian, presents to the two a drinking-horn; whilst a second vessel is held in the hands of one of the participants. These love feasts are evidently the ritual commemoration of the banquet which Mithra celebrated with the Sun before his ascension.¹ From this mystical banquet, and especially from the imbibing of the sacred wine, supernatural effects were expected. The intoxicating liquor gave not only vigor of body and material prosperity, but wisdom of mind; it communicated to the neophyte the power to combat the malignant spirits, and what is more, conferred upon him as upon his god, a glorious immortality.

The sacramental collation was accompanied, or rather preceded, by other rites of a different character. These were genuine trials imposed upon the candidate. To receive the sacred ablutions and the consecrated food, the participant was obliged to prepare for them by prolonged abstinence and numerous austerities; he played the rôle of sufferer in certain dramatic expiations of strange character and of which we know neither the number nor the succession. If we can believe a Christian writer of the fourth century,² the eyes of the neophyte were bandaged, his hands were bound with the entrails of chickens, and he was compelled to leap over a ditch filled with water; finally, a liberator approached with a sword and sundered his loathsome bonds. Sometimes, the terrified mystic took part, if not as an actor, at least as a spectator, in a simulated murder, which in its origin was undoubtedly real. In late periods, the officiants were contented with producing a sword dipped in the blood of a man who had met a violent death. The

¹ See *The Open Court* for October, 1902, p. 606.

² See above, p. 671.

cruelty of these ceremonies, which among the warlike tribes of the Taurus must have been downright savage orgies, was softened by contact with Western civilisation. In any event, they had become more fear-inspiring than fearful, and it was the moral courage of the initiate that was tried rather than his physical endurance. The idea which was sought to be attained was the stoic "apathy," the absence of every sensitive emotion. The atrocious tortures, the impossible emasculations, to which some too credulous or inventive authors have condemned the adepts of the Mysteries, must be relegated to the realm of fable, as must likewise the pretended human sacrifices which were said to have been perpetrated in the shades of the sacred crypts.

Nevertheless, it must not be supposed that Mithraism exhibited nothing more than the benignant phantasmagoria of a species

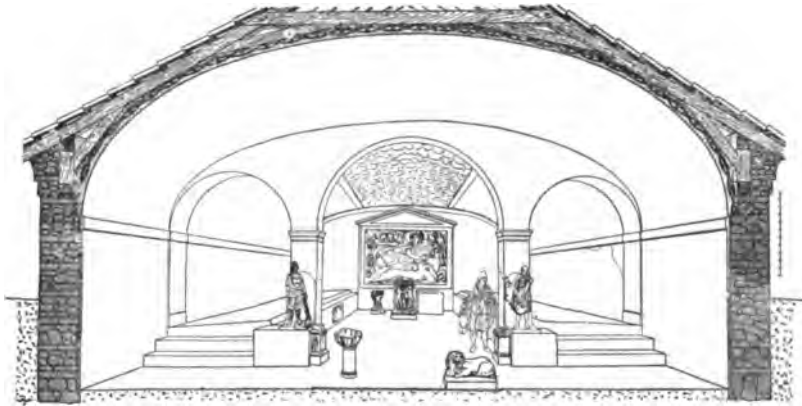


Fig. 3. MITHRÆUM OF CARNUNTUM, THE MODERN PETRONELL, NEAR VIENNA TO THE EAST.¹ (Restored by Mr. Tragau.)

of ancient free masonry. There had subsisted in its liturgic drama vestiges of its original barbarism, of the time when in the forests, in the depths of some dark cave, corybantes, enveloped in the skins of beasts, sprinkled the altars with their blood. In the Roman towns, the secluded caverns of the mountains were replaced by subterranean vaults (*spelææ*) of far less imposing aspect (Fig. 3). But even in these artificial grottos the scenes of initiation were

¹ This Mithræum, like all others of the same style, is underground. Before the great bas-relief of Mithras slaying the bull are two altars, the one large and square in form, the other smaller and richly ornamented. The small statue on the left is Mithras being born from the rocks. At the entrance we see on the right the lion of Mithras and on the left a font for holy water. The two torch-bearers have their stand at the pillars which separate the aisles. The Mithræum is approached by a stairway and through a square hall (or *pronaos*), which is considerably larger than the *sanctum* itself.

calculated to produce on the neophyte a profound sensation. When, after having traversed the approaches of the temple, he descended the stairs of the crypt, he perceived before him in the brilliantly decorated and illuminated sanctuary the venerated image of the tauroctonous Mithra erected in the apse, then the monstrous statues of the leontocephalous Kronos, laden with attributes and mystic symbols, the meaning of which was still unknown to him. At the two sides, partly in the shadow, the assistants, kneeling on stone benches, were seen praying. Lamps ranged about the choir threw their bright rays on the images of the gods and the officiants, who, robed in strange costumes, received the new convert. Fitful flashes of light skilfully manipulated impressed his eyes and his mind. The sacred emotion with which he was seized lent to images which were really puerile a most formidable appearance; the vain allurements with which he was confronted appeared to him serious dangers over which his courage triumphed. The fermented beverage which he imbibed excited his senses and disturbed his reason to the utmost pitch; he murmured his efficient formulas, and they evoked before his distracted imagination divine apparitions. In his ecstasy, he believed himself transported beyond the limits of the world, and having issued from his trance he repeated, as did the mystic of Apuleius:¹ "I have transcended the boundaries of death, I have trodden the threshold of Proserpine, and having traversed all the elements I am returned to the earth. In the middle of the night I have seen the Sun scintillating with a pure light; I have approached the gods below and the gods above, and have worshipped them face to face."

The tradition of all this occult ceremonial was scrupulously observed by a priesthood instructed in the divine science and distinct from all classes of initiates. Its first founders were certainly the Oriental Magi, but we are almost entirely ignorant of the manner in which its ranks were later recruited and organised. Was it hereditary, named for life, or chosen for a fixed term? In the latter event, who had the right of choosing and what conditions did the candidates have to fulfil? None of these points is sufficiently elucidated. We can only state that the priest, who bore indifferently, as it seems, the title of *sacerdos* or that of *antistes*, was often, but not always, a member of the Fathers. We find one vicar, and sometimes several, in each temple. There is every ground for believing that a certain hierarchy existed in this "sacerdotal order."

¹ Apuleius, *Metam.*, XI, 23, à propos of the mystics of Isis.

Tertullian tells us that the chief pontiff (*summus pontifex*)¹ could marry but once; he doubtless designated by this Roman name the "Father of the Fathers," who appears to have exercised general jurisdiction over all the initiates residing in the city.² This is the only indication we possess regarding an organisation which was perhaps as solidly constituted as that of the Magi in the Sassanian kingdom, or that of the Manicheans of the Roman empire. The same apologist adds that the sectarians of the Persian god also had, like the Christians, their "virgins and their continents." The existence of this kind of Mithraic monachism appears to be all the more remarkable as the merit attached to celibacy is contrary to the spirit of Zoroastrianism.

The rôle of the clergy was certainly more extensive than in the ancient Greek and Roman religions. The priest was the intermediary between God and man. His functions evidently included the administration of the sacraments and the celebration of the services. The inscriptions tell us that in addition he presided at the formal dedications, or at least represented the faithful one on such an occasion along with the Fathers; but this was the least portion only of the duties he had to perform; the religious service which fell to his lot appears to have been very exacting. He doubtless was compelled to see that a perpetual fire burned upon the altars. Three times a day, at dawn, at noon, and at dusk, he addressed a prayer to the Sun, turning in the morning toward the East, at noon toward the South, at evening toward the West. The daily liturgy frequently embraced special sacrifices. The celebrant, garbed in sacerdotal robes resembling those of the Magi, sacrificed to the higher and lower gods divers victims, the blood of which was collected in a trench; or offered them libations, holding in his hands the bundle of sacred twigs which we know from the Avesta. Long psalmodies and chants accompanied with music, were interspersed among the ritual acts. A solemn moment in the service,—one very probably marked by the sounding of a bell,—was that in which the image of the tauroctonous Mithra, hitherto kept veiled, was uncovered before the eyes of the initiates. In some temples, the sculptured slab, like our tabernacles, revolved on a pivot, and alternately concealed and exposed the figures that adorned its two faces.

Every day in the week, the Planet to which it was sacred was

¹ Tertull., *De praescr. haeret.*, XL.

² Cf. *supra*, p. 130. I adopt here the suggestion of M. Wissowa, *Religion der Römer*, 1902, p. 309.

invoked in a fixed spot in the crypt; and Sunday, over which the Sun presided, was especially holy. Further, the liturgic calendar solemnised certain dates by festivals concerning which we are unfortunately very poorly informed. Possibly the sixteenth or middle day of the month continued (as in Persia) to have Mithra for its patron. On the other hand, there is never a word in the Occident concerning the celebration of the Mithrakana, which were so popular in Asia.¹ They were doubtless merged in the celebration of the 25th of December, for a very wide-spread custom required that the new birth of the Sun (*Natalis invicti*), which began to wax great again on the termination of the winter solstice, should be celebrated by sacred festivals. We have good reasons for believing that equinoxes were also days of rejoicing, the return of the deified seasons being inaugurated by some religious salutation. The initiations took place preferably at the beginning of spring, in March or in April, at the Paschal period, when Christians likewise admitted their catechumens to the rites of baptism. But concerning all these solemnities, as generally with everything connected with the heortology² of the Mysteries, our ignorance is almost absolute.

The Mithraic communities were not only brotherhoods united by spiritual bonds; they were also associations possessing juridic existence and enjoying the right of holding property. For the management of their affairs and the care of their temporal interests, they elected officers, who must not be confounded either with the initiates or the priests. The titles borne in the descriptions by the members of these boards of trustees prove to us that the organisation of the colleges of the worshippers of Mithra did not differ from that of the other religious *sodalicia*, which was based upon the constitutions of the municipalities or towns. These corporations published an official list of their members, an *album sacratorum*, in which the latter were ranked according to the importance of their office. They had at their head a council of decurions, a directing committee named most likely in a general assembly, a sort of miniature senate, of which the first ten (*decem primi*) possessed, as in the cities, special privileges. They had their masters (*magistri*) or presidents, elected annually, their curators (*curatores*), upon whom fell the task of managing the finances, their attorneys (*defensores*), charged with presenting their cause before the courts or public bureaus; and finally, their patrons (*patroni*), persons of consider-

¹ See *The Open Court*, for March, 1902, p. 171.

² The science of festivals. From *ἑορτή*, festival, holiday.—*Tr.*

ation, from whom they expected not only efficient protection but also pecuniary aid in replenishing their budget.

As the state granted them no subsidies, their well-being depended exclusively on private generosity. Voluntary contributions, the regular revenues of the college, scarcely covered the expenses of worship, and the least extraordinary expenditure was a heavy burden for the common purse. These associations of unmoneyed people could not, with their slender resources, construct sumptuous temples; ordinarily they acquired from some land-holder a piece of ground favorably situated, on which they erected, or rather dug, their chapel, some other benefactor defraying the cost of the construction. Or, some wealthy burgher placed at the disposal of the mystics a cellar, where they installed themselves as best they could. If the original donor had not the means to pay for the interior decoration of the crypt and the modelling of the sacred images, other Brothers supplied the necessary sum, and a honorific inscription perpetuated the memory of their munificence. Three dedicatory inscriptions found in Rome enable us to witness the founding of one of these Mithraic congregations.¹ A freedman and a freeman contributed a marble altar, two other initiates consecrated a second one, and a slave likewise made his modest offering. The generous protectors obtained in return for their liberality the highest dignities in the little church. Through their efforts it was gradually furnished, and in the end could allow itself certain luxuries. Marble succeeded common stone, sculpture replaced plaster, and mosaic was substituted for painting. Finally, when the first temple fell into decay, the enriched community frequently rebuilt it with new splendor.

The number of the gifts mentioned in the epigraphic texts bears witness to the attachment of the faithful to the brotherhoods into which they had been admitted. It was owing to the constant devotion of the thousands of zealous disciples that these societies, the organic cells of the great religious body, could live and flourish. The order was divided into a multitude of little circles, strongly knit together and practising the same rites in the same sanctuaries. The size of the temples in which they worshipped is proof that the number of members was always very limited. Even supposing that the participants only were allowed to enter the subterranean crypt and that the initiates of inferior rank were admitted only to the vestibule (*pronaos*), it is impossible that these societies should have counted more than one hundred members. When the

¹CIL, VI, 556, 717, 734 = 30822 (*T. et M.*, t. II, p. 101, nos 47-48bis).

number increased beyond measure, a new chapel was constructed and the group separated. In these compact churches, where every one knew and aided every one else, prevailed the intimacy of a large family. The clear-cut distinctions of an aristocratic society were here effaced; the adoption of the same faith had made the slave the equal, and sometimes the superior, of the decurion and the *clarissimus*. All bowed to the same rules, all were equally honored guests at the same festivals, and after their death they all doubtless reposed in one common sepulchre. Although no Mithraic cemetery has been discovered up to the present day, the special belief of the sect regarding the future life and its very definite rites render it quite probable that like the majority of the Roman *sodalicia* it formed not only religious colleges but also funerary associations. It certainly practised inhumation, and the liveliest and most ardent desire of its adepts must have been that of obtaining an interment that was at once honorable and religious, a "mansion eternal," where they could await in peace the day of the resurrection. If the name of brothers which the initiates gave themselves was not an empty term, they were bound to render to one another at least this last duty.

The very imperfect image that we can frame of the interior life of the Mithraic conventicles aids us nevertheless in fathoming the reasons of their rapid multiplication. The humble plebeians who first entered its vaults in great numbers found in the fraternity of these congregations succor and solace. In joining them, they passed from their isolation and abandonment to become part of a powerful organisation with a fully developed hierarchy and having ramifications that spread like a dense net over the entire empire. Besides, the titles which were conferred upon them satisfied the natural desire that dwells in every man of playing some part in the world and of enjoying some consideration in the eyes of his fellows.

With these purely secular reasons were associated the more powerful motives of faith. The members of these little societies imagined themselves in the privileged possession of a body of ancient wisdom derived from the far Orient. The secrecy with which these unfathomable arcana were surrounded increased the veneration that they inspired: *Omne ignotum pro magnifico est*. The gradual initiations kept alive in the heart of the neophyte the hopes of truth still more sublime, and the strange rites which accompanied them left in his ingenuous soul an ineffaceable impression. The converts believed they found, and, the suggestion being transformed into reality, actually did find, in the mystic ceremonies a

stimulant and a consolation. They believed themselves purified of their guilt by the ritual ablutions, and this baptism lightened their conscience of the weight of their heavy responsibility. They came forth strengthened from these sacred banquets, which contained the promise of a better life, where the sufferings of this world would find their full compensation. The astonishing spread of Mithraism is due in large measure to these stupendous illusions, which would appear ludicrous were they not so profoundly and thoroughly human.

Nevertheless, in the competition between the rival churches that disputed under the Cæsars the empire of human souls, one cause of inferiority rendered the struggle unequal for the Persian sect. Whilst the majority of the Oriental cults accorded to women a considerable rôle in their churches, and sometimes even a preponderating one, finding in them ardent supporters of the faith, Mithra forbade their participation in his Mysteries and so deprived himself of the incalculable assistance of these propagandists. The rude discipline of the order did not permit them to take the degrees in the sacred cohorts, and, as among the Mazdeans of the Orient, they occupied only a secondary place in the society of the faithful. Among the hundred of inscriptions that have come down to us, not one mentions either a priestess, a woman initiate, or even a donatress. But a religion which aspired to become universal could not deny a knowledge of divine things to one half of the human race, and in order to afford some opportunity for feminine devotion it contracted at Rome an alliance which certainly contributed to its success. The history of Mithraism in the Occident would not be intelligible if we neglected to consider its policy toward the rest of paganism.

GOSPEL PARALLELS FROM PALI TEXTS.

Translated from the Originals by ALBERT J. EDMUNDS.

(Eighth Series.)

DECLINE OF THE FAITH.¹

WITH REMARKS ON MAITREYA.

Matthew xxiv. 11, 12. Many false prophets shall arise, and shall lead many astray. And because iniquity shall be multiplied, the love of the many shall wax cold.

Luke xviii. 8. When the Son of man cometh, shall he find faith on the earth?

NUMERICAL COLLECTION V. 79.

MONKS, the following five future dangers (or, fears for the future), though not arisen now, will hereafter arise. Ye must be awake thereto, and being awake, must struggle to avert them. What are the five?

Monks, there will be monks in the far future, wanting in physical, moral, emotional and intellectual control; and being so, they will confer Initiation upon others, and will not be able to train them in superior morals, emotions and intelligence. These, being also without the aforesaid control, will initiate others in their turn, who will keep up the same state of things. And so, monks, from corruption of doctrine [will come] corruption of discipline, and from corruption of discipline corruption of doctrine.

This, monks, is the first future danger which, though not arisen now, will hereafter arise. Ye must be awake thereto, and being awake, must struggle to avert it.

¹Translated from the *Andāgata-bhayaṇi* (Future Dangers), one of the texts among the selections of the Emperor Asoko, in his Edict at Bhāba, and found in the Numerical Collection, V. 77-80. Chapters 77 and 78 deal with the personal dangers for monks in any age, including Buddha's own. In Chapter 77 they practice religion for security against the dangers of the forest: snakes, scorpions, centipedes, etc. In Chapter 78 they practice it for security in old age or times of trial. We now translate Chapter 79 entire.

Again, monks, there will be monks in the far future, wanting in control as before, who being so will give asylum to others, and they will not be able to train them in superior morals, emotions and intelligence. These will give asylum to yet others, and so [there will be] more corruption of discipline from doctrine, and of doctrine from discipline.

This, monks, is the second future danger, which will come and must be guarded against.

Again, monks, there will be monks in the far future without physical, moral, emotional and intellectual control, and being so, when they discourse upon the Higher Doctrine (*Abhidhammo*) and the Exegesis (*Vedalla*) they will not be awake, descending into doctrine dark.¹ And so, monks, [there will be] corruption of discipline from corruption of doctrine, and corruption of doctrine from corruption of discipline.

This, monks, is the third future danger which, though not arisen now, will hereafter arise. Ye must be awake thereto, and being awake must struggle to avert it.

²[Again], monks, there will be monks in the far future, [wanting in physical, moral, emotional and intellectual control; and they being thus wanting in physical, moral, emotional and intellectual control], there are Dialogues (*Suttantâ*) spoken by the Tathâgato,—deep, of deep meaning, transcendental, connected with the³ Void (or, classified under Void); and when these are recited they will not listen nor give ear nor present a heart of knowledge; and they will not study those doctrines, learn them, nor reflect thereon.

But there are Dialogues poet-made, poetical, thrilling the heart, suggestive to the heart, the utterances of disciples who are outsiders. When these are recited they will listen, give ear, and present a heart of knowledge; these doctrines they will study, learn by heart and reflect upon.

And so, monks, [there will be] corruption of discipline from corruption of doctrine, and corruption of doctrine from corruption of discipline.

¹Awake is the same root as *Buddha* and *Buddhist*, while *dark* is the same word as the Sanskrit *Krishna*. One might almost suspect a punning allusion to the later admixture of Buddhism with the Krishna cult; but our text is too ancient.

²This paragraph, except the words in square brackets, is found in the Classified Collection, xx. 7. The grammatical connection of the clause beginning, "there are Dialogues," etc., is as awkward in the Pâli as it is in the English, and seems to indicate a separateness for this passage.

³See, e. g., Majjhima 121 and 122, which were very popular dialogues. The Chinese, in the seventh century, considered them such thorough compendiums of Buddhism, that many cared for no other Scriptures. (*I-ting*, p. 31. I take "nothingness" = *sunnatâ*.)

This, monks, is the fourth future danger which, though not arisen now, will hereafter arise. Ye must be awake thereto, and being awake, must struggle to avert it.

Again, monks, there will be monks in the far future without physical, moral, emotional and intellectual control; and being so, the Presbyter monks will be luxurious, loose-lived, taking precedence by their descent, in seclusion neglecting their charge. They will not strive with their will for attainment of the unattained, approach to the unapproached, realisation of the unrealised. The last generation of them will fall into heresy, and will be luxurious, loose-lived, taking precedence by descent, in seclusion neglecting their charge. And so, monks, [there will be] corruption of discipline from corruption of doctrine, and corruption of doctrine from corruption of discipline.

This, monks, is the fifth future danger which, though not arisen now, will hereafter arise, and which ye must be awake to, and so struggle to avert.

These, monks, are the Five Future Dangers which, though not arisen now, will hereafter arise, and which ye must be awake to, and so struggle to avert.

[Chapter 80 gives a detailed account of future luxuries, such as building monasteries in towns, villages, and capitals; wearing fine robes; associating with young nuns, etc.]

The *Buddhist Apocalypse* translated by Warren is a mediæval treatise, expanded from just such texts as our present one.]

MINOR SECTION ON DISCIPLINE (CULLAVAGGO)¹ X. I.

Ânando, if women had not received permission to go forth from domestic life and enter the homeless one, under the Doctrine and Discipline made public by the Tathâgato, then, Ânando, would the religious life have lasted long: the Gospel (*Saddhammo*) would have lasted for *a thousand years*. But, Ânando, now that women have received that permission, the religious life will not last long: the Gospel, Ânando, will now last only *five hundred years*.

[This passage is important as a time-mark in the history of the Canon, a fact which was pointed out in our provisional preface to this series of Parallels. (*Open Court*, February, 1900, p. 115.)

¹ Translated in *S. B. E.*, XX., p. 325.

In patristic works written after the Christian era, such as Buddhaghosha's commentaries and the Great Chronicle of Ceylon, the figures 500 have been altered to 5000. This was because the 500 years had expired, and still the faith flourished. Therefore the sacred text has not been materially altered, and goes back behind the time of Christ. The period of a thousand years in our text may perhaps be compared with those of the Mazdean Saviours or the millennium of the Apocalyptical Christ.

It is to be regretted that the period of decline has been confounded with that of the second Coming or advent of Metteyyo (Sanskrit, Maitreyas;¹ contracted into Maitreya). Thus, Eitel, in his *Handbook of Chinese Buddhism*, places this advent five thousand years after Gotamo, which, as we have seen, is a later exaggeration of the five hundred predicted in the Book of Discipline. Rhys Davids, in his *Manual*, probably following Eitel, says the same; for that learned scholar has never had the leisure to re-write his book and give full references in the light of his present knowledge. Pâli learning is still in its infancy. Even Kern, whose *Manual* is deemed the best by so exacting a critic as Barth, does not give the original Pâli authority on the Metteyyo prophecy, but a passage in the late patristic Milindo. This is because the Pâli text in question has not yet been edited in Roman letters, but must be painfully read in the character of Siam. The text, however, was briefly referred to by Oldenberg in 1881, in the first edition of his *Buddha*; but was never, I believe, given fully, at least in English, until its appearance in *The Open Court* in 1900.

Unfortunately Dr. Carus, in his *Gospel of Buddha*, p. 217, has made the mistake pointed out, of associating the coming of Metteyyo with the end of the period of purity.

Owing to the curious coincidence that 500 years is the period between Gotamo and Jesus, some writers who have accepted the confusion of Metteyyo with this period, have regarded him as a Buddhist prophecy of Christ. Were it so, it would be a more remarkable one than any oracle of Daniel or Isaiah; for nowhere do the prophets clearly state that, at the end of a definite, non-mystical, mundane term of years, a Saviour would arise named Love, for such is the meaning of Metteyyo. We have purposely kept separate, in our Pâli Parallels, these two doctrines of the Second Coming and the Declension of the Faith.

¹The first Europeans to transcribe Sanskrit words were the Greeks, and they rightly transcribed them in the nominative case, thus bringing out the sameness of the s-ending in Sanskrit, Greek and Latin.

In June, 1900 (*Open Court*, Vol. XIV., pp. 362, 363), we translated the leading Pâli oracle upon the coming of Metteyyo, under the caption of *Second Coming*. I may be allowed to say that the Christian idea of the Holy Ghost was not adduced by me among the New Testament passages for this Parallel, but was added in the editor's office. However, as we know that the doctrine of the Comforter was the Johannine and spiritual form of the grosser Pauline Second Coming, I have no objection to its standing, though of course the cogent parallel is the Pauline and Apocalyptic one, i. e., of a physical re-appearance of Christ.]

MISCELLANEOUS.

THANKSGIVING.

Thanksgiving is a harvest festival, and the first crops of the pilgrims that had settled in New England having failed, the wild turkey was a welcome addition to the table of the half-starved little community. He has ever since remained the pride of Thanksgiving day, and many millions of turkeys fall victims to the traditional celebration of this typically American family festival.



THE TWO RIVALS.

It seems a pity that man sustains his life at the cost of lower life, but to anyone who has closely studied the subject this condition appears to be inevitable; and it is certain that if sheep and oxen and chickens and turkeys and other animals of the same class were not eaten, these creatures would not be much better off. Indeed the greater part of them would not exist at all, for they are specially raised for the butcher and have no other purpose of existence but to sustain human life. Thus, however, they acquire a significance which utterly transcends their own comprehension, and to some extent their fate is easier and better than that of any

other being, man himself not excepted. They live in perfect safety and without care, well tended, and their wants always satisfied, until one day with the least pain their thread of life is cut in the stockyards. And if they knew their fate they would gladly die in the assurance that their lives serve as a pedestal for mankind to stand on. They serve to raise the standard of living and contribute not a little toward the comfort and well-being of the highest race that has developed upon the earth.

There is a humorous old German student song called the lamentations of a goose written in condemnation of man's barbarous habit of feeding on flesh. In many parts of Europe the goose takes the place of the American turkey and is considered the best ornament of the fall festivals, especially Martini; substituting the word turkey for goose, the song begins thus:

Man is a cannibal by nature;
He does not mind his fellow creature.
Me, poor Turkey, they have also caught
And with cranberries on the table brought.

The poor Turkeys have had a hard time this year. The summer was too wet for them and many millions died before they could be dressed to grace the thanksgiving dinner-table.

P. C.

HISTORY OF CHRISTIANITY IN JAPAN.¹

The Rev. Hans Haas, a German Lutheran missionary to Japan, who through long residence is very familiar not only with the language but also with the customs and literature of the country, has been engaged for many years in studying and writing the history of Christianity in Japan. So far the first volume only lies before us, and the work promises to become very complete and at the same time reliable and impartial. Judging from the first installment, we may expect the entire book to become a classical work which will be the best authority on the subject.

The Rev. Haas is a German and a Protestant, and at the very beginning he meets with the difficulty that the apostle of Japanese Christianity is a Roman Catholic and a Jesuit, nay more, the arch-Jesuit and founder of Jesuitism, Francis Xavier; and Mr. Haas has done his task with remarkable fairness and justice toward the representative of Jesuitism so much hated by Protestants.

The first volume is adorned with the reproduction of Xavier's portrait taken from Tursellin's biography which appeared at Cologne in the year 1610, thirty-five years after Xavier's death. No better frontispiece could have been selected, for the first volume is practically devoted to Xavier's missionary work.

The introductory chapters contain a very vivid description of the first rumors that reached Europe of the existence of Zipangu, and of attempts to find those rich islands; then their discovery by the Portuguese, and the conversion and baptism of three Japanese gentlemen in Gao in the Molucca islands, through Francis Xavier, which is the beginning of the Christianising of Japan. The remainder of the book is a history of Xavier's sojourn in Japan.

The report concerning the first native Christian is literally quoted from Mendez Pinto, who says that when they were just weighing anchor in the Bay of Yama-

¹ *Geschichte des Christenthums in Japan*. Von Pfarrer Hans Haas. I. Erste Einführung des Christenthums in Japan durch Franz Xavier. 1902. Pages, xiv, 300.

gawa, Satsuma, two men on horseback came down the hill in great haste and signalled him with a kerchief. During the previous night four slaves, one of whom belonged to Pinto himself, had escaped from the ship. So Pinto, hoping that the horsemen would give them information concerning the runaways, went ashore with two comrades in a sloop, but when they reached the land one of the two men said: "I am persecuted and in great fear; any delay may be fatal. For the love of God take me at once to your ship!" Pinto hesitated but felt inclined to yield to the request, the more so as he had seen the gentleman repeatedly in Yamagawa in the society of respected merchants. But scarcely had they entered the sloop when fourteen horsemen arrived who cried; "Turn over to us the traitor or thou must die!" And soon nine other horsemen followed, whereupon Pinto left the shore, and being out of reach of their arrows, asked what they wanted. Then the pursuers said: "If you dare to take this Japanese man (he made no mention of his companion), you must know that thousands of your people will have to suffer for it." Pinto made no reply, but rowed over to the ship and went on board with the two Japanese fugitives, who were well received by the captain, George Alvarez, and other Portuguese gentlemen. They gladly gave them everything that was necessary for the long journey. One of these two Japanese men was Anjiro,¹ "an instrument chosen by the Lord," says Pinto, "for the glory and propagation of the holy faith."

This Anjiro met Francis Xavier and became the first convert to Christianity. Xavier baptised him and two other Japanese gentlemen at Gao, and gave him the name Paolo of Santa Fé.

It is a pity that Mr. Haas has to take away a good deal of the romanticism of Pinto's report. First he argues that it is very improbable that the fugitive should have returned after a few months to the very province of his native country from which he had just escaped, and appeared in public as a missionary of the new faith without being molested. From all the reports available concerning Anjiro, and presented by Mr. Haas, we come to the conclusion that he was of good family, knew some Portuguese before he left Japan in search of Xavier, and was somehow inclined to Christianity by his mental constitution as well as by a troubled conscience which he had in vain tried to assuage in Buddhist monasteries. Anjiro also speaks of personal enemies; but the dramatic incident of his flight to the ship seems to conflict with the scattered passages in Xavier's letters concerning Anjiro. Anjiro had an introduction to Captain Alvaros, but he happened to deliver the letter to George Alvarez, who, without informing him of his error, took him to Malacca, where after some adventures he finally met the famous Padre Francis Xavier, of whom Anjiro had heard so much. He knew enough Portuguese to talk with Xavier without an interpreter, and succeeded in inducing his saint and master to visit Japan. Under Xavier's direction Anjiro translated an exposition of the Apostolic Faith for his countrymen and served him generally as a spokesman and interpreter.

It would lead us too far to enter into the details of the main contents of the book, but we wish to say that Xavier's personality is delineated in strong and bold outlines, and we may be sure that our author has succeeded pretty well in giving us a true portrait of the founder of Jesuitism, and all statements are substantiated

¹ *Anjiro* is, according to Mr. Haas, probably the correct Japanese spelling of the name; according to other reports, the name might be Japanese *Kanjiro*; or, if Bartoli's spelling be reliable, *Angero*, or as he is commonly called, *Gagiro*, the name must be the Japanese *Hackiro*.

by facts, so as to make us acquainted with the zealous Jesuit through his very life-work at a period when he was at his best.

Anjiro remained Xavier's most important assistant. A congregation was founded in Hirado. Xavier then sojourned in Yamagata and visited the capital. Thence he went to the province of Bungo and founded another congregation at Yamaguchi. Having worked two years and three months in Japan, Xavier left the country on November 20, 1551, and returned to India. He died a year afterwards on the Island of Sanshan, December 20, 1552, at the age of forty-six years.

The last chapter of the volume before us is an appreciation of Xavier's work, and the appendix contains translations of some important documents, a catechetic circular to the inhabitants of the Malacca Islands, containing Xavier's explanation of the Christian confession of faith, extracts from the books of the captain Georg Alvarez concerning Japan, a description of the habits and customs of the island of Japan by Anjiro, viz., Paolo of Santa Fé, and his letter to the Society of Jesus in Latin.

We may expect that the next following volumes will deal with the defeat which Christianity met in Japan, and finally the more modest but more successful attempts of modern missions, both Catholic and Protestant, of the present day.

* * *

Having given a general review of the book, we wish to add a few comments concerning a subject that, though of special interest, is only incidentally mentioned by the author. There being many similarities between Christianity and Buddhism, Xavier tried to discover indications of the work of Christian missionaries previous to his apostolate; but he declares in a letter dated February 29, 1552, that after a diligent search he could find no trace of it, and, judging from native writings as well as from oral conversations, he had become convinced that the Japanese had never heard anything about Christ. He noticed, however, that at Kagoshima, the capital of Satsuma, the Shimazu princes wore a white cross in their coat-of-arms, yet of Christ they had no knowledge. The vice-provincial P. Caspar Coegles too declared that this coat-of-arms is quite similar to the Christian cross, and, added he, may God grant that the prince and his family would soon worship it as the coat-of-arms of Christ.

Now, this Satsuma coat-of-arms is the cross (not to mention a few other cruciform symbols of less significance) which made a Christian Japanese author¹ believe that some of his people had adopted Christian crosses as their coats-of-arms, but the Satsuma cross is called Kutsuwa, which means a horse-bit ring; and its similarity to the Christian cross, accordingly, is purely incidental.

The Rev. Haas adds in a footnote a few comments concerning the relation of Christianity to Buddhism, saying:

"Japanese historians have frequently tried to prove that centuries before Xavier Christianity must have been preached in Japan by Christian missionaries; but this cannot be seriously maintained. However, it would be interesting to investigate how much of Christianity had reached Japan indirectly through Buddhism; for the Buddhism that reached Japan has certainly assimilated in India and China many Christian ideas from the Nestorians. This would explain many co-incidences between the Catholic religion and Japanese Buddhism.

"I quote here a comment made by Hildreth in *Japan as it was and is*, page 59, who, calling attention to the fact that Buddha's religion in its organisation and

¹ The Rev. Ernest W. Clement, editor of the *Japan Evangelist*, communicated the contents of this article to *The Open Court* where it appeared in Vol. XIII., p. 742 ff. (1899, No. 12).

customs, in spite of a difference in dogma, is a counterpart of the Catholic Church, speaks of it as a similarity which missionaries could only explain by the theory of diabolical imitation."

Hildreth says: "...a similarity which the missionaries could only explain by the theory of a diabolical imitation; and which some subsequent Catholic writers have been inclined to ascribe, upon very unsatisfactory grounds, to the ancient labors of Armenian and Nestorian missionaries, being extremely unwilling to admit what seems, however, very probable, if not, indeed, certain,—little attention has as yet been given to this interesting inquiry,—that some leading ideas of the Catholic Church have been derived from Buddhist sources, whose missionaries, while penetrating, as we know they did, to the East, and converting entire nations, may well be supposed not to have been without their influence also on the West."

Mr. Haas continues:

"Prof. Rudolf Seydel has treated this problem in several of his books. The possibility of an influence of the Christian Gospels can scarcely be denied, and in fact has never been objected to by any one who is able to judge. That which above all seems to speak against the probability of this hypothesis seems to me that in the Christian literature down to Clement of Alexandria every mention of Buddhism is missing. So far we do not know the bridge over which the Buddha legend may have reached the Christians at the time when the Gospels were written."

We have to add here that Mr. Edmunds's articles on the subject which have appeared from time to time in *The Open Court* are in so far of great importance, that he limits his parallels to passages of Pāli literature which is nowhere later than the second century before the Christian era. Other interesting material concerning this important problem is contained in our article on the Widow's Two Mites, which will appear in a future number of *The Open Court*. P. C.

ANCIENT HISTORY FOR BEGINNERS.

Dr. Botsford's school-histories of Greece and Rome formed but very recently the subject of our encomiums, and we have now to call attention to a new volume by this author, which in our judgment is even more admirable from the point of view of mere utility than its predecessors. Its title is *An Ancient History for Beginners*.¹ It treats as a unit of the history of the Orient, Greece, and Rome down to the founding of the Holy Roman Empire by Charlemagne (800 A. D.). Time out of mind these periods have been taught in detached form and their continuity wilfully slurred; the time is lacking in our secondary schools to devote an entire volume to each period or country; the plan has been tried, and the results have been nothing short of woeful: isolated, ham strung views of the world's men and events. Not only a knowledge of history but a broad and clear bird's-eye view of *all* of history is necessary to a rational and unbiassed life; and three books of the type of Dr. Botsford's present *Ancient History* or of Duruy's old *Moyen Age* (with modernisations) would afford a firmer foundation for sound social and historical judgments than twice as many works devoted to *disconnected* fields of modern and ancient life. Benjamin Franklin learned languages backwards, beginning with French and Italian, and ending with Latin; possibly history also could be studied

¹ By George Willis Botsford, Ph. D., Lecturer in Ancient History, Columbia University. With Maps and Numerous Illustrations. New York and London: The Macmillan Co. 1902. Pp., 494.

backwards, starting with our Spanish War, or, perhaps better, the Anthracite Coal Strike, and concluding with the Reindeer, Palafitte, and Hallstattian epochs; advocates even of the "sidewise" method have not been wanting. But begun, it should be finished; and it seems odd that the Committee of Seven of the American Historical Association should have been destined to wait till 1899 to divulge the need of a study of the connecting links of history, so sadly neglected, for example, in the early Middle Ages, the Byzantine and late imperial epochs.

Dr. Botsford's work is "adapted to beginning classes in the high school, and furnishes material for a year's work"; it is "intended for pupils who have never studied history before," the story being simply told, all unfamiliar terms explained, and proper names syllabified and accented on their first occurrence. "Myth.... receives due attention.... and the effects of geographical conditions and the causal relation of events are explained in an elementary way." Prehistoric conditions are briefly—perhaps too briefly—indicated; Egypt and the Asiatic nations (including China) receive rather scant treatment in some 37 pages; Greece gets 213 pages; and Rome from Romulus to Charlemagne, 216 pages. In all the external aids that modern photographic and cartographic art can supply the book is extremely rich and reflects great credit on author and publisher. The maps have been specially made for their purposes, and are themselves distinct contributions to the educational side of the subject, whilst the photographs of ancient art and architecture, of ancient landscapes, etc., etc., lend a life and charm to the book that cannot be underrated. We can, in fine, unqualifiedly recommend Dr. Botsford's work, both for school and home instruction. We only regret that several pages could not have been devoted to prehistory, on which even the bibliographies, otherwise excellent, give no references.

T. J. McC.

TWO PHILOSOPHICAL POEMS OF GOETHE.

TRANSLATED BY P. C.

(Under the title "God and World," Goethe published several philosophical poems from which Prof. T. B. Wakeman, President of the Liberal University of Silverton, Oregon, and editor of *The Torch of Reason*, has selected two for publication, adding thereto a literal translation. Mr. Wakeman, we ought to add, is an admirer of Goethe, whose poems he suggests should be studied in the original as a religious and ethical school-book, and the transliteration of the two poems in question is a chip from his workshop. At his suggestion, the writer has ventured to translate in verse the two poems entitled: "One and All" and "Bequest." The original texts are easily found in every German edition of Goethe's poems under the collective heading: *Gott und Welt*.)

It will be noticed that the first poem, "One and All," ends with the lines:

"And into naught we all must fall
If e'er in life we shall remain ;"

while the poem "Bequest" makes the opposite statement, saying:

"No being into naught can fall ;
The eternal liveth in them all."

This contrast is intentional on Goethe's part; he had written the poem "One and All" in a mood which Mr. Wakeman appropriately calls "Goethe's Nirvāna." But Goethe found himself misunderstood. A German naturalist association took the

lines as a motto in a connection which seemed to interpret the idea that death ends all ; so Goethe found himself urged to show the reverse to his statement of self-surrender and therefore wrote the poem "Bequest" to prove that while the individual must identify itself with the All, his very individuality is preserved in the evolution of soul.

We have further to add that the lines offer some difficulties in interpretation, especially verse two, line four, of "Bequest," where "the Wise One" has been differently construed by different interpreters of Goethe's works. Some believe they find in the passage an endorsement of Kant's subjective notions that it is the astronomer who prescribes to the planets their orbits, and in that case "the Wise One" would be Copernicus ; otherwise, we ought to understand by "Wise One" the Omniscient Architect of the world,—a masonic idea ;¹ and the meaning in that case would be that truth comes from God who prescribes their courses to the celestial bodies.

Verse three of the same poem contains indeed an echo of Kant's doctrine of the *a priori*, including the categorical imperative, viz., that the soul contains *a priori* all the rules and laws of purely formal thought, and also the standard of the moral ought. It is (as verse four declares) pure reason which enables us to utilise all sense-material ; the senses are reliable if regulated by reason.

Our translation is as literal as possible, while preserving also the run of the original.)

ONE AND ALL.

" Into the limitless to sink,
No one, I trow, will ever blink,
For there all sorrow we dismiss.
Instead of cravings and wants untold,
Fatiguing demands and duties cold,
Surrender of one's self is bliss.

" O, World-soul, come to fill our lives,
For he who with thy spirit strives
Attains the height of his vocation.
Then, sympathetic spirits, speed us ;
Great masters, gently higher lead us
To the Creator of creation.

" In re-creating the created,
Lest fossilise the animated,
Aye, active power, is manifest ;
The non-existent actualising,
In younger worlds and suns is rising,
But never, nowhere, can be rest.

" In active deeds life proves unfolding ;
It must be moulded and keep moulding ;
Sometimes but seeming rest 'twill gain.
The eternal stirreth in us all,
And into naught we all must fall ;
If e'er in life we shall remain."

¹ Goethe was a Mason and used to write poems for Masonic festivals.

BEQUEST.

"No being into naught can fall,
The eternal liveth in them all ;
In being, therefore, be thou blessed,
Being is eternal, for fixed measures
Preserve its ever-living treasures,
In which the world is nobly dressed.

"The Truth of yore has been decried,
And noble spirits has allied.
To dear old Truth we must adhere !
'Tis to the Wise One Truth we owe :
To Him who did their orbits show
To earth and to her brother-sphere.

"First, friend, within thyself thou enter,
For 'tis within that lies the center ;
No noble thinker will gainsay.
No rule there's missing. So rejoice,
That conscience' independent voice
Serves duty as its solar ray.

"We on our senses must rely,
And if our reason we apply,
Sensation never error yields ;
With open eyes do all observing,
And roam with confidence unswerving
Through this world's rich and wondrous fields.

"Temper your joys with moderation,
With reason keep in consultation,
When life is beaming with life's glee.
The past will thus become enduring,
E'en now the future life-securing ;
The moment gains eternity.

"Born, as of old, of patient love,
Whenever may the spirit move,
Are bard's and thinker's great creations ;
With highest favors they are fraught.
Forefeel of noble souls the thought ;
'Tis the most enviable of vocations."

 THE DISCOVERY OF NEPTUNE.

The appearance of a new edition of Miss Clerke's well-known *Popular History of Astronomy*¹ affords us a welcome opportunity of calling to the attention

¹Fourth Edition, Revised and Corrected. New York : The Macmillan Co.; London : Adam and Charles Black. 1902. Pp., 489. Cloth, \$4.00.

of our readers a work of sterling merit in perhaps the most delightful province of natural inquiry. The story of the heavens is of entrancing interest, and in the present case it has been told with an authority and self-restraint that the natural flights of fancy and pietism in which writers on these topics are tempted to indulge have only in rare instances transcended. Miss Clerke, it may be mentioned in passing, is the author of astronomical articles in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* as well as of independent works on the history of astronomy. We quote below from her *Popular History*, as a specimen of the reading Miss Clerke offers, the story of the discovery of Neptune,—one of the greatest achievements in the annals of astronomical science. The English side of the discovery naturally receives here strong emphasis.

THE STORY OF NEPTUNE.

“We have now to recount an event unique in scientific history. The discovery of Neptune has been characterised as the result of a ‘movement of the age,’ and with some justice. It had become necessary to the integrity of planetary theory. Until it was accomplished, the phantom of an unexplained anomaly in the orderly movements of the solar system must have continued to haunt astronomical consciousness. Moreover, it was prepared by many, suggested as possible by not a few, and actually achieved, simultaneously, independently, and completely, by two investigators.

“The position of the planet Uranus was recorded as that of a fixed star no less than twenty times between 1690 and the epoch of its final detection by Herschel. But these early observations, far from affording the expected facilities for the calculation of its orbit, proved a source of grievous perplexity. The utmost ingenuity of geometers failed to combine them satisfactorily with the later Uranian places, and it became evident, either that they were widely erroneous, or that the revolving body was wandering from its ancient track. The simplest course was to reject them altogether, and this was done in the new Tables published in 1821 by Alexis Bouvard, the indefatigable computing partner of Laplace. But the trouble was not thus to be got rid of. After a few years fresh irregularities began to appear, and continued to increase until absolutely ‘intolerable.’ It may be stated as illustrative of the perfection to which astronomy had been brought, that divergencies regarded as menacing the very foundation of its theories never entered the range of unaided vision. In other words, if the theoretical and the real Uranus had been placed side by side in the sky, they would have seemed, to the sharpest eye, to form a single body.

“The idea that these enigmatical disturbances were due to the attraction of an unknown exterior body was a tolerably obvious one; and we accordingly find it suggested in many different quarters. Bouvard himself was perhaps the first to conceive it. He kept the possibility continually in view, and bequeathed to his nephew’s diligence the inquiry into its reality when he felt that his own span was drawing to a close; but before any progress had been made with it, he had already (June 7, 1843) ‘ceased to breathe and to calculate.’ The Rev. T. J. Hussey actually entertained in 1834 the notion, but found his powers inadequate to the task, of assigning an approximate place to the disturbing body; and Bessel, in 1840, laid his plans for an assault in form upon the Uranian difficulty, the triumphant exit from which fatal illness frustrated his hopes of effecting or even witnessing.

“The problem was practically untouched when, in 1841, an undergraduate of St. John’s College, Cambridge, formed the resolution of grappling with it. The

projected task was an arduous one. There were no guiding precedents for its conduct. Analytical obstacles had to be encountered so formidable as to appear invincible even to such a mathematician as Airy. John Couch Adams, however, had no sooner taken his degree, which he did as senior wrangler in January, 1843, than he set resolutely to work, and on October 21, 1845, was able to communicate to the Astronomer Royal numerical estimates of the elements and mass of the unknown planet, together with an indication of its actual place in the heavens. These results, it has been well said, gave 'the final and inexorable proof' of the validity of Newton's Law. The date October 21, 1845, 'may therefore be regarded as marking a distinct epoch in the history of gravitational astronomy.'

"Sir George Biddell Airy had begun in 1835 his long and energetic administration of the Royal Observatory, and was already in possession of data vitally important to the momentous inquiry then on foot. At his suggestion, and under his superintendence, the reduction of all the planetary observations made at Greenwich from 1750 onwards had been undertaken in 1833. The results, published in 1846, constituted a permanent and universal stock of materials for the correction of planetary theory. But in the meantime, investigators, both native and foreign, were freely supplied with the 'places and errors,' which, clearly exhibiting the discrepancies between observation and calculation—between what *was* and what *was expected*—formed the very groundwork of future improvements.

"Mr. Adams had no reason to complain of official discourtesy. His labors received due and indispensable aid; but their purpose was regarded as chimerical. 'I have always,' Sir George Airy wrote, 'considered the correctness of a distant mathematical result to be a subject rather of moral than of mathematical evidence.' And that actually before him seemed, from its very novelty, to incur a suspicion of unlikelihood. No problem in planetary disturbance had heretofore been attacked, so to speak, from the rear. The inverse method was untried, and might well be deemed impracticable. For the difficulty of determining the perturbations produced by a given planet is small compared with the difficulty of finding a planet by its resulting perturbations. Laplace might have quailed before it; yet it was now grappled with as a first essay in celestial dynamics. Moreover, Adams unaccountably neglected to answer until too late a question regarded by Airy in the light of an *experimentum crucis* as to the soundness of the new theory. Nor did he himself take any steps to obtain a publicity which he was more anxious to merit than to secure. The investigation consequently remained buried in obscurity. It is now known that had a search been instituted in the autumn of 1845 for the remote body whose existence had been so marvellously foretold, it would have been found within *three and a half lunar diameters* ($1^{\circ} 49'$) of the spot assigned to it by Adams.

"A competitor, however, equally daring and more fortunate—*audax fortunæ adjutus*, as Gauss said of him—was even then entering the field. Urbain Jean Joseph Leverrier, the son of a small Government employé in Normandy, was born at Saint-Lô, March 11, 1811. He studied with brilliant success at the École Polytechnique, accepted the post of astronomical teacher there in 1837, and, 'docile to circumstance,' immediately concentrated the whole of his vast, though as yet undeveloped powers upon the formidable problems of celestial mechanics. He lost no time in proving to the mathematical world that the race of giants was not extinct. Two papers on the stability of the solar system, presented to the Academy of Sciences, September 16 and October 14, 1839, showed him to be the worthy successor of Lagrange and Laplace, and encouraged hopes destined to be abun-

dantly realised. His attention was directed by Arago to the Uranian difficulty in 1845, when he cheerfully put aside certain intricate cometary researches upon which he happened to be engaged, in order to obey with dutiful promptitude the summons of the astronomical chief of France. In his first memoir on the subject (communicated to the Academy, November 10, 1845), he proved the inadequacy of all known causes of disturbance to account for the vagaries of Uranus; in a second (June 1, 1848), he demonstrated that only an exterior body, occupying at a certain date a determinate position in the zodiac, could produce the observed effects; in a third (August 31, 1846), he assigned the orbit of the disturbing body, and announced its visibility as an object with a sensible disc about as bright as a star of the eighth magnitude.

"The question was now visibly approaching an issue. On September 10, Sir John Herschel declared to the British Association respecting the hypothetical new planet: 'We see it as Columbus saw America from the coast of Spain. Its movements have been felt, trembling along the far-reaching line of our analysis with a certainty hardly inferior to that of ocular demonstration.' Less than a fortnight later, September 23, Professor Galle, of the Berlin Observatory, received a letter from Leverrier requesting his aid in the telescopic part of the inquiry already analytically completed. He directed his refractor to the heavens that same night, and perceived, within less than a degree of the spot indicated, an object with a measurable disc, nearly three seconds in diameter. Its absence from Bremiker's recently-completed map of that region of the sky showed it to be no star, and its movement in the predicted direction confirmed without delay the strong persuasion of its planetary nature.

"In this remarkable manner the existence of the remote member of our system known as 'Neptune' was ascertained. But the discovery, which faithfully reflected the duplicate character of the investigation which led to it, had been already secured at Cambridge before it was announced from Berlin. Sir George Airy's incredulity vanished in the face of the striking coincidence between the position assigned by Leverrier to the unknown planet in June, and that laid down by Adams in the previous October; and on the 9th of July he wrote to Professor Challis, director of the Cambridge Observatory, recommending a search with the great Northumberland equatoreal. Had a good star-map been at hand, the process would have been a simple one; but of Bremiker's 'Hora XXI.' no news had yet reached England, and there was no other sufficiently comprehensive to be available for an inquiry which, in the absence of such aid, promised to be both long and laborious. As the event proved, it might have been neither. 'After four days of observing,' Challis wrote, October 12, 1846, to Airy, 'the planet was in my grasp if only I had examined or mapped the observations.' Had he done so, the first honors in the discovery, both theoretical and optical, would have fallen to the University of Cambridge. But Professor Challis had other astronomical avocations to attend to, and, moreover, his faith in the precision of the indications furnished to him was, by his own confession, a very feeble one. For both reasons he postponed to a later stage of the proceedings the discussion and comparison of the data nightly furnished to him by his telescope, and thus allowed to lie, as it were, latent in his observations the momentous result which his diligence had insured, but which his delay suffered to be anticipated.

"Nevertheless, it should not be forgotten that the Berlin astronomer had two circumstances in his favor apart from which his swift success could hardly have been achieved. The first was the possession of a good star-map; the second was

the clear and confident nature of Leverrier's instructions. 'Look where I tell you,' he seemed authoritatively to say, 'and you will see an object such as I describe.' And in fact, not only Galle on the 23d of September, but also Challis on the 29th, immediately after reading the French geometer's lucid and impressive treatise, picked out from among the stellar points strewing the zodiac, a small planetary disc, which eventually proved to be that of the precise body he had been in search of during two months.

"The controversy that ensued had its ignominious side; but it was entered into by neither of the parties principally concerned. Adams bore the disappointment, which the dilatory proceedings at Greenwich and Cambridge had inflicted upon him, with quiet heroism. His silence on the subject of what another man would have called his wrongs remained unbroken to the end of his life; and he took every opportunity of testifying his admiration for the genius of Leverrier.

"Personal questions, however, vanish in the magnitude of the event they relate to. By it the last lingering doubts as to the absolute exactness of the Newtonian Law were dissipated. Recondite analytical methods received a confirmation brilliant and intelligible even to the minds of the vulgar, and emerged from the patient solitude of the study to enjoy an hour of clamorous triumph. For ever invisible to the unaided eye of man, a sister-globe to our earth was shown to circulate, in perpetual frozen exile, at thirty times its distance from the sun. Nay, the possibility was made apparent that the limits of our system were not even thus reached, but that yet profounder abysses of space might shelter obedient, though little favored, members of the solar family, by future astronomers to be recognised through the sympathetic thrillings of Neptune, even as Neptune himself was recognised through the tell-tale deviations of Uranus.

"It is curious to find that the fruit of Adams's and Leverrier's laborious investigations had been accidentally all but snatched half a century before it was ripe to be gathered. On the 8th, and again on the 10th of May, 1795, Lalande noted the position of Neptune as that of a fixed star, but perceiving that the two observations did not agree, he suppressed the first as erroneous, and pursued the inquiry no further. An immortality which he would have been the last to despise hung in the balance; the feather-weight of his carelessness, however, kicked the beam, and the discovery was reserved to be more hardly won by later comers." μ .

BOOK REVIEWS.

THE CHILDREN OF THE NATIONS; A Study of Colonisation and Its Problems. By *Poultney Bigelow*, M. A., F. R. G. S. New York: McClure, Philips & Co. 1901. Pages, xiii, 365.

Poultney Bigelow, well-known as the author of a book on *The German Emperor and His Neighbors*, a man of broad education acquired both at home (viz., at Harvard) and abroad in France and Germany, has published an instructive book under the title: *The Children of the Nations*. The book discusses in thirty-five chapters the several methods of colonisation among the different civilised peoples. First the Spanish colonies and their final doom in South America, Cuba, the Philippines, etc. (Chapters I-VII). Here follows (Chapter VIII) a discussion of the Negro as an element in colonial expansion both in America and South Africa. Then the author descants on official German civilisation in Kiao Chow and East Africa (Chapter IX), which ought to be very instructive to the German Emperor,

though there is little probability that he will heed the author's advice. Next in importance are Portugal, the rise and decay of her colonies, including an appreciation of Francis Xavier's work and the establishment as well as failure of Jesuit missions (Chapters X-XIII); a discussion of the Dutch, and especially of the Boer, fills three most interesting Chapters (XIV-XVI). As much as Mr. Bigelow appreciates Dutch culture, he is hard on the Boer whom he compares to the Texas cowboy. Of no less interest are the several chapters on Scandinavian, Danish, Chinese, French, and Russian colonisation (Chapters XVII-XXIV). But the most important information may be drawn from the chapters on the English colonies in America, and the rise of American independence (Chapters XXV-XXVI); Chapter XXVII gives the reason why England lost her American colonies; Chapters XXVIII-XXX discuss the English possessions in the West Indies and British Guiana; Chapter XXXI, those in Australasia; Chapter XXXII discusses the dangers and sanitation of the tropics; Chapter XXXIII, the white invasion of China; Chapter XXXIV, the philosophy of colonisation, which may be regarded as the summary of Mr. Bigelow's experiences; and finally, in Chapter XXXV our author applies his maxims to the prospects of American colonisation.

The book is interesting wherever one may happen to open it, and it goes far to prove the wisdom of giving liberty to colonies and of encouraging home government everywhere. To select one drastic instance only, we quote from page 293: "Although the Great Wall of China was built by forced labor, it is more than probable that to-day an American contractor would undertake to build it over again with free labor for less money than it originally cost. The reason for this is, that only high-priced mechanics can be trusted with high-priced machinery,—and a good machine can underbid the best of slaves."

P. C.

PROJET D'ORGANISATION DU MOUVEMENT SCIENTIFIQUE UNIVERSEL EN ANGLAIS, ESPAGNOL, FRANÇAIS, ALLEMAND, ITALIEN; Dedié à Mr. Andrew Carnegie. Par *Dr. E. M. Cavazzutti*. Buenos Ayres: Cooperativa Tipográfica, Reconquista 414. 1902.

This pamphlet contains some excellent ideas on the unification and economisation of the World's Research, in both its active positive aspect (as investigation) and its passive negative aspect (as the dead storing up of knowledge). "In each capital of the European states and in the principal cities of both Americas, Australia, and the civilised nations of Asia, there shall be established a scientific institution called an Emporium, which shall be divided into three Divisions: one Bibliographical, one Experimental, and one for Scientific Congresses." We cannot go into details; suffice it to say that it is the object of these Emporiums to promote coöperation, unity, and parsimony, both intellectual and material, in the scientific world, and to focus the dispersed thought and spiritual energies of the world. Dr. Cavazzutti's ideas have found partial but very meagre realisation in some existing institutions, and though they are not entirely novel, they are systematic and consistent. They should receive, the author thinks, the attention of Mr. Carnegie.

It is refreshing to observe that the work comes from South America and was inspired partly by the utterances of Mr. Bonney (not Bouney, as the author has it). The text is in five languages: English, Spanish, French, German, and Italian. Barring a few slips, such as "World's Scientific *Move*" for "World's Scientific *Movement*," the English is clear reading.

u.

AN INTRODUCTION TO CELESTIAL MECHANICS. By F. R. Moulton, Ph. D., Instructor in Astronomy in the University of Chicago. New York: The Macmillan Co. 1902. Pp. 384.

Mr. Moulton has endeavored to give in this volume "a somewhat satisfactory account of many parts of Celestial Mechanics rather than an exhaustive treatment of any special part. The aim has been to present the work so as to attain logical sequence, to make it progressively more difficult, and to give the various subjects the relative prominence which their scientific and educational importance deserves. In short, the aim has been to prepare such a book that one who has had the necessary mathematical training may obtain from it in a relatively short time and by the easiest steps a sufficiently broad and just view of the whole subject to enable him to stop with much of real value in his possession, or to pursue to the best advantage any particular portion he may choose."

Considerable knowledge of the calculus is requisite to the enjoyment of Mr. Moulton's treatise, which is in every respect an excellent survey of this most interesting field of mechanics. The discussions are elegant and concise, having been selected from the masters of this department of inquiry, and give, indeed, "an idea of the methods of investigation and the results attained in Celestial Mechanics." The interest and value of the treatise have been heightened by the addition of pertinent historical and bibliographical remarks: while too much praise cannot be bestowed on the publishers for the excellence of the typography. μ.

The Hibbert Journal is the title of a new "quarterly magazine of religion, theology, and philosophy." It is supported and sanctioned by the Hibbert Trustees, institutors of the well-known foundation made from funds left by Robert Hibbert, a West India Merchant who died in 1849. The object of the *Journal* like that of the foundation is the honest, critical, and unpartisan discussion of all unsettled problems of religion and theology. The *Journal* is edited by L. P. Jacks and G. Dawes Hicks, and has as its "editorial advisors" some of the most prominent religious thinkers of Great Britain. The contributors to the first number are Prof. Percy Gardner ("The Basis of Christian Doctrine"), Prof. Josiah Royce ("The Concept of the Infinite"), Sir Oliver Lodge ("The Controversy Between Science and Faith"), Rev. Stopford Brooke ("Matthew Arnold"), Principal James Drummond ("Righteousness of God in St Paul's Theology"), and F. C. Conybeare ("Early Doctrinal Modifications of the Gospels"). The *Journal* has a becomingly solid and dignified appearance. (London and Oxford: Williams & Norgate. Price, 2s. 6d. net.)

Mr. William Morton Payne has collected into two tasteful little volumes, recently published by A. C. McClurg, of Chicago, the editorial articles on literary and educational topics which he has supplied in past years to the pages of *The Dial*. Mr. Morton's essays have always been one of the most attractive features of *The Dial*; he has ever striven to make them more than ephemeral comments on the objects of which they treat; and the care with which they have been written, the soberness and self-restraint with which they have been conceived, the wide culture which their contents bespeak, amply justify their author in the hope that there is due them some meed of permanency. The readers of these little volumes will have their memories pleasantly refreshed on nearly all the important movements in literature and the related arts that recent years have chronicled. (*Little Leaders. Editorial Echoes.* Two volumes. 1902.)

The Temple Classics, under the critical and discerning editorship of Mr. Israel Gollancz, are fast augmenting in number and elegance. They include now the greater part of what is best in English and the world's literature; they meet the most fastidious tastes; and a careful selection from their wealth would form a rare adornment to the tables of any household. The *Temple Dramatists* (English) and the *Temple Cyclopedic Primers* (general science and literature) form appropriate complements to the series. Especial attention is to be directed to the *Temple Classics for Young People* which now include *The Arabian Nights*, Fouqué's *Sintram*, Kingsley's *Heroes*, Lamb's *Tales from Shakespeare*, Scott's *Ivanhoe*, etc. Mr. E. Lucas, whose work in rendering good literature accessible we noticed in a former number of *The Open Court*, has given us in the same group an admirable rendering of some of *Andersen's Fairy Tales*. The illustrations of these little works are quaint and appropriate: the books are of pocket size and cost, bound, from forty to sixty-five cents. The publishers will doubtless be glad to send a full list of titles on application. (New York: The Macmillan Co., 66 Fifth Ave. London: J. M. Dent & Co.)

Paul Elder and Morgan Shepard have published a series of baby pictures under the name of *Baby Roland*, by George Hansen,—one called "Lima Beans," another "Vespers," and the third "The Ascent of Man." The contents are three sets of photographs: the first of a baby dining on lima beans; the second greeting the setting sun and bidding good night; and the third the gradual climbing of the stairs and the final triumph, followed by a "declaration of independence." The photographs are a trifle dilettantic, but the price (50 cents for each little fascicle) is reasonable, considering the handmade make-up; each series is ornamented with pressed algae.

The August and September issues of *The Bibelot*, "A Reprint of Poetry and Prose for Book Lovers, chosen in part from scarce editions and sources not generally known," are: (1) "In Praise of Old Houses," by Vernon Lee (Miss Violet Paget), and (2) "An Address on William Morris," by J. W. Mackail, delivered at Kelmscott House, Hammersmith, before the Hammersmith Socialist Society, Nov. 11, 1900. Mr. Mackail's address gives an admirable review of Morris's life and career. The October *Bibelot* is "Rossetti and the Religion of Beauty" by F. W. B. Myers. (Portland, Me.: Thomas B. Mosher. Price each, 5 cents.)

Watts & Co. of London have just issued a cheap edition (six pence) of Matthew Arnold's famous book *Literature and Dogma: An Essay Towards a Better Apprehension of the Bible*,—a work as justly noted for its literary qualities as for its criticism of an unreasoning and false theology. It was originally published in the early seventies, and its object was, as its author stated, "to reassure those who feel attachment to Christianity, to the Bible, but who recognise the growing discredit befalling miracles and the supernatural."

Echoes from the Solitudes is the title of the latest volume of aphorisms and poems from the pen of Mary Morgan (Gowan Lea), a former contributor to *The Open Court*, the earlier readers of which will remember her graceful sonnets. The little book contains many pretty sentiments. (London: George Allen.)

The First Principles of Herbert Spencer has been translated into French from the sixth English edition by M. Guymiot. The proofs of this French edition have been read and thoroughly revised by the author, and the publishers have supplied a very handsome photogravure reproduction of the best bust of Herbert Spencer that we have seen. While this work will not be largely used by English readers, save possibly by English students of French who are desirous of acquiring by comparison a knowledge of French philosophical terminology, for which purpose it would be admirable, the translation will serve the purpose of introducing to circles knowing French but not conversant with English, the chief work of one of the most popular English philosophers of the last decades. (Paris: Librairie C. Reinwald; Schleicher Frères, Éditeurs. 1902. Pages, xvii, 508. Price, 10 Francs.)

NOTES.

The proposed Hindu-Buddhistic Religious Conference at Kioto, Japan, mentioned in the last *Open Court* as taking place in October of this year, has been postponed until April and May of 1903. An industrial exhibition will be held about the same time at Okasa, Japan. It is expected that a large number of Indian visitors will attend the Conference and Exhibition, the latter of which is to be supplemented by a special Indian Arts Exposition. Japan owes a large debt to India, and the forthcoming gatherings are in the nature of a friendly return for the intellectual advantages which Japan has derived from Indian civilisation in the past.



RUDOLF VIRCHOW.

(1821-1902.)

Frontispiece to The Open Court.

THE OPEN COURT

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

**Devoted to the Science of Religion, the Religion of Science, and
the Extension of the Religious Parliament Idea.**

VOL. XVI. (NO. 12.)

DECEMBER, 1902.

NO. 559

Copyright by The Open Court Publishing Co., 1902.

JOHN WESLEY POWELL.

BY MRS. M. D. LINCOLN (BESSIE BEECH.)

I. BOYHOOD AND YOUTH.

JOHN WESLEY POWELL was born of English parents at Mount Morris, New York, on the 24th of March, 1834. His father, Joseph Powell, while in England, had been a preacher of the Wesleyan Church, and after reaching America he continued to preach. A diligent reader, a terse speaker, a sound thinker; honest, precise, and devout, the stern morality which he taught in the pulpit was exemplified in all his social relations and particularly in the government of his household. The severity of the father's discipline was, however, softened by the gentle influence of the mother. Remarkable alike for her womanly graces and rare gifts of mind, she shone like an angel of light in the home, planning a thousand pleasures for her children and judiciously managing her domestic affairs while her husband itinerated through the country on his ministerial labors.

Even as a child young Powell evinced his investigating tendencies. He instinctively gathered every curious shell and pebble within his reach, and read a lesson in every leaf and flower. Yet, judging from the interest he took in his Biblical studies, it would have been more reasonable to predict for him future eminence as an ecclesiastic than the brilliant career as a scientist upon which he was destined to enter. He early committed to memory the entire Gospels of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, much to the delight of his father. When he was about seven years of age, the family moved from Mount Morris to Jackson, Ohio. At this time the Anti-Slavery agitation was extending over the country, and in it the father took an active part. Associated with him in this work

were Doctor Isham, Mr. Montgomery, and Mr. Crookham, residents of the same place. He was also on intimate terms with other men identified with the movement throughout the State, and the boy frequently saw Professors Finney and Williams, then of Oberlin College, Salmon P. Chase, afterwards Chief Justice of the United States, Joshua R. Giddings, and other distinguished abolitionists. To the people of southern Ohio, many of whom had originally emigrated from Virginia and other slave States, anti-slavery sentiments were extremely obnoxious. For several years an aggressive agitation was kept up; meetings were held in various portions of the State, and pamphlets in the interest of the cause were published and distributed. At one time *Wesley's Thoughts on Slavery* were issued in pamphlet form and widely circulated by a coterie of men living in Jackson. This publication led to a great uproar in the town, and four of the leading agitators were mobbed, and soon afterwards one of the professors of Oberlin College was assaulted on the street while on his way to the Powell residence. These years constituted a very exciting epoch in the boy's life. He was now old enough to appreciate the character of his father's course, and keenly felt the terrorism in which the family was constantly held.

But these circumstances led to events which profoundly influenced his subsequent life. A short distance from Jackson, on a large farm, lived Mr. Crookham, a man of some means. He had a grown family, in which were several sons who took charge of the farm and relieved their father of the cares of business. He was now an old man, and reputed to be a great scholar. To John he seemed a man of miraculous wisdom. He had built for himself two large log-houses, connected by a shed. In one he had his library, museum, and laboratory; the other was arranged as a school-house, and in this he taught gratuitously such young men as desired instruction.

As the son of an abolitionist it was at one period difficult for John to attend the village school. The boys considered that he had no rights which they were bound to respect, and his mother came to the conclusion that it was not safe for him to go to the school any longer. About this time Mr. Crookham came to see his father and mother, and the kind old gentleman proposed that John should come and study with him in his log school-house. The lad was shy and embarrassed, and it was quite a while before Mr. Crookham, although a constant visitor in the family for several years, could overcome his timidity. At last, addressing Mr. Powell, he

said; "Great Britain,¹ I will take the boy and make a scholar of him." To this the father consented, and that day completed the arrangements for his guardianship of the lad until the excitement should subside.

There were but three or four other pupils and their attendance was rather irregular; all but John were grown men. Mr. Crookham devoted himself largely to his own studies, especially those in natural history. With him there were no "set" lessons; he gave his pupils books to read and occasionally talked with them and asked them questions.

Within a few months, matters became quiet in the village and John returned to the common school, but Mr. Crookham took great pains to direct his reading. He brought him *Hume's History of England* and other historical works and talked with him on the subjects of which they treated. While giving him no books in natural history, he made him quite familiar with a few plants, insects, and birds, and also with some minerals, and by frequent conversations upon these various subjects, interested him in the characteristics of plants and animals, and the properties of minerals, and at the same time taught him many of the elementary facts of chemistry.

Mr. Crookham, who was a large-framed, corpulent man, often asked John to read to him, but such readings were usually interrupted by his own explanations and by general conversations, which so thoroughly illuminated the subject in hand that the boy, in his youthful imagination, came to regard his tutor as a giant of learning and benevolence. Sometimes he took John into the woods, where every step seemed to suggest something of interest. He would sit down on a rock, stump, or log and describe to his pupil what he had found. Naturally, as the youth grew into manhood, he looked back with great pleasure to those days, also with wonder that a man so absorbed in his books should have taken such interest in a boy so young. The old gentleman's warm friendship for the parents was not the only influence which stimulated this devotion. He saw in his protégé that genius which the father failed to discover, and watched its development with affectionate anxiety.

John's father and mother were Methodists; Mr. Crookham was a Calvinist. For hours the boy would listen to their conversations on religious subjects, and in this way acquired a good many ideas,—rather large ones, too, for one of his age,—on a variety of theological questions. He came to understand that his mother

¹ Mr. Crookham always called John's father "Great Britain."

was not so entirely orthodox as his father ; her opinions were perhaps slightly tinted with Swedenborgian mysticism. Be that as it may, her theology seemed to his boyish perceptions a great deal better than that of his father or Mr. Crookham. When the two were discussing their relative opinions, it was John's habit to wait for and expect his mother's final exposition of the subject. He thoroughly believed that she knew exactly the truth, and he used to wonder why the men argued over these matters so long, and why they did not at the outset ask his mother to explain to them just what was right.

One day the old Calvinist came puffing up the steps of neighbor Powell's house, walked through the sitting-room, and sitting down in the kitchen where John's mother was busy, asked for "Great Britain." He was evidently greatly agitated, and after a time explained that some rowdies had burned his school-house, library, and cabinet, and that all was lost. He seemed not to care so greatly on his own account, but to mourn chiefly because the means with which to teach his "youngsters" had been destroyed. After that he came more frequently to his father's house, and if possible took more minute direction of the boy's studies. Although by reason of the latter's extreme youth, it was scarcely to be expected that he should have made great advance in natural history, yet the two or three years thus spent under the guidance of Mr. Crookham were of real importance in giving to his thoughts that inclination which carried him eventually and permanently into the profession of science and of letters.

During these years, it had been the father's ambition to place his family in such a position that they could live comfortably, and to devote himself exclusively to the ministry. Finally, when John was twelve years old, Mr. Powell moved further west, making the journey across northern Indiana, through Chicago, to Walworth County, Wisconsin. This was accomplished with an emigrant wagon loaded with household goods, and two carriages, one of the latter being driven by John. His father had previously bought some land, but upon reaching it decided not to settle on it, but to purchase a partly improved farm. The next summer he commenced preaching regularly, leaving the Methodist Church, however, and joining the Wesleyan, on account of his anti-slavery sentiments. He knew nothing about farming, did not work on the farm, and took no part in its management. All this devolved upon John, and, aided by two or three farm employees, the schoolboy

became a farmer, with all the responsibilities of the position, heavy indeed for a lad of his years.

The farm was in burr-oak woods, and but a small tract was cultivated the first year. During the second winter a large area was cleared and fenced, and in the course of a few years about sixty acres of land were brought under cultivation. John worked continuously summer and winter: clearing the land, sodding, ditching, ploughing, planting, building, adding an annex to the house and making the barn larger, constituted only a small part of the work planned or executed. He labored through the long days and studied far into the night, eagerly perusing all the books he could procure.

Following the plough did not suit him. While he turned the soil, his thoughts were far away amid the rocks and woods of his old home, where Mr. Crookham first opened the volume of Nature to his wondering eyes. Yet he toiled faithfully. His home was fifty miles from what was then called Southport (now Kenosha), and sixty miles from Racine, and these places were the markets of the country. In the late fall and early winter months his time was usually occupied in hauling wheat to one or the other of these towns. With the money obtained from the sale of grain he had to make the purchases for the family,—groceries, clothing, lumber, and such other things as were needed on the farm. It was a five or six days' journey, and from twelve to fifteen trips were made each year. Those were the pioneer days of our country, when oxen drew the plough and hauled the produce of the farms to market. Southern Wisconsin was at that time a great wheat-producing region, and all farmers in the country were on the road during the fall and winter. He did not then realise how perilous was the promiscuous company of travellers in his goings to and from the market towns in these years of his life. He was associated with hardy, jovial, and often very hilarious frontiersmen, and there were temptations on the road and in the city to which a country boy might have readily yielded. But there were circumstances which protected him from the bad influences by which he was surrounded. He had a sense of great responsibility, especially so because the family purse was in his custody. His father and mother so completely trusted him that they never asked him to account for his transactions.

In one of the earlier years of his pioneer life, he fell in company with one William Wheeler, several years his senior, who took great interest in him, and whom the boy, recognising as a supe-

rior, soon came to regard with sincere esteem and affection. Mr. Wheeler said nothing about morality, but his general conduct and noble example were such as to make a deep impression on the lad. He was far superior in education to his young companion,—had at one time been in college and now occupied himself very much in reading, letting his team follow the others while he poured over some entertaining volume. John was quick to follow his example. His wagon-box became a receptacle for books, and while his reading was desultory, it was nevertheless valuable. Histories and biographies pleased him the most. On these trips he re-read Hume's History of England, Gibbon's Rome, a history of the United States, and finally Dick's philosophy and some works in Mental Philosophy. He never read a work of fiction or a volume of poetry, although his mother had frequently urged him to read Milton. Now he became interested in Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress, and no matter what other books he selected for companions on these long journeys, that one was sure to be found in his wagon-box, for he could read it when he was tired of all others. He never, by the way, considered Bunyan a work of fiction.

In the winter of 1850, when he was sixteen years old, his discontent with farm work impelled him to leave home, and he went to Janesville, determined to attend school. Janesville was about twenty miles distant, and he walked the first day to a farmhouse within about two miles of the town. He had but a few cents in his pocket, and stopping at the farmhouse to stay over night, he asked for work. The farmer engaged him for two weeks, and at the end of that time, with six dollars in his pocket, John proceeded to Janesville and visited the school. He returned to the outskirts of the town and made arrangements with a farmer to work nights and mornings for his board, stipulating that he should have his time during school hours for study.

The family lived in a log house. John's business was to feed and water the cattle and sheep, and to care for them generally; and, at night, after his work was done in the farmyard, he sat by the chimney-side rocking the cradle and studying his books by the fire-light as best he could. The next year Joseph Powell sold the farm at South Grove and moved to another on Bonus Prairie, in Boone county, Illinois.

In the fall of 1852, when John was eighteen, it was decided by his mother that he should commence his school life. The first thing to be done was to earn the necessary money. Early in the month of October he put the farm in as good shape as possible and turned

it over to his younger brother, W. B. Powell, and commenced studying at home. For six weeks his school was in the garret, where he remained almost day and night, studying grammar, arithmetic, and geography. He then set out for the southern part of Wisconsin, about thirty miles distant, and had no difficulty in securing engagement as a teacher. The school engaged, the next task was to procure the necessary certificate of proficiency. One day in the latter part of November he went to the township superintendent to be examined. A feeling of dread possessed him lest he should fail on examination.

As he approached the Superintendent's house a fierce wind blew the snow in his face. All aglow with the excitement of a walk of twenty miles in a sharp gale, he knocked at the door. The lady of the house, with a cheerful reassuring voice, invited him in, but he had to wait two or three hours for the return of the Superintendent. At last he came, and insisted that John, now the dignified School-Master, Mr. Powell, should stay all night. As the family sat together at the supper table, the Superintendent conversed with the young man about the school he was to teach, and about various subjects that would engage his attention, in so kind and skilful a way, that during the evening he drew out such knowledge as his visitor possessed without giving him an idea that he was passing the dreaded ordeal. Just before going to bed, and greatly to the surprise of his visitor, he filled out a certificate, signed it and handed it to the young man. The superintendent was a man of fine culture; his advice was always good, and during the winter he gave the young teacher much valuable aid.

The school over which Powell was to preside was on the north side of Jefferson Prairie, and a little stone school-house was his first college. At least half of his pupils were older than himself, and several of them were quite as far advanced in their studies. This compelled him to work very hard, and certainly no pupil in the school made such progress as did he. He provided himself with several school arithmetics and worked through them all. He studied elementary algebra, and took the class about half as far as he went himself. He read three or four grammars, and made decided progress in geography, and on this subject gave a lecture one night in the week to the most advanced pupils. The other young people of the neighborhood, as well as pupils from adjoining towns, came to these lectures. For this work Powell prepared himself by systematic study and vigorous consultation of books of ref-

erence; he also made excellent use of his limited knowledge of history, weaving it deftly into his account of the lands of the world.

By contract the teacher was to "board around," but one of the trustees, Mr. Little, took Mr. Powell to his home and insisted that he should stay the greater part of his time with him. His wife had been a New England school-teacher, and she had what seemed to the young man a marvellous library. She took great interest in his geographic work and always kept him supplied with abundant material from which to prepare his lectures, and he always gave her an outline of his discourse before delivering it in public.

In the following summer (1853) he worked on a farm at Bonus Prairie. In the meantime his father became interested in the founding of a school at Wheaton, Illinois, under the auspices of the Wesleyan Methodists. Near the village he bought a small tract of land of forty acres, on which stood a little farmhouse. He had also bought five acres of land close by the new building erected for college purpose, and was himself one of the trustees of the college. Early in the fall John's mother and sister journeyed with him from Bonus Prairie to Wheaton. On reaching that place he had the little frame moved from the forty-acre lot to the five-acre lot near the village, a distance of about half a mile, and with the help of two or three men it was soon fitted up in comfortable style for the winter. Here John studied and taught until summer, when he returned to the farm.

Early in the fall of 1854 he went south to Macon County, and taught a County school, and the following spring went into business with his brother-in-law, Mr. Davis, who had married his eldest sister. A nursery and stock farm, the latter for sheep, was the business venture in which he engaged, hoping that at the end of two or three years he would make sufficient money to enable him to take a college course.

When the news of his undertaking reached his father, and with it the alarming statement that John had run into debt, he wrote his son a very bitter letter, saying that he considered the debts which he had assumed to be dishonorable and that his course in the matter was not a whit better than highway robbery. His mother also wrote advising him to withdraw from the business, although she treated the matter with leniency. The combined opposition of his parents made him relinquish the enterprise, and he then fully determined never to commence again until he had completed a course of study. Accordingly he went to Decatur and rented a little house with a single room, which had previously been

used as a shoe-shop. In this humble tenement he boarded himself, purchasing bread, milk, and such other things as did not need cooking; and occasionally his sister, who lived in the country, would send him a joint of meat ready for the table, or would in other ways add to his little store.

On going to Wheaton, he expected that the school would furnish all the educational facilities needed, but as it was just organised he soon found himself in advance of any of its classes. He then formed the resolution of studying by himself. The persevering and indomitable student may not have judiciously selected his studies; but his work in algebra, geometry, and trigonometry was successful and satisfactory. His studies in mental and moral philosophy and his general reading in history were less profitable, perhaps; but his progress in Latin compensated for the deficiency.

During the winter of 1856 he taught school in Clinton, De Witt County, Illinois, and received sixty dollars per month. At the little stone school-house he had received fourteen dollars per month, and in the school near Decatur, thirty dollars per month, and his increased salary of sixty dollars per month seemed to him a large amount. The next year he attended classes in Jacksonville College, Illinois, studying Latin and Greek, reviewing trigonometry and attending lectures in chemistry.

His father had always desired that his son should go to Oberlin, and at last in deference to that strongly expressed wish, he entered Oberlin College in 1857. Being far advanced in the scientific branches of study, he now devoted himself chiefly to Greek and Latin, studying botany also during the spring term. There was no winter school at Oberlin at that time, as the faculty believed the interests of the pupils were subserved by a vacation which would enable them to teach during the winter months. Consequently Mr. Powell returned to Wheaton, entered school there, and remained a year. During all this time his studies had been irregular, but he was in a position where he could graduate in any western college by a few months' application.

For several years he had given all his attention to botany and zoölogy. He had an herbarium of many thousand plants, and a large collection of lacustrine river and land shells, and quite a large cabinet of the reptiles found in Illinois, Iowa, and Michigan. One spring day he went through the village of Wheaton with a basket containing some glass fruit-cans, to be used as specimen jars, on his way to the woods for the purpose of collecting snakes. As he passed a group of men they asked him where he was going. His

reply was that he needed another rattlesnake in his collection. As it happened he found a rattlesnake that day, and on his return through the village at night, with the live reptile in a glass jar, he chanced to meet the same gentlemen with whom he had been talking in the morning. This mere accident led to a curious and rather fabulous story, to the effect that he was acquainted with the homes of all the animals, knew their habits, and could at any time find any animal he desired. This reputation clung to him for years; the incident got into the country papers and was repeated until the story became greatly exaggerated. When last repeated, the young naturalist learned for the first time that he had appropriated the upper story of his father's house for a museum, and had it full of all sorts of reptiles; and that he could go to the woods and fields any day and find any reptile, mammal, or bird that pleased his fancy, and that he lived in a house full of them and was constantly employed in studying their habits. To be sure he had a large collection, and was very familiar with it; but the story was much larger than the collection.

About this time he was probably more interested in mollusks than in any other department of natural history. He had a very large collection made by himself from the Great Lakes, the small interior lakes of Wisconsin and Illinois, the Mississippi River, and from most of the rivers of Iowa, Illinois, Missouri, Indiana, and Kentucky, besides a good representation of the land shells of all that region of country. His greatest difficulty was in obtaining books to enable him to identify species. There were many specimens which he was never able properly to identify, but he gave them names according to the locality where they were collected, and from the characteristics of the shells. He had collected some fossils, also, and had studied minerals sufficiently to become familiar with the use of the blow-pipe.

During the summer of this year he continued his travels, especially along the Ohio River and across to the lakes, and then through Michigan. In the fall he went to the Iron Mountain region, south of St. Louis, Missouri, for the purpose of collecting minerals. He found the country so interesting that he continued his stay in the field until he barely had the funds necessary to take him to St. Louis, where he hoped to earn enough to pay his expenses home. Not finding work at once, he pawned his watch and went to Decatur where he had previously lived. Later he engaged to teach at Hennepin, Illinois, and continued teaching for six months, receiving one hundred dollars per month.

It was his intention at the time to earn a sum of money sufficient to enable him to study in some Eastern college one or two years and graduate, but when the spring time came the old fascination for natural history studies predominated, and he made geology a specialty.

The town of Hennepin standing on a bluff of the Illinois River, was of itself a study. The underlying country for miles around was a deep accumulation of drift-like material. A great valley or basin had been filled and the carboniferous rocks which came near the surface were here marked to the depth of about two hundred feet. During the winter Powell became greatly interested in this body of drift material and the peculiar characteristics of the country, and early in the spring he commenced a more thorough examination of it and the adjacent county of La Salle. He devoted several weeks to this work, and then extended his examination farther and farther away, up and down the valley of the Illinois, and finally through the valley of the Mississippi and along the Des Moines River in Iowa and thence into southern Wisconsin.

His geological studies interested him deeply, and he continued out late in the fall. On returning to Hennepin he decided to teach again and postpone for another year his trip to the East. During these scientific trips he had formed the acquaintance of many scholars interested in natural history and geology, and was elected Secretary of the Illinois Natural History Society. In this capacity, and through the kindness of many devoted friends, he was enabled to journey, by rail or boat, for several years, without expense; and being a good walker, his expenses as a travelling student were always trivial. He could sleep at night on the ground under a tree with impunity, for he had perfect health and was an athlete.

Thus young Powell's student days were not all passed in the school-room, though he had diligently applied himself to study under the direction of various teachers. Much of his study was made privately, as he was impelled by a desire to acquire material for successful instruction. The teacher thus became the more careful student. To a large extent his school-room was in the forest and the field, on the prairie and the mountain, and along the river bank and the lake shore; for he early became a student of nature, and studied in the solitudes of nature.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

MAJOR POWELL, THE CHIEF.

BY THE EDITOR.

MAJOR John Wesley Powell received *honoris causa* the doctor's degree of the University of Heidelberg, which is a rare distinction ranging high above the title of doctor that is conferred to applicants on the ground of a thesis and a due examination called the *rigororum*. The doctor's degree *honoris causa* is given only to men of extraordinary merit when they have acquired sufficient fame no longer to be in need of titles. The philosophical faculty of Heidelberg so correctly and pointedly stated the reason for conferring the honorary degree of doctor upon Major Powell, that we here reproduce an English translation of that portion of his diploma. It reads as follows:

"We, the Senior Dean and other professors of the Faculty of Philosophy in the Karl Rupert University, duly certify by this diploma bearing our seal that we have conferred the rights and privileges of a doctor of philosophy, *honoris causa*, upon that most learned and distinguished man, John W. Powell, of Illinois, heretofore chief of the public institution of ethnography, now of geology, in the United States of America, who, laboriously and wisely studying and measuring the vast and spacious regions of his own country with others, has scientifically observed and expounded the structure, form, and origin of the earth; and who has so associated with himself and brought together into one institution a great number of the most distinguished geologists of his country that they have materially advanced or solved, not less wonderfully than speedily, very difficult and profound questions in mineralogy, petrography, geology, and paleontology; they have studied under his auspices as chief, thereby causing these things not only to be most skilfully brought together in various works, but also to be communicated with the greatest liberality to all students of these subjects in Europe."

Major Powell was not only a scientist but also a chief; he was an organiser, and it is his spirit even to-day after he has passed away, that pervades the institutions which with him and partly through him were called into existence. Yet while he was a born leader, he was never domineering but always amiable and considerate. He appeared to the younger generation that grew up under the influence of his powerful personality, not as their teacher or master, but their senior friend, and they in their turn learned to look up to him with love and confidence as to a father or elder brother.

MITHRAISM AND THE RELIGIONS OF THE EMPIRE.¹

BY PROFESSOR FRANZ CUMONT.

THE Acts of the Oriental martyrs bear eloquent testimony to the intolerance of the national clergy of the Persia of the Sassanids; and the Magi of the ancient empire, if they were not persecutors, at least constituted an exclusive caste, and possibly even a privileged race. The priests of Mithra afford no evidence of having assumed a like attitude. Like the Judaism of Alexandria, Mazdaism had been softened in Asia Minor by the Hellenic civilisation. Transported into a strange world, it was compelled to accommodate itself to the usages and ideas there prevailing; and the favor with which it was received encouraged it to persevere in its policy of conciliation. The Iranian gods who accompanied Mithra in his peregrinations were worshipped in the Occident under Greek and Latin names; the Avestan *yazatas* assumed there the guise of the immortals enthroned on Olympus, and these facts are in themselves sufficient to prove that far from exhibiting hostility toward the ancient Græco-Roman beliefs, the Asiatic religion sought to accommodate itself to them, in appearance at least. A pious mystic could, without renouncing his faith, dedicate a votive inscription to the Capitolian triad,—Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva; he merely invested these divine names with a different meaning from their ordinary acceptation. If the injunction to refrain from participating in other Mysteries, which is said to have been imposed upon Mithraic initiates, was ever obeyed it was not long able to withstand the syncretic tendencies of imperial paganism. For in the fourth century the “Fathers of the Fathers” were found performing the highest offices of the priesthood, in temples of all sorts.

Everywhere the sect knew how to adapt itself with consum-

¹ Extracted by the author from his *Textes et Monuments figurés relatifs aux Mystères de Mithra* (Brussels: H. Lamertin). Translated by T. J. McCormack.

mate skill to the environment in which it lived. In the valley of the Danube it exercised on the indigenous cult an influence that presupposes a prolonged contact between them. In the region of the Rhine, the Celtic divinities were honored in the crypts of the Persian god, or at least in conjunction with them. Thus, the Mazdean theology, according to the country in which it flourished, was colored with variable tints, the precise gradations of which it is now impossible for us to follow. But these dogmatic shadings merely diversified the subordinate details of the religion, and never imperilled its fundamental unity. There is not the slightest evidence that these deviations of a flexible doctrine provoked heresies. The concessions which it made were matters of pure form. In reality, Mithraism having arrived in the Occident in its full maturity, and even showing signs of decrepitude, no longer assimilated the elements that it borrowed from the surrounding life. The only influences that profoundly modified its character were those to which it was subjected in its youth amidst the populations of Asia.

The close relations in which Mithra stood to certain gods of this country is not only explained by the natural affinity which united all Oriental immigrants in opposition to the paganism of Greece and Rome. The ancient religious hostility of the Egyptians and Persians persisted even in Rome under the emperors, and the Iranian Mysteries appear to have been separated from those of Isis by secret rivalry if not by open opposition. On the other hand, they associated readily with the Syrian cults that had emigrated with them from Asia and Europe. Their doctrines, thoroughly imbued with Chaldæan theories, must have presented a striking resemblance to that of the Semitic religions. Jupiter Dolichenus, who was worshipped simultaneously with Mithra in Commagene, the land of his origin, and who like the latter remained a preëminently military divinity, is found by his side in all the countries of the Occident. At Carnuntum in Pannonia, a mithræum and a *dolichenum* adjoined each other. Baal, the lord of the heavens, was readily identified with Ormazd, who had become Jupiter-Cælus, and Mithra was easily likened to the solar god of the Syrians. Even the rites of the two liturgies appear to have offered some resemblances.

As in Commagene, so also in Phrygia, Mazdaism had sought a common ground of understanding with the religion of the country. In the union of Mithra and Anâhita the counterpart was found of the intimacy between the great indigenous divinities Attis and Cybele, and this harmony between the two sacred couples persisted

in Italy. The most ancient mithræum known to us was contiguous to the *metroon* of Ostia, and we have every reason to believe that the worship of the Iranian god and that of the Phrygian goddess were conducted in intimate communion with each other throughout the entire extent of the empire. Despite the profound differences of their character, political reasons drew them together. In conciliating the priests of the *Mater Magna*, the sectaries of Mithra obtained the support of a powerful and officially recognised clergy, and so shared in some measure in the protection afforded it by the State. Further, since men only were permitted to take part in the secret ceremonies of the Persian liturgy, other Mysteries to which women were admitted must have formed some species of alliance with the former, to make them complete. The Great Mother succeeded thus to the place of Anâhita; she had her *Matres* or "Mothers," as Mithra had his "Fathers"; and her initiates were known among one another as "Sisters," just as the votaries of her associate called one another "Brothers."

This alliance, fruitful generally in its results, was especially profitable to the ancient cult of Pessinus, now naturalised at Rome. The loud pomp of its festivals was a poor mask of the vacuity of its doctrines, which no longer satisfied the aspirations of its devotees. Its gross theology was elevated by the adoption of certain Mazdean beliefs. There can be scarcely any doubt that the practice of the taurobolium, with the ideas of purification and immortality appertaining to it, had passed under the Antonines from the temples of Anâhita into those of the *Mater Magna*. The barbarous custom of allowing the blood of a victim slaughtered on a latticed platform to fall down upon the mystic lying in a ditch below, was probably practised in Asia from time immemorial. According to a wide-spread notion among primitive peoples, the blood is the vehicle of the vital energy, and the person who poured it upon his body and moistened his tongue with it believed that he was thereby endowed with the courage and strength of the slaughtered animal. This sacred bath appears to have been administered in Cappadocia in a great number of sanctuaries, and especially in those of Mâ, the great indigenous divinity, and in those of Anâhita. These goddesses, to whom the bull was consecrated, had been generally likened by the Greeks to their Artemis Tauropolos, and the ritualistic baptism practised in their cult received the name of *tauropolium* (ταυροπόλιον), which was transformed by the popular etymology into *taurobolium* (ταυροβόλιον). But under the influence of the Mazdean beliefs regarding the future life, a more profound significance was

attributed to this baptism of blood. In taking it the devotees no longer imagined they acquired the strength of the bull; it was no longer a renewal of physical strength that the life-sustaining liquid was now thought to communicate, but a renewal, temporary and even perpetual, of the human soul.¹

When, under the empire, the *taurobolium* was introduced into Italy, it was not quite certain at the outset what Latin name should be given the goddess in whose honor it was celebrated. Some saw in her a celestial Venus; others compared her to Minerva, because of her warlike character. But the priests of Cybele soon introduced the ceremony into their liturgy,—evidently with the complicity of the official authorities, for nothing in the ritual of this recognised cult could be modified without the authorisation of the quindecimvirs. Even the emperors are known to have granted privileges to those who performed this hideous sacrifice for their salvation, though their motives for this special favor are not clearly apparent. The efficacy which was attributed to this bloody purification, the eternal new birth that was expected of it, resembled the hopes which the mystics of Mithra attached to the immolation of the mythical bull.² The similarity of these doctrines is quite naturally explained by the identity of their origin. The *taurobolium*, like many rites of the Oriental cults, is a survival of a savage past which a spiritualistic theology had adapted to moral ends. It is a characteristic fact that the first immolations of this kind that we know to have been performed by the clergy of the Phrygian goddess took place at Ostia, where the *metreon*, as we saw above, adjoined a Mithraic crypt.

The symbolism of the Mysteries certainly saw in the *Magna Mater* the nourishing Earth which the Heavens yearly fecundated. So the Græco-Roman divinities which they adopted changed in character on entering their dogmatic system. Now, these gods were identified with the Mazdean heroes, and the barbaric legends then celebrated the new exploits which they had performed. Again, they were considered as the agents that produced the various transformations of the universe. Then, in the centre of this pantheon, which had again become naturalistic, as it was at its origin, was placed the Sun, for he was the supreme lord that governed the movements of all the planets and even the revolutions of the heavens themselves,—the one who diffused with his light and his heat

¹ These pages summarise the conclusions of a study entitled *Le taurobole et le culte de Bellone*, published in the *Revue d'histoire et de littérature religieuses*.

² See *The Open Court* for October, 1908, p. 609.

all of life here below. This conception, astronomical in its origin, predominated more and more according as Mithra entered into more intimate relations with Greek thought and became a more faithful subject of the Roman state.

The worship of the Sun, the outcome of a sentiment of recognition for its daily benefactions, augmented by the observation of its tremendous rôle in the cosmic system, was the logical upshot of paganism. When critical thought sought to explain the sacred traditions and discovered in the popular gods the forces and elements of nature, it was obliged perforce to accord a predominant place to the star on which the very existence of our globe depended. "Before religion reached the point where it proclaimed that God should be sought in the Absolute and the Ideal, that is to say, outside the world, one cult only was reasonable and scientific and that was the cult of the Sun."¹ From the time of Plato and Aristotle Greek philosophy regarded the celestial bodies as animate and divine creatures; Stoicism furnished new arguments in favor of this opinion; while Neo-Pythagorism and Neo-Platonism insisted still more emphatically on the sacred character of the luminary which is the ever-present image of the intelligible God. These beliefs, approved by the thinkers, were widely diffused by literature, and particularly by the works in which romantic fiction served to envelop genuinely theological teachings.

If heliolatry was in accord with the philosophical doctrines of the day, it was not less in conformity with its political tendencies. We have essayed to show the connection which existed between the worship of the emperors and that of the *Sol invictus*. When the Cæsars of the third century pretended to be gods descended from heaven to the earth, the justification of their imaginary claims had as its corollary the establishment of a public worship of the divinity from whom they believed themselves the emanations. Heliogabalus had claimed for his Baal of Emesa the supremacy over the entire pagan pantheon. The eccentricities and violences of this unbalanced man resulted in the lamentable wreck of his undertaking; but it answered to the needs of the time and was soon taken up again with better success. Near the Flaminian Way, to the east of the Field of Mars, Aurelian consecrated a colossal edifice to the tutelary god that had granted him victory in Syria. The religion of state that he constituted must not be confounded with Mithraism. Its imposing temple, its ostentatious ceremonies, its quadrennial games, its pontifical clergy, remind us of the great

¹ Renan, *Lettre à Berthelot* (*Dialogues et fragments philosophiques*), p. 168.

sanctuaries of the Orient and not of the dim caves in which the Mysteries were celebrated. Nevertheless, the *Sol invictus*, whom the emperor had intended to honor with a pomp hitherto unheard of, could well be claimed as their own by the followers of Mithra.

The imperial policy gave the first place in the official religion to the Sun, of which the Sovereign was the emanation, just as in the Chaldæan speculations propagated by the Mithraists the royal planet held sway over the other stars. On both sides, the growing tendency was to see in the brilliant star that illuminated the universe the only God, or at least the sensible image of the only God, and to establish in the heavens a monotheism in imitation of the monarchy that ruled on earth. Macrobius (400 A. D.), in his *Saturnalia*, has learnedly set forth that the gods were ultimately reducible to a single Being considered under different aspects, and that the multiple names by which they were worshipped were the equivalent of that of Helios (the Sun). The theologian Vettius Agorius Pretextat who defended this radical syncrasy was not only one of the highest dignitaries of the empire, but one of the last chiefs of the Persian Mysteries.

Mithraism, at least in the fourth century, had therefore as its end and aim the union of all gods and all myths in a vast synthesis,—the foundation of a new religion in harmony with the prevailing philosophy and political constitution of the empire. This religion would have been as far removed from the ancient Iranian Mazdaism as from Græco-Roman paganism, which accorded the sidereal powers a minimal place only. It had in a measure traced idolatry back to its origin, and discovered in the myths that obscured its comprehension the deification of nature. Breaking with the Roman principle of the nationality of worship, it would have established the universal domination of Mithra, identified with the invincible Sun. Its adherents hoped, by concentrating all their devotion upon a single object, to impart new cohesion to the disintegrated beliefs. Solar pantheism was the last refuge of conservative spirits, now menaced by a revolutionary propaganda that aimed at the annihilation of the entire ancient order of things.

At the time when this pagan monotheism sought to establish its ascendancy in Rome, the struggle between the Mithraic Mysteries and Christianity had long begun. The propagation of the two religions had been almost contemporaneously conducted, and their diffusion had taken place under analogous conditions. Both from the Orient, they had spread because of the same general reasons, viz., the political unity and the moral anarchy of the empire.

Their diffusion had been accomplished with like rapidity, and toward the close of the second century they both numbered adherents in the most distant parts of the Roman world. The sectaries of Mithra might justly lay claim to the hyperbolic utterance of Tertullian: "*Hesterni sumus et vestra omnia implevimus.*" If we consider the number of the monuments that the Persian religion has left us, one may easily ask whether in the epoch of the Severi its adepts were not more numerous than the disciples of Christ. Another point of resemblance between the two antagonistic creeds was that at the outset they drew their proselytes chiefly from the inferior classes of society; their propaganda was at the origin essentially popular; unlike the philosophical sects, they addressed their endeavors less to cultivated minds than to the masses, and consequently appealed more to sentiment than to reason.

But by the side of these resemblances considerable differences are to be remarked in the methods of procedure of the two adversaries. The initial conquests of Christianity were favored by the Jewish diaspora, and it first spread in the countries inhabited by Israelitic colonies. It was therefore chiefly in the countries washed by the Mediterranean that its communities developed. They did not extend their field of action outside the cities, and their multiplication is due in great part to missions undertaken with the express purpose of "instructing the nations." The extension of Mithraism, on the other hand, was essentially a natural product of social and political factors; namely, of the importation of slaves, the transportation of troops, and the transfer of public functionaries. It was in government circles and in the army that it counted its greatest numbers of votaries,—that is, in circles where very few Christians could be found because of their aversion to official paganism. Outside of Italy, it spread principally along the frontiers and simultaneously gained a foothold in the cities and in the country. It found its strongest points of support in the Danubian provinces and in Germany, whereas Christianity made most rapid progress in Asia Minor and Syria. The spheres of the two religious powers, therefore, were not coincident, and they could accordingly long grow and develop without coming directly into conflict. It was in the valley of the Rhone, in Africa, and especially in the city of Rome, where the two competitors were most firmly established, that the rivalry, during the third century, became particularly brisk between the bands of Mithra's worshippers and the disciples of Christ.

The struggle between the two rival religions was the more

stubborn as their characters were the more alike. The adepts of both formed secret conventicles, closely united, the members of which gave themselves the name of "Brothers."¹ The rites which they practised offered numerous analogies. The sectaries of the Persian god, like the Christians, purified themselves by baptism; received, by a species of confirmation, the power necessary to combat the spirits of evil; and ardently expected from a Lord's Supper salvation of body and soul. Like the latter, they also held Sunday sacred, and celebrated the birth of the Sun on the 25th of December, the same day on which Christmas has always been celebrated, at least since the fourth century. They both preached a categorical system of ethics, regarded asceticism as meritorious, and counted among their principal virtues abstinence and continence, renunciation and self-control. Their concepts of the world and of the destiny of man were similar. They both admitted the existence of a Heaven inhabited by beatified ones, situate in the upper regions, and that of a Hell peopled by demons, situate in the bowels of the earth. They both placed a Flood at the beginning of history; they both assigned as the source of their traditions a primitive revelation; they both, finally, believed in the immortality of the soul, in a last judgment, and in a resurrection of the dead, consequent upon a final conflagration of the universe.

We have seen that the theology of the Mysteries made of Mithra a "mediator" equivalent to the Alexandrian Logos. Like him, Christ also was a *μεσίτης*, an intermediary between his celestial father and men, and like him he also was one of a Trinity. These resemblances were certainly not the only ones that pagan exegesis established between the two religions, and the figure of the tauroctonous god reluctantly immolating his victim, that he might create and save the human race, was certainly compared to the picture of the Redeemer sacrificing his own person for the salvation of the world.

On the other hand, the ecclesiastical writers, reviving a metaphor of the prophet Malachi, contrasted the "Sun of justice" with the "invincible Sun," and consented to see in the dazzling orb which illuminated men a symbol of Christ, "the light of the world." Should we be astonished if the multitudes of devotees failed always to observe the subtle distinctions of the doctors, and if in obedience to a pagan custom they rendered to the radiant star of day the

¹ I may remark that even the expression "dearest brothers" had already been used by the sectaries of Jupiter Dolichenus (CIL, VI, 406 = 30738: *fratres carissimos et conlegas hon[estissimos]*) and probably also in the Mithraic associations.

homage which orthodoxy reserved for God? In the fifth century, not only heretics, but even faithful followers, were still wont to bow their heads towards its dazzling disk as it rose above the horizon, and to murmur the prayer, "Have mercy upon us."

The resemblances between the two hostile churches were so striking as to impress even the minds of antiquity. From the third century, the Greek philosophers were wont to draw parallels between the Persian Mysteries and Christianity which were evidently entirely in favor of the former. The Apologists also dwelt on the analogies between the two religions, and explained them as a Satanic travesty of the holiest rites of their religion. If the polemical works of the Mithraists had been preserved, we should doubtless have heard the same accusation hurled back upon their Christian adversaries.

We cannot presume to unravel to-day a question which divided contemporaries and which shall doubtless forever remain insoluble. We are too imperfectly acquainted with the dogmas and liturgies of Roman Mazdaism, as well as with the development of primitive Christianity, to say definitely what mutual influences were operative in their simultaneous evolution. But be this as it may, resemblances do not necessarily suppose an imitation. Many correspondences between the Mithraic doctrine and the Catholic faith are explicable by their common Oriental origin. Nevertheless, certain ideas and certain ceremonies must necessarily have passed from the one cult to the other; but in the majority of cases we rather suspect this transference than clearly perceive it.

Apparently the attempt was made to discern in the legend of the Iranian hero the counterpart of the life of Jesus, and the disciples of the Magi probably drew a direct contrast between the Mithraic worship of the shepherds, the Mithraic communion and ascension, and those of the Gospels. The rock of generation, which had given birth to the genius of light, was even compared to the immovable rock, emblem of Christ, upon which the Church was founded; and the crypt in which the bull had perished was made the counterpart of that in which Christ was born at Bethlehem.¹ But this strained parallelism could result in nothing but a carica-

¹ M. Jean Réville (*Études publiées en hommage à la faculté de théologie de Montauban*, 1901, pp. 339 et seq.) thinks that the Gospel story of the birth of Christ and the adoration of the Magi was suggested by the Mithraic legend; but he remarks that we have no proof of the supposition. So also M. A. Dieterich in a recent article (*Zeitschr. f. Neutest. Wiss.*, 1902, p. 190), in which he has endeavored not without ingenuity to explain the formation of the legend of the Magi kings, admits that the worship of the shepherds was introduced into Christian tradition from Mazdaism. But I must remark that the Mazdean beliefs regarding the advent of Mithra into the world have strangely varied. (Cf. *T. et M.*, t. I., pp. 160 et seq.)

ture. It was a strong source of inferiority for Mazdaism that it believed in only a mythical redeemer. That unfailing wellspring of religious emotion supplied by the Gospel and the Passion of the God sacrificed on the cross, never flowed for the disciples of Mithra.

On the other hand, the orthodox and heretical liturgies of Christianity, which gradually sprang up during the first centuries of our era, could find abundant inspiration in the Mithraic Mysteries, which of all the pagan religions offered the most affinity with Christian institutions. We do not know whether the ritual of the sacraments and the hopes attaching to them suffered alteration through the influence of Mazdean dogmas and practises. Perhaps the custom of invoking the Sun three times each day,—at dawn, at noon, and at dusk,—was reproduced in the daily prayers of the Church, and it appears certain that the commemoration of the Nativity was set for the 25th of December, because it was at the



Fig. 1. BAS-RELIEF OF MAYENCE.

Mithra drawing his bow ; and the god of the winds.

winter solstice that the rebirth of the invincible god,¹ the *Natalis Invicti*, was celebrated. In adopting this date, which was universally distinguished by sacred festivities, the ecclesiastical authority purified in some measure the profane usages which it could not suppress.

The only domain in which we can ascertain in detail the extent to which Christianity imitated Mithraism is that of art. The Mithraic sculpture, which had been first developed, furnished the ancient Christian marble-cutters with a large number of models, which they adopted or adapted. For example, they drew inspiration from the figure of Mithra causing the waters of the well of life to leap forth by the blows of his arrows,² to create the figure of Moses smiting with his rod the rock of Horeb (Fig. 1). Faithful

¹See *Open Court* for November, p. 680.

²See *Open Court* for October, p. 605.

to an inveterate tradition, they even reproduced the figures of cosmic divinities, like the Heavens and the Winds, the worship of which the new faith had expressly proscribed; and we find on the sarcophagi, in miniatures, and even on the portals of the Romance Churches, evidences of the influence exerted by the imposing compositions that adorned the sacred grottoes of Mithra.¹

It would be wrong, however, to exaggerate the significance of these likenesses. If Christianity and Mithraism offered profound resemblances, the principal of which were the belief in the purification of souls and the hope of a beatific resurrection, differences no less essential separated them. The most important was the contrast of their relations to Roman paganism. The Mazdean Mysteries sought to conciliate paganism by a succession of adaptations and compromises; they sought to establish monotheism while not combating polytheism, whereas the Church was, in point of principle, if not always in practice, the unrelenting antagonist of idolatry in any form. The attitude of Mithraism was apparently the wisest; it gave to the Persian religion greater elasticity and powers of adaptation, and it attracted toward the tauroctonous god all who stood in dread of a painful rupture with ancient traditions and contemporaneous society. The preference must therefore have been given by many to dogmas that satisfied their aspirations for greater purity and a better world, without compelling them to detest the faith of their fathers and the state of which they were citizens. As the Church grew in power despite its persecutors, this policy of compromise first assured to Mithraism much tolerance and afterwards even the favor of the public authorities. But it also prevented it from freeing itself of the gross and ridiculous superstitions which complicated its ritual and its theology; it involved it, in spite of its austerity, in an equivocal alliance with the orgiastic cult of the beloved of Attis; and it compelled it to drag the entire weight of a chimerical and odious past. If Romanised Mazdaism had triumphed, it would not only have assured the perpetuity of all the aberrations of pagan mysticism, but would also have rescued from oblivion the erroneous doctrine of physics on which its dogmatism reposed. The Christian doctrine, which broke with the cults of nature, remained unconsciously exempt from these impure associations, and its liberation from every compromising attachment assured it an immense superiority. Its negative value, its struggle against deeply-rooted prejudices, gained for it as many souls as the positive hopes which it promised. It performed the

¹ See next *Open Court*.

miraculous feat of triumphing over the ancient world in spite of legislation and the imperial policy, and the Mithraic Mysteries were promptly abolished the moment the protection of the State was withdrawn and transformed into hostility.

Mithraism reached the apogee of its power toward the middle of the third century, and it appeared for a moment as if the world was on the eve of becoming Mithraic. But the first invasions of the barbarians, and especially the definitive loss of Dacia (275 A. D.), soon after followed by that of the Agri Decumates, administered a terrible blow to the Mazdean sect, which was most powerful in the periphery of the *orbis Romanus*. In all Pannonia, and as far as Virunum, on the frontiers of Italy, its temples were sacked. By way of compensation, the authorities, menaced by the rapid progress of Christianity, renewed their support to the most redoubtable adversary that they could oppose to it. In the universal downfall the army was the only institution that remained standing, and the Cæsars created by the legions were bound perforce to seek their support in the favored religion of their soldiers. In 273 A. D., Aurelian founded by the side of the Mysteries of the tauroctonous god a public religion, which he richly endowed, in honor of the *Sol invictus*. Diocletian, whose court with its complicated hierarchy, its prostrations before its lord, and its crowds of eunuchs, was, by the admission of contemporaries, an imitation of the court of the Sassanids, was naturally inclined to adopt doctrines of Persian origin, which flattered his despotic instincts. The emperor and the princes whom he had associated with himself, meeting in conference at Carnuntum in 307 A. D., restored there one of the temples of the celestial protector of their newly-organised empire.¹ The Christians believed, not without some appearance of reason, that the Mithraic clergy were the instigators of the great persecution of Galerius. In the Roman empire as in Iran, a vaguely monistic heliolatry appeared on the verge of becoming the sole, intolerant religion of state. But the conversion of Constantine shattered the hopes which the policy of his predecessors had held out to the worshippers of the sun. Although he did not persecute the beliefs which he himself had shared,² they ceased to constitute a recognised cult and were tolerated only. His successors were determinedly hostile. To latent defiance succeeded open persecution. Christian polemics no longer restricted its attacks to ridiculing the legends and practises of the Mazdean Mysteries, nor even to taunt-

¹ See *The Open Court* for August, p. 451.

² Cf. Preger, *Konstantinos-Helios* (Hermes, XXXVI), 1901, p. 457.

ing them for having as their founders the irreconcilable enemies of Rome; it now stridently demanded the total destruction of idolatry, and its exhortations were promptly carried into effect. When a rhetorician¹ tells us that under Constantius no one longer dared to look at the rising or setting sun, that even farmers and sailors refrained from observing the stars, and tremblingly held their eyes fixed upon the ground, we have in these emphatic declarations a magnified echo of the fears that then filled all pagan hearts.

The proclamation of Julian the Apostate (331-363 A. D.) suddenly inaugurated an unexpected turn in affairs. A philosopher, seated on the throne by the armies of Gaul, Julian had cherished from childhood a secret devotion for Helios. He was firmly convinced that this god had rescued him from the perils that menaced his youth; he believed that he was entrusted by him with a divine mission, and regarded himself as his servitor, or rather as his spiritual son. He dedicated to this celestial "king" a discourse in which the ardor of his faith transforms in places a cold theological dissertation into an inflamed dithyrambic, and the fervor of his devotion for the star that he worshipped never waned to the moment of his death.

The young prince had been presumably drawn to the Mysteries by his superstitious predilection for the supernatural. Before his accession, perhaps even from youth, he had been introduced secretly into a Mithraic conventicle by the philosopher Maximus of Ephesus. The ceremonies of initiation must have made a deep impression on his feelings. He imagined himself thenceforward under the special patronage of Mithra, in this life and in that to come. As soon as he had cast aside his mask and openly proclaimed himself a pagan, he called Maximus to his side, and doubtless had recourse to extraordinary ablutions and purifications to wipe out the stains which he had contracted in receiving the baptism and the communion of the Christians. Scarcely had he ascended the throne (361 A. D.) than he made haste to introduce the Persian cult at Constantinople; and almost simultaneously the first taurobolia were celebrated at Athens.

On all sides the sectaries of the Magi lifted their heads. At Alexandria the patriarch George, attempting to erect a church on the ruins of a mithræum, provoked a sanguinary riot. Arrested by the magistrates, he was torn from his prison and cruelly slain by the populace on the 24th of December, 361, the eve of the *Natalis*

¹ Mamert., *Grat. actio in Julian.*, c. 23.

Invicti. The emperor contented himself with addressing a paternal remonstrance to the city of Serapis.

But the Apostate soon met his death in the historic expedition against the Persians, to which he had possibly been drawn by the secret desire to conquer the land which had given him his faith and by the assurance that his tutelary god would accept his homage rather than that of his enemies. Thus perished this spasmodic attempt at reaction, and Christianity, now definitively victor, addressed itself to the task of extirpating the erroneous doctrine that had caused it so much anxiety. Even before the emperors had forbidden the exercise of idolatry, their edicts against astrology and magic furnished an indirect means of attacking the clergy and disciples of Mithra. In 371 A. D., a number of persons who cultivated occult practises were implicated in a pretended conspiracy and put to death. The mystagogue Maximus himself perished as the victim of an accusation of this kind.

It was not long before the imperial government legislated formally and directly against the disgraced sect. In the provinces, popular uprisings frequently anticipated the interference of the magistrates. Mobs sacked the temples and committed them to the flames, with the complicity of the authorities. The ruins of the mithræums bear witness to the violence of their devastating fury. Even at Rome, in 377 A. D., the prefect Gracchus, seeking the privilege of baptism, offered as a pledge of the sincerity of his conversion the "smashing, shattering, and shivering,"¹ of a Mithraic crypt, with all the statues that it contained. Frequently, in order to protect their grottoes from pillage, the priests walled up the entrances, or conveyed their sacred images to well-protected hiding-places, convinced that the tempest that had burst upon them was momentary only, and that after their days of trial their god would cause again to shine forth the light of final triumph. On the other hand, the Christians, in order to render places contaminated by the presence of a dead body ever afterward unfit for worship, sometimes slew the refractory priests of Mithra and buried them in the ruins of their sanctuaries, now forever profaned (Fig. 2).

The hope of restoration was especially tenacious at Rome, which remained the capital of paganism. The aristocracy, still faithful to the traditions of their ancestors, supported the religion with their wealth and prestige. Its members loved to deck themselves with the titles of "Father and Herald of Mithra Invincible," and multiplied the offerings and the foundations. They redoubled

¹ St. Jerome, *Epist. 107 ad Latam* (*T. et M.*, t. II, p. 18); *subvertit, fragit, excussit*.

their generosity toward him when Gratian in 382 A. D. despoiled their temples of their wealth. A great lord recounts to us in poor verses how he had restored a splendid crypt erected by his grandfather near the Flaminian Way, boasting that he was able to dispense with public subsidies of any kind.¹ The usurpation of Eugenius appeared for a moment to bring on the expected resurrection. The prefect of the prætorium, Nicomachus Flavianus, celebrated solemn taurobolia and renewed in a sacred cave the Mysteries of the "associate god" (*deum comitem*) of the pretender. But the victory of Theodosius, 394 A. D., shattered once and for all the hopes of the belated partisans and the ancient Mazdean belief.

A few clandestine conventicles may, with stubborn persistence, have been held in the subterranean retreats of the palaces. The



Fig. 2. CHAINED SKELETON.

Discovered in the ruins of a temple at Saarbùrg.

cult of the Persian god possibly existed as late as the fifth century in certain remote cantons of the Alps and the Vosges. For example, devotion to the Mithraic rites long persisted in the tribe of the Anauni, masters of a flourishing valley, of which a narrow defile closed the mouth. But little by little its last disciples in the Latin countries abandoned a religion tainted with moral as well as political decadence. It maintained its ground with greater tenacity in the Orient, the land of its birth. Driven out of the rest of the empire, it found a refuge in the countries of its origin, where its light only slowly flickered out.

¹ CIL, VI, 774 (*T. et M.*, t. II, p. 94, n^o. 13).

Nevertheless, the conceptions which Mithraism had diffused throughout the empire during a period of three centuries were not destined to perish with it. Some of them, even those most characteristic of it, such as its ideas concerning Hell, the efficacy of the sacraments, and the resurrection of the flesh, were accepted even by its adversaries; and in disseminating them it had simply accelerated their universal domination. Certain of its sacred practices continued to exist also in the ritual of Christian festivals and in popular usage. Its fundamental dogmas, however, were irreconcilable with orthodox Christianity, outside of which only they could maintain their hold. Its theory of sidereal influences, alternately condemned and tolerated, was carried down by astrology to the threshold of modern times; but it was to a religion more powerful than this false science that the Persian Mysteries were destined to bequeath, along with their hatred of the Church, their cardinal ideas and their influence over the masses.

Manichæism, although the work of a man and not the product of a long evolution, was connected with these Mysteries by numerous affinities. The tradition according to which its original founders had conversed in Persia with the priests of Mithra, may be inexact in form, but it involves nevertheless a profound truth. Both religions had been formed in the Orient from a mixture of ancient Babylonian mythology with the Persian dualism, and had afterwards absorbed Hellenic elements. The sect of Manichæus spread throughout the empire during the fourth century, at the moment when Mithraism was expiring, and it was called to assume the latter's succession. Mystics whom the polemics of the church against paganism had shaken but not converted were enraptured with the new conciliatory faith which suffered both Zoroaster and Christ to be simultaneously worshipped. The wide diffusion which the Mazdean beliefs with their taint of Chaldæism had enjoyed, prepared the minds of the empire for the reception of the new heresy. The latter found its ways made smooth for it, and this is the secret of its sudden expansion. Thus renewed, the Mithraic doctrines were destined to withstand for centuries all persecutions, and rising again in a new form in the Middle Ages to shake once more the ancient Roman world.

SKETCH OF THE HISTORY OF THERMOMETRY.¹

BY DR. ERNST MACH.

[CONTINUED.]

BOYLE, in 1661, and Mariotte, in 1676, enunciated the experimental law that the product of the volume of a given mass of gas at constant temperature by the pressure which it exerts on unit of surface is constant. If a mass of air of volume V be subjected to a pressure P , it will assume, on the pressure's increasing to $P' = nP$, the volume $V' = \frac{V}{n}$; whence $PV = nP \frac{V}{n} = P'V'$. If we represent the V 's as abscissas and the corresponding P 's as ordi-

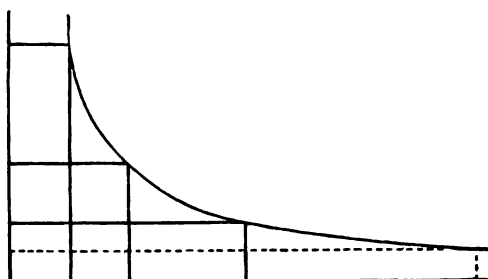


Fig. 9.

nates, the areas of the rectangles formed by the P 's and V 's will in all cases be equal. The equation $PV = a \text{ constant}$ gives as its graph an equilateral hyperbola, which is the visualisation of Boyle's Law. (See Fig. 9.)

The experiments which led to this law are very simple. In a glass siphon-tube having a closed limb at a and an open limb at b (Fig. 10), a quantity of air v is introduced and shut off from the outside air by mercury. The pressure on the enclosed air is given

¹ Translated from Mach's *Prinzipien der Wärmelehre* by Thomas J. McCormack.

by the height of the mercury-barometer *plus* the difference of level *mn* of the two surfaces of the liquid, and can be altered at will by altering the height of the mercury column.

Experiments in verification of Boyle's law (which Boyle himself did not regard as absolutely accurate) were carried out through a wide range of pressures and for many different gases by Oerstedt and Schwendensen, Depretz, Pouillet, Arago and Dulong, and Mendeleeff,—but most accurately by Régnault,¹ and through the widest range of pressures by Amagat.²



Fig. 10.

If the pressure in the apparatus represented in Fig. 10 be doubled, the volume *v* of the gas will be diminished one half; if it be doubled again, it will be diminished one fourth. The errors in the readings increase greatly as the volume decreases, and to eliminate them Régnault resorted to an ingenious expedient. At *a* he attached a stop-cock through which air could be introduced under varying pressure; the volume of the enclosed air *v* could thus be always kept the same and subsequently compressed to $\frac{v}{2}$ by lengthening the column of mercury *mn*. With such an arrangement the measurements were always of like exactitude.

It appears that to reduce unit of volume under a pressure of one meter of mercury $\frac{1}{2}v_0$, it is requisite in the case of air, carbonic acid gas, and hydrogen to increase the pressure to respectively 19.7198, 16.7054, and 20.2687 meters of mercury. The product *PV*, therefore, for high pressures, decreases for air and carbonic acid gas and increases for hydrogen. The two first-named gases are therefore more compressible and the last-named less compressible than Boyle's Law requires.

Amagat conducted his experiments in a shaft 400 meters deep and increased the pressure to 327 meters of mercury. He found that as the pressure increases the volume of *PV* first decreases, and after passing through a minimum again increases. With nitrogen, for $P=20.740$ meters of mercury, $PV=50989$; for $P=50$ meters, $PV=50800$, approximately a minimum; and for $P=327.388$ meters, $PV=65428$. Similar minima are furnished by other gases. Hydrogen showed no minimum, although Amagat suspected the existence of one at a slight pressure.

We shall not discuss here the attempts that have been made

¹ *Mémoires de l'Académie*, Vol. XXI.

² *Annales de chimie et de physique*, Fifth Series, Vol. XIX. (1880).

by Van der Waals, E. and U. Dühring, and others to explain these phenomena by the molecular theory. It will be sufficient for us to remark that while Boyle's Law is not absolutely exact, it nevertheless holds very approximately through a wide range of pressures for many gases.

It was necessary to adduce the foregoing facts for the reason that the behavior of gases with respect to pressure is of importance in the consideration of their behavior with respect to heat,—a subject which was first minutely investigated by Gay-Lussac.¹ This inquirer makes mention of the researches of Amontons, and also employs the observations of Lahire (1708) and Stancari, from which the necessity of thoroughly drying the gases clearly appeared. Gay-Lussac's procedure was as follows. A perfectly dry cylinder closed by a stop-cock is filled with gas and plunged into a bath of boiling water. After the superfluous gas has been expelled, the cock is closed and the cylinder cooled in melting ice. On opening the cock under water, a part of the cylinder fills with water. By weighing the cylinder thus partly filled with water, afterwards completely filled with water, and again when empty, we obtain the coefficient of expansion of the gas from the melting-point of ice to the boiling-point of water. At 0° C. temperature 100 volumes of air, hydrogen, and nitrogen give respectively 137.5, 137.48, 137.49 volumes at 100° C. Also for other gases, and even for vapor of ether, Gay-Lussac obtained approximately the same coefficient of expansion, viz., 0.375. He states that, fifteen years before, Charles (1787) knew of the equality of the thermal dilatation of gases; but Charles had published nothing on the subject. Dalton² likewise had occupied himself with this question earlier than Gay-Lussac, and had both remarked the equality of the thermal dilatation of gases and given 0.376 as the coefficient of expansion.

For the comparison of different gases, Gay-Lussac also used two perfectly similar graduated glass receivers dipped a slight distance apart in mercury (Fig. 11). When like volumes of different gases were introduced into these receivers under like pressures and at like temperatures, both always appeared to be filled to the same marks of division.

In another investigation, Gay-Lussac³ employed a vessel shaped somewhat like a thermometer and having a horizontal tube in which the air was shut off from the atmosphere by a drop of

¹ *Annales de chimie*, first series, Vol. XLIII. (1802).

² *Nicholson's Journal*, Vol. V. (1801).

³ Biot, *Traité de physique*, Vol. I., p. 182, Paris, 1816.

mercury, the vessel being heated simultaneously with mercury-thermometers. Between the melting-point of ice and the boiling-point of water the dilatation of the air is very nearly proportional to the indications of the mercury-thermometer.

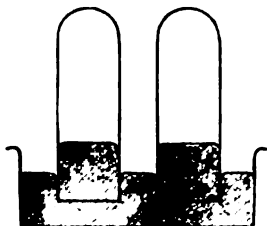


Fig. 11.

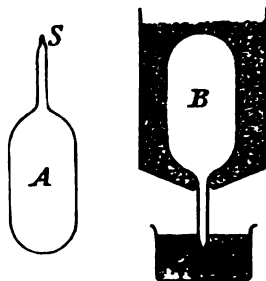


Fig. 12.

The experiments above described were subsequently performed on a larger scale and with closer attention to sources of error, by Rudberg,¹ Magnus,² Régnault,³ Jolly,⁴ and others. Two methods are principally employed. The first consists (Fig. 12) in heating a glass vessel *A* to the temperature of boiling, repeatedly exhausting it, and then filling it with air that has passed over chloride of

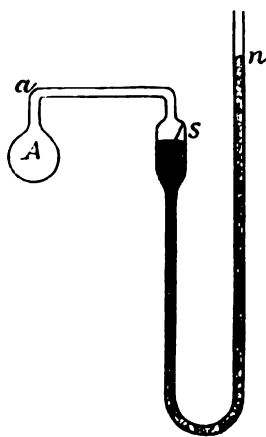


Fig. 13.

calcium. While still at boiling temperature, the tip *S* is hermetically sealed, the barometer noted, the vessel inverted and encased (*B*) in melting ice, with the tip under mercury. When cool, the tip is broken off, and the mercury rises into the vessel; the difference of level of the mercury within and without the tube is then noted, and the apparatus weighed the required number of times. It is the method of Gay-Lussac with the requisite refinements.

The second method (Fig. 13) consists in plunging a vessel *A* full of dry air as far as the bend of the tube *a*, first in a bath of melting ice and then in steam from boiling water, while simultaneously so regulating the height of the mercury column at *n* that the inside surface of the mercury constantly grazes the glass spicule *s*. The volume of the air is thus kept constant, and what is really

¹ *Poggendorfs Annalen*, 41, 44.

³ *Mémoires de l'Acad.*, Vol. XXI.

² *Poggendorfs Annalen*, 45,

⁴ *Poggendorfs Annalen*, Jubelband.

measured is the *increment of the expansive force* of the gas when heated.

If a volume of gas v under a constant pressure p be raised from 0° to 100° C., it will expand to the volume $v(1 + \alpha)$, where α is called the *coefficient of expansion*. If the gas as it now is at 100° C. were compressed back to its original volume, it would exert, according to Boyle's Law, a pressure p' , where $vp' = v(1 + \alpha)p$. Whence it follows that $p' = p(1 + \alpha)$. If Boyle's Law held *exactly*, α would likewise be the *coefficient of the increment of expansive force*, or, more briefly, the *coefficient of expansive force*. But as the law in question is not absolutely exact, the two coefficients are not identical. Calling the coefficient of expansion α and the coefficient of expansive force β , the values of these coefficients for the interval from 0° to 100° C. for a pressure of about one atmosphere are, according to Régnault:

	α	β
Hydrogen.....	0.36613	0.36678
Air.....	0.36706	0.36645
Carbonic Acid Gas....	0.37099	0.36871

The coefficients of expansion increase slightly, according to Régnault, with the increase of the density of the gas. It further appears that the coefficients of expansion of gases which deviate widely from Boyle's Law decrease slightly as the temperature measured by the air-thermometer rises.

Gay-Lussac has shown that between 0° and 100° C. the *expansion* of gases is *proportional* to the indications of the mercury-thermometer. Designating the degrees of the mercury-thermometer by t and the $\frac{1}{100}$ part of the coefficient of expansion as above determined by α , we shall have, at constant pressure, $v = v_0(1 + \alpha t)$, and at constant volume $p = p_0(1 + \alpha t)$, where v_0 , p_0 , v , p , respectively represent the volume and pressure of the gases at 0° and t° , and where the coefficients of expansion and expansive force are assumed to be the same. Each of these equations expresses Gay-Lussac's Law.¹

Boyle's Law and Gay-Lussac's Law are usually combined. For a given mass of gas the product p_0v_0 at the definite temperature 0° has a constant value. If the temperature be increased to t° C. and the volume kept constant, the pressure will increase to $p' = p_0(1 + \alpha t)$; wherefore $p'v_0 = p_0v_0(1 + \alpha t)$. And if the pressure p and the volume v at t° be altered at will, the product will be $p v = p'v_0$.

¹In this country and in England, Gay-Lussac's Law is usually called Charles's Law.—T.

Whence $p v = p_0 v_0 (1 + \alpha t)$. This last law is called the combined Law of Boyle and Gay-Lussac.

Boyle's Law was visualised by an equilateral hyperbola. The proportional increase of the volume or the pressure of a gas with its temperature may be represented, conformably to Gay-Lussac's Law, by a straight line (Fig. 14). Remembering that α is very approximately equal to $\frac{1}{273}$, we may say that for every increase of 1° Celsius the volume or pressure increases $\frac{1}{273}$ of its value at 0° , and that there is likewise a corresponding decrease for every degree Celsius. This increase may be conceived *without limit*. By taking away $\frac{1}{273}$ 273 times, we reach the pressure 0 or the volume 0. If therefore the gas acted in strict conformity with the Law of

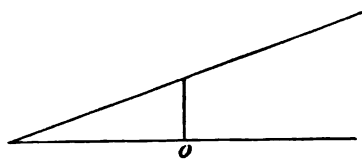


Fig. 14.

Boyle and Gay-Lussac *without limit*, then at -273° Celsius of the mercury - thermometer it would exert *no* pressure whatever and would present Amontons's "degree of greatest cold." The temperature -273° C. has accordingly

been called the *absolute zero*, and the temperature reckoned from this point in degrees Celsius (viz., $T = 273 + t$) the *absolute temperature*.

Even if this view of the matter be not taken seriously,—and we shall see later that there are grave objections to it,—still the presentation of the facts is simplified by it. Writing the Law of Boyle and Gay-Lussac

$$p v = p_0 v_0 (1 + \alpha t) = p_0 v_0 \alpha \left(\frac{1}{\alpha} + t \right) = p_0 v_0 \alpha T,$$

and considering that $p_0 v_0 \alpha$ is a constant, we have

$$\frac{p v}{T} = \text{const.},$$

the simplified expression of the law.

The Law of Boyle and Gay-Lussac likewise admits of geometric representation. Conceive laid (Fig. 15) in the plane of the paper, a large number of long, similar, slender tubes filled with equal quantities of the same kind of gas. These tubes are made fast at one extremity to OT and closed at the other by moveable pistons. The first tube, at OV , has a temperature 0° C., the next a temperature of 1° C., the next 2° C., etc., so that the temperature increases uniformly from O to T . We now conceive the pistons to be all gradually pushed inwards, mercury columns measuring the

pressure p erected over each position of the pistons at right angles to the plane of their action, and through the upper extremities of these columns a surface laid. The surface so obtained is imaged in Fig. 16, and is merely a synthesis of the graphs of Fig. 9 and Fig. 14. Every section of the surface parallel to the plane TOP is a straight line, conforming to Gay-Lussac's Law. Every section parallel to POV is an equilateral hyperbola, conforming to Boyle's Law. The surface as an aggregate furnishes a complete synoptic view of the pressures exerted by the *same* gaseous mass at any volume and at any temperature whatsoever.

The laws in question are in part also fulfilled for vapors. According to Biot,¹ J. A. Deluc² appears to have been the first to frame anything like a correct view of the department of vapors.

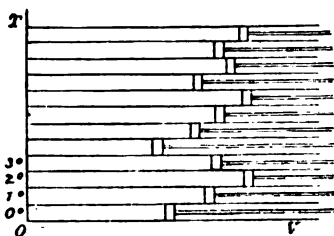


Fig. 15.

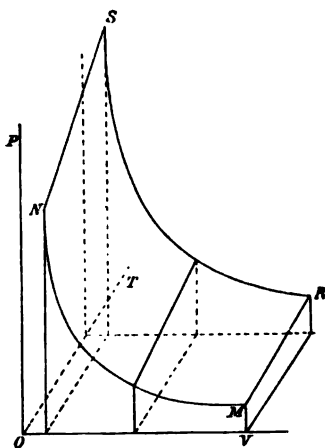


Fig. 16.

H. B. Saussure³ knew from observation that the maximum quantity of vapor which a given space can contain depends not on the nature or density of the gas filling the space, but solely on the temperature. Doubtless this suggested to Dalton⁴ the idea of inquiring whether water really was *absorbed* by gases, as was then generally supposed. He caused the liquid to be vaporised in the Torricellian vacuum, and obtained for a given temperature the *same* pressure as in air. *Air*, therefore, played no part in vaporisation. Priestley's discovery, that gases of widely differing specific gravities diffused into one another uniformly, combined with that just men-

¹ Biot, *Traité de physique*, Paris, 1816.

² *Idées sur la météorologie*, Paris, 1787.

³ *Essai sur l'hygrométrie*, Neuchâtel, 1783.

⁴ *On the Constitution of Mixed Gases, etc.*, *Mem. Manch. Soc.*, V., 1801.

tioned, led Dalton to the conception that in a mixture of gases and vapors occupying a given space *every portion behaved as if it alone were present*. Dalton's way of expressing this fact was by saying that the particles of a gas or vapor could exert pressure only on particles of its own kind.

The discovery that gases behave toward one another precisely as *void spaces*,¹ is one of the most important and fruitful that Dalton



JOHN DALTON (1766-1844).

ever made. The way to it had been prepared by the observations above mentioned, and in reality it furnishes nothing but a lucid conceptual expression of the facts, such as science in the Newtonian sense requires. But the preponderance of the speculative

¹*Manchester Memoirs*, Vol. V., 1801, p. 535. Compare Henry, *Life of Dalton*, p. 32. Dalton says: "and consequently (the particles) arrange themselves just the same as in a void space."

element and of a bent for capricious theorising in Dalton, which becomes so fateful in the researches to be discussed further on, makes its appearance here also. Dalton cannot refrain from introducing along with his statement of the facts an entirely redundant conception, which impairs the clearness of his ideas and diverts attention from the main point. This is the "pressure of the particles of different gases on one another."¹ This hypothetical conception, which can never be made the subject of experimental verification, certainly does not impart clearness to the *directly observable* fact; on the contrary, it involved its author in unnecessary controversies.

Gay-Lussac² showed, by the experiment represented in Fig. 11, that vapor of ether at a temperature *above the boiling-point* of ether behaved exactly as air did on changes of temperature. The observations of Saussure and Dalton adduced in the preceding paragraphs, together with that just mentioned, indicate that vapors may occur in two states, viz., as *saturated* and as *non-saturated* or *superheated* vapors.

The phenomena involved may be clearly illustrated by an experiment which presents in rapid and lucid succession the different cases, before considered separately. We perform (Fig. 17) the Torricellian experiment, and introduce into the vacuum of the Torricellian tube a small quantity of ether. A portion of the ether vaporises immediately, and the mercury column is depressed by the pressure of the vapor, say, at 20° C., a distance of 435 mm. If the temperature in the barometer tube be raised by a water bath, say to 30° C., the column will show a depression of 637 mm; whilst in a bath of melting ice it will show only 182 mm. The pressure of vapors, therefore, increases with the temperature. If the tube containing the ether be plunged deeper into the mercury, so as to diminish the space occupied by the vapor, the height of the surface of the mercury in the tube will still not be altered. The pressure of the vapor, therefore, remains the same. But it will be noticed that the quantity of liquid ether has slightly increased and that

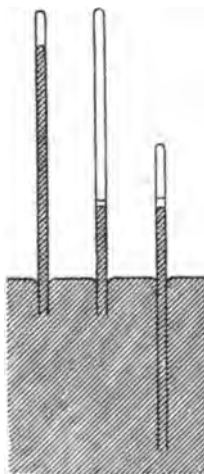


Fig. 17.

¹The passage reads: "When two elastic fluids, denoted by *A* and *B*, are mixed together, there is no mutual repulsion amongst their particles; that is, the particles of *A* do not repel those of *B*, as they do one another. Consequently, the pressure or whole weight upon any one particle arises solely from those of its own kind."

²*Ann. de chim. et de phys.*, XLIII (1802), p. 172.

cordingly, the Law of Boyle and Gay-Lussac. Such vapors are called *non-saturated* or *superheated* vapors. If the concentration of the vapors is continued, they reach a *maximum* of *pressure and density* which cannot be exceeded for any given temperature, as every further diminution of the vapor space causes a partial liquefaction of the vapor. Vapors at the maximum of pressure are called *saturated* vapors. Given enough liquid and sufficient time and this maximum of pressure will always establish itself in a closed space.

The relationship between temperature and the pressure of saturated vapors has been investigated for different vapors by many inquirers. The methods they employed are reducible to two fundamental types. The first consists in introducing the liquid to be investigated into the Torricellian vacuum and in placing the latter in a bath of definite temperature. The amount of depression with respect to the height of the barometer column gives the pressure of the vapor. If the open end of a siphon barometer, which has been exhausted and charged with the liquid, be hermetically sealed and placed in a bath of given temperature, the mercury column will indicate the pressure of the vapor independently of that of the atmosphere.

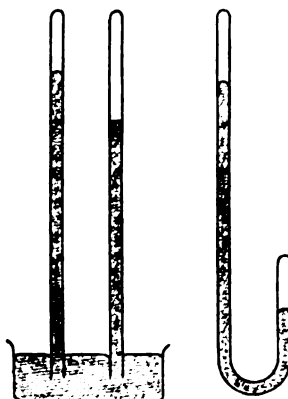


Fig. 19.

This procedure is only a modification of the preceding one. The method here employed is commonly called the *static* method.

Vapors are being constantly generated at the free surface of liquids. For a liquid to *boil*, that is, for bubbles of the vapor to form in its interior, expand, rise to the surface and *burst*, it is necessary that the pressure of the hot vapor in these bubbles should at least be in equilibrium with that of the atmosphere. The *temperature of boiling* is therefore that temperature at which the pressure of the saturated vapor (the maximum pressure) is equal to the pressure of the atmosphere. If a liquid, therefore, be *boiled* under the receiver of an air-pump, by means of which the air-pressure can be raised or lowered at will, (being kept constant by the cooling and re-liquefaction of the generated vapors,) the temperature at which the liquid boils will give the temperature for which the air-pressure produced is the maximum pressure of the vapor. Thus, in Figure 20, *B* is a large glass balloon connected with an air-pump, by which the air-pressures are regulated. In *G* the liquid is boiled

and the vapors generated, while in the bent tube *R*, which can be cooled, they are re-liquefied. This method is commonly called the *dynamical* method.

Experiments were conducted according to these methods by Ziegler (1759), Bétancourt (1792), G. G. Schmidt (1797), Watt,¹ Dalton² (1801), Noe (1818), Gay-Lussac³ (1816), Dulong and Arago (1830), Magnus⁴ (1844), Regnault⁵ (1847), and others.

For the same temperature the maximum pressure varies greatly with the liquid, and it also increases rapidly with the temperature.

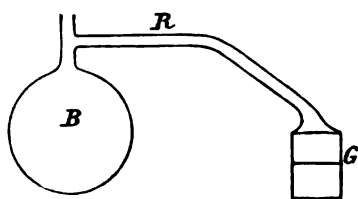


Fig. 20.

Even Dalton *sought* a universal law for the dependence of maximum pressures on temperature, and his investigations were continued in recent times by E. and U. Dühring and others. The purpose and scope of our work preclude our discussing these researches.

The most extensive investigations, owing to their practical importance for the operation of steam engines, were conducted with *water-vapor*. Régnault found the following relationship between temperatures and maximum pressures, expressed in millimeters of mercury:

° C.	mm.	° C.	mm.
0.00	4.54	111.74	1131.60
52.16	102.82	131.35	2094.69
100.74	777.09	148.26	3359.54

It will be seen from this extract from Regnault's table that the pressure of water-vapor from 0° to 100° C. increases by about one atmosphere; while from 100° to 150° it increases by more than three atmospheres. The rapid rise of the curve of pressures on increase of temperature, as represented in the graphed illustrations which Regnault furnished, renders this relationship even more striking.

A more extended extract from this table in the vicinity of the vaporous pressure of 760 mm is of value in ascertaining the influence of atmospheric pressure in the determination of the boiling-point on thermometers.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

¹ Brewster's *Encyclopædie*, (1810-1830).

² *Mem. Manchest. Soc.*, V., 1801.

³ Biot, *Traité de physique*, Paris, 1816.

⁴ *Poggendorfs Annalen*, LXI.

⁵ *Mémoires de l'Acad.*, Vol. XXI.

MISCELLANEOUS.

RUDOLF VIRCHOW.

(1821-1902.)

In the recent death of Rudolf Virchow at the age of eighty-one, Germany has lost the most commanding figure of her scientific world. Virchow's activity embraced every field connected with the science of man, and his influence in social, political, and cultural domains generally perhaps exceeded that of any other scientific man of his generation. He was involved in the political troubles of 1848, having been removed from his position by the Prussian government; he was a member of the city council of Berlin in 1859; a representative in the Prussian House of Commons in 1862, a staunch champion of the *National-Verein*, founder of the *Fortschrittspartei*, etc., etc.; frequently he crossed swords with Bismarck in animated parliamentary debates, and from his pen flowed the famous word, *Kulturkampf*, which became the shibboleth of the most significant struggle in modern German politics.

Yet all this, and vastly more besides, was only Virchow's avocation. His real work lay in the sciences of medicine, anatomy, pathology, and anthropology. Born in Schivelbein, Pomerania, October 13, 1821, he first became famous as a professor of the so-called Würzburg school of medicine. He afterwards returned to Berlin, where he was to remain, and where he founded the famous Pathological Institute. The science of pathological anatomy as it is to-day owes in nearly all its parts its fundamental conformation to him, and the impress that he left on the science of medicine at large was no less deep. Physical anthropology and prehistoric archæology, especially in Germany, received immense aid from his researches and it is perhaps in this field that his name is widest known to the general scientific public. But his greatest achievement was the foundation of *cellular pathology*, and to his view of the nature of the animal cell we shall briefly refer, before proceeding to his well-known and often misinterpreted attitude toward the theory of evolution.

According to Virchow, every cell is born of a cell. Cells change in the organism, and may therefore be said to be variable; they possess, as Virchow phrased it, *mutability*. "From his point of view the whole question of the origin of species centers in the problem of the relation between the mutability of the organism and the mutability of the cell. The comparison of the forms of organisms and organs may form the starting-point of researches on variability, but the study of the variations of the whole organism or organ must be based on the study of the variations of the constituent cells, since the physiological changes of the whole body depend upon the correlated physiological changes that take place in the cells. Without a

knowledge of the processes that take place in varying cells, it is impossible to determine whether a deviation from the normal form is due to secondary causes that affect during their period of development organs already formed, or whether it is due to primary deviations which develop before the first formation of the varying organ. Two questions, therefore, arise: the first, whether secondary deviations may become hereditary. For this no convincing proof has been found. The second question is, whether primary variations do occur, and if so, whether they are hereditary."¹

Now, cellular research, Virchow claims, has given no satisfactory answer to these questions, and since problems concerning the origin of species and the forms of organisms must be determined by investigations concerning the mutability and general function of cells, therefore Virchow regarded any *definite* theory with regard to the descent of man as *speculation* and not as an assured scientific result. His attitude was one of extreme scientific reserve and caution; he withheld judgment; he did not disbelieve in evolution; he took the same stand in the interpretation of the Neanderthal skull, which he considered an individual variation, claiming it would be absurd to construct an entire race from a single cranium. He was hypercritical and conservative to a degree in science, and his attitude on these momentous questions contrasts strangely with his impetuous progressiveness and liberalism in politics. Broad and encyclopædic as his attainments were, he brought the spirit of the specialist to this problem and demanded that it should be solved by the specialist's criteria.

Virchow's position has been so admirably summarised by Clifford in his essay on the great scientist's famous address made in 1877 on "The Liberty of Science in the Modern State," that we cannot refrain from quoting it. Clifford says:²

"He [Virchow] recalled the early days of the Association, when it had to meet in secret for fear of the authorities; and he warned his colleagues that their present liberty was not a secure possession, that a reaction was possible, and that they should endeavor to make sure of the ground by a wise moderation, by a putting forward of those things which are established in the sight of all men, rather than of individual opinions. He divided scientific doctrines into those which are actually proved and perfectly determined, which we may give out as real science in the strictest sense of the word; and those which are still to be proved, but which, in the meantime, may be taught with a certain amount of probability, in order to fill up gaps in our knowledge. Doctrines of the former class must be completely admitted into the scientific treasure of the nation, and must become part of the nation itself; they must modify the whole method of thinking. For an example of such a doctrine he took the great increase in our knowledge of the eye and its working which has come to us in recent times, and the doctrine of perception founded upon it. Things so well known as this, he said, must be taught to children in the schools. 'If the theory of descent is as certain as Professor Haeckel thinks it is, then we must demand its admission into the school, and this demand is a necessary one.' And this, even although there is danger of an alliance between socialism and the doctrine of evolution.

"But, he went on to say, there are parts of the evolution theory which are not yet established scientific doctrines in the sense that they ought to be taught dogmatically in schools. Of these he specially named two: the spontaneous gene-

¹ Quoted from an article by Dr. Boas in *Science* for Sept. 19, 1902.

² "Virchow on the Teaching of Science," in *Lectures and Essays*, Macmillan, New York and London, second edition, p. 418.

ration of living matter out of inorganic bodies, without the presence of previously living matter; and the descent of man from some non-human vertebrate animal. These, he said, are problems; we may think it ever so probable that living matter has been formed out of non-living matter, and that man has descended from an ape-like ancestor; we may fully expect that evidence will shortly be forthcoming to establish these statements; but meanwhile we must not teach them as known and established scientific facts. We ought to say, 'Do not take this for established truth, be prepared to find that it is otherwise; only for the moment we are of opinion that *it may be true*.'

Professor Clifford, then, in a thoroughgoing review of the situation discusses the nature of the evidence for the descent of man and shows it to be of equal validity with that on which the so-called "actually assured" results of science rest. The strength of this evidence is not apparent to infantile minds, and therefore it cannot, of its own nature, be taught to others than advanced pupils; but the *facts* can be taught to children in the schools, and if that be done the demonstration will arise later inevitably and of itself.

To us, of thirty years later, the discussion appears belated. But not so the question of the spontaneous generation of life, the adversaries of which have recently again reared aloft their grim-visaged heads. "Life from life, and from life only," is their cry. The eternity and indestructibility of life they have placed on the same footing with that of energy and matter. And the recent experiments on the viability of bacteria in very low degrees of cold and in very high degrees of heat have furnished them with unexpected straws of support. Yet Clifford's trenchant remarks still hold. "We can only get out of spontaneous generation," he says, "by the supposition made by Sir W. Thompson, in jest or earnest, that some piece of living matter came to the earth from outside, perhaps with a meteorite. I wish to treat all hypotheses with respect, and to have no preferences which are not entirely founded on reason; and yet, whenever I contemplate this

'simpler protoplasmic shape
Which came down in a fire-escape,'

an internal monitor, of which I can give no rational account, invariably whispers 'Fiddlesticks!'

* * *

A propos of Clifford's essay on Virchow and his discussion of the ancestry of hoofed animals and the wiles of the devil in "salting" the geological strata with fossils to deceive mankind, we cannot omit repeating a little pleasantry recorded by him of a meeting of the great French naturalist Cuvier with his Satanic Majesty. The Devil is said to have appeared to Cuvier and threatened to eat him. "Horns? Hoofs?" said Cuvier. "Graminivorous. Can't eat me." "All flesh is grass," replied the Devil, with that fatal habit of misapplying Scripture which has always clung to him.

* * *

We have merely indicated the salient features of Virchow's illustrious career. It would be impossible for us to enter here into the details of his life, or to make more than the merest reference to his myriad social and scientific achievements. His was one of the most versatile minds of the last century; he was one of the dictators of its scientific opinion; and, not least of all, he was a shining example of the devotion of a man of pure science to the welfare of his city and nation. His life was destined to great length and fullest fruition.

THOMAS J. McCORMACK.

THE NEW ENCYCLOPÆDIA OF THE BIBLE.

We devoted considerable space in our August number of 1901 to the story of the inception and character of the great critical Encyclopædia of the Bible¹ edited by Cheyne and Black and conceived by the late Prof. W. Robertson Smith, the author of the chief Biblical articles in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. We have now to chronicle the appearance of the third volume of this latest and crowning achievement of British Scriptural scholarship. The material covers the letters from L to P (including 1299 columns of fine print). The contributors are forty-nine in number, and while they come mostly from Great Britain and Germany, still Holland, Switzerland, and America are not unrepresented. This international character of the undertaking is a certain guarantee of its sound critical and progressive spirit. These volumes have brought the bewilderingly vast material, historical, archæological, geographical, critical, and what not, now offered by Oriental research, up to the "high level of the most recent scholarship," and so constitute a work of reference that supersedes or supplements existing English literature in this field, and that no modern student of the Bible therefore can afford to be without.

But the work is not a collection of disjointed information about the Bible,—not a dictionary; it is "a survey of the contents of the Bible, as illuminated by criticism—a criticism which identifies the cause of religion with that of historical truth, and, without neglecting the historical and archæological setting of religion, loves best to trace the growth of high conceptions, the flashing forth of new intuitions, and the development of noble personalities, under local and temporal conditions that may often be, to human eyes, most adverse."

We quote below, and in full, one of the interesting articles of the work, showing the outspoken critical and historical spirit in which delicate Biblical questions are treated and offering also much valuable information on an important subject. We naturally omit the cross-references to the other articles of the *Encyclopædia*, which form a very essential feature of the work as a whole.

NATURE-WORSHIP IN THE PROGRESS OF RELIGION.

The earliest stage of the development of religious ideas about nature is that in which man conceives natural objects as animated by a demonic life; the second, that in which these objects and localities are regarded as inhabited by a divinity or frequented by it; the third, that "in which they are the visible symbols wherein the presence of a god is graciously manifested, and, finally, to the rejection of the symbol as incompatible with the conception of a god whose invisible presence fills earth and heaven.

"The first of these stages had been left behind by the religion of Israel long before our knowledge of it begins; but innumerable customs of social life and ritual observance that had their root and reason in animistic beliefs survived even to the latest times, and doubtless the beliefs themselves lingered as more or less obscure superstitions among certain classes of the people, as they do to the present day among the peasantry in Christian Europe.

¹ *Encyclopædia Biblica*. A Critical Dictionary of the Literary, Political, and Religious History, the Archæology, Geography, and Natural History of the Bible. Edited by the Rev. T. K. Cheyne, M. A., D. D., and J. Sutherland Black, M. A., LL. D. New York: The Macmillan Company. London: Adam and Charles Black. 1902. Vol. III., L to P, pages, xv, 650.

"It is obvious that the nature of the object itself determined how far it could be carried along by the advancing religious conceptions. A holy mountain, for example, most easily became the abode of a god, whose power was manifested in storm and lightning, or in the beneficent rain-clouds which gathered around its top; a cave near the summit might be in a special sense his dwelling-place. A natural rock which had been revered as the seat of a numen might become a rock-altar or a *massebah*, in which a deity no longer bound to the spot received the sacrifices of his worshippers and answered their requests; and might even finally be understood by higher spirits as only the symbol of the divine presence. On the other hand, the sacred tree was not so easily dissociated from its own life; its spirit might be very potent in its sphere, but it was to the end a tree-spirit, even if some greater name was given it. Consequently, the beliefs and customs connected with trees and with vegetation generally have been left behind in the progress of religion and often put under its ban, though nowhere extirpated by it.

HOLY TREES IN ISRAEL.

"We find this true in the Old Testament. The mountains and the sacred wells and springs which once had, as in some instances we can still perceive, their own numina, have been taken possession of by Yahwè, and become his holy places, seats of his worship; no traces of a distinctive cultus have been preserved; the rocks, so far as they have a religious association at all, are his altars or memorial stones.

"Sacred trees, too, are found at the sanctuaries of Yahwè; at Beersheba, by the holy wells, was a tamarisk which Abraham planted with religious rites (Gen. xxi. 33); at Hebron Abraham built an altar at the '*elon Mamre*' (xiii. 18), where he dwelt (xiv. 13); beneath the tree Yahwè appeared to him in theophany (xviii. 1 ff.). At the '*elon morè*' at Shechem Yahwè appeared to Abraham (Gen. xii. 6 f.); under the '*elah*' at the same place Jacob buried the idols and amulets of his Aramæan household (Gen. xxxv. 4); there Joshua erected a *massebah* beneath the '*elah*' which is in the sanctuary of Yahwè (Josh. xxiv. 26); by the same tree Abimelech was made king (Judg. ix. 6); near Shechem stood also an '*elon me'onenim*' (Judg. ix. 37); the tomb of Deborah was under a tree near Bethel named '*allon bakkuth*' (Gen. xxxv. 8); beneath the '*elah*' at Ophrah the angel of Yahwè appeared to Gideon, who built an altar on the spot (Judg. vi. 11, 19, 24). Compare also the place-names, Elim (Ex. xvi. 1), Elath (2 K. xiv. 22), Elon (Judg. xxii. 11); see also Judg. iv. 5, 1 S. xiv. 2, xxii. 6, xxxi. 13 (1. Ch. x. 12). The words אֵלָה, אֵלֹהִים ('*elah*', '*allah*'), אֵלֹן ('*elon*', '*allon*'), ordinarily mean 'holy tree' (cp. Is. i. 29); the substitutions made in the Targums and by Jerome (i. e., Jerome's Jewish teachers) show how keenly this was felt at a late time. The etymological connection of the word with אֵל ('*el*'), 'numen, god,' is very probable. The names '*elon morè*', '*elon me'onenim*', point to tree oracles; and though these names, like many of the others, are probably of Canaanite origin, we may observe that David takes an omen from the sound of a marching in the tops of the *baka* trees (2. S. v. 24).

SURVIVALS IN CULT AND CUSTOM.

"Of an actual tree cult we have no evidence in the Old Testament, the prophetic irony directed against the veneration of stocks (עֵצִים) and stones more probably referring to '*aserahs*' or wooden idols. But the places of worship 'under every luxuriant tree' had at least originally a deeper reason than that 'the shade was good' (Hos. iv. 13); and we shall probably not err if we see in beliefs which in many

other parts of the world have been associated with the powers of tree-spirits and the life of vegetation at least one root of the sexual license which at these sanctuaries was indulged in in the name of religion. Doubtless the custom existed, which still prevails in Syria as in many other countries, of hanging upon the trees bits of clothing, ornaments, and other things which keep up the connection between the man to whom they belonged and the spirit of the tree. At least one law—the three years' *orlah* of fruit-trees when they begin to bear (Lev. xix. 23–25)—perpetuates a parallel between the life of tree and man which was once more than an analogy. The prohibition of mixed plantations (*kil' ayim*, Dt. xxii. 9) is probably another instance of the same kind. The prohibition of reaping the corner of a field (Lev. xix. 9, xxiii. 22), though now a charitable motive is attached to it, had primitively a very different reason: the corner was left to the grain-spirit. That the first sheaf of the harvest, the first cakes made of the new grain, were originally not an offering to the God of the land, but a sacrament of the corn-spirit, is shown by similar evidence.

"If all this belongs to an age which to the Israelites was prehistoric, the gardens of Adonis (Is. xvii. 10) and the women's mourning for Tammuz (Ezek. viii. 14) show that in mythologised, and doubtless foreign, forms, the great drama of plant life—the blooming spring, the untimely death under the fierce midsummer sun, and the resurrection of the new year, maintained its power over the Israelites as well as their neighbors.

WATER LIBATION.

"The holy wells and springs in Palestine, like the mountains, were taken possession of by Yahwè when he supplanted the baals in their old haunts. No trace remains in the Old Testament of distinctive rites or restrictions connected with sacred waters such as we know in abundance among the neighbors of the Israelites. But one ceremony was observed annually in the temple, at the Feast of Tabernacles, which must be briefly mentioned here. At this season water was drawn from Siloam, carried, amid the blare of trumpets, into the temple precincts through a gate called for this reason the water-gate, and poured upon the altar, running down through a drain into the subterranean receptacle. The reason for the rite is given in another place: 'The Holy One, Blessed is he! said, Pour out water before me at the Feast, in order that the rains of the year may be blessed to you.' The libation was thus an old rain charm, a piece of mimetic magic. A very similar ceremony at Hierapolis is described by Lucian.

WORSHIP OF THE SUN AND MOON.

"The heavenly bodies, especially the sun, moon, and (five) planets, appeared to the ancients to be living beings, and since their influence on human welfare was manifest and great they were adored as deities (see Wisd. xiii. 2 ff.). The relative prominence of these gods in religion and mythology differs widely among peoples upon the same plane of culture and even of the same stock; they had a different significance to the settled population of Babylonia from that which they had for the Arab nomad, and besides this economic reason there are doubtless historical causes for the diversity which are in great part concealed from us.

"That the Israelite nomads showed in some way their veneration of the sun is most probable; but there is no reason to believe that sun-worship was an important part of their religion. In Palestine the names of several cities bear witness to the fact that they were seats of the worship of the sun (*Shemesh*). The best

known of these is Beth-shemesh—now 'Ain Shems—in the Judæan lowland, just across the valley from Zorah, the home of Samson, whose own name shows that Israelites participated in the cult of their Canaanite neighbors, and perhaps appropriated elements of a solar myth. It may be questioned whether the worship of the sun at these places was of native Canaanite origin, or is to be ascribed to Babylonian influence, such as we recognise in the case of the names Beth-anath and, probably, Beth-dagon. If we may judge from the evidence of Phœnician names, the worship of the sun had no such place in the religion of Canaan as Shamash had in that of the Babylonians and Assyrians, and it seems more likely that the god whose cult gives a distinctive name to certain places was a foreign deity. These considerations lend some additional probability to Budde's surmise that the southern beth-shemesh is the place designated in the Amarna Tablets, no. 183, l. 14 ff., as Bît-Ninib in the district of Jerusalem. The name of the city of Jericho—the most natural etymology of which derives it from 𐤊𐤏𐤔, moon—may indicate that it was a seat of moon-worship; but we have no other evidence of the fact. The names of the Desert of Sin and the holy mountain Sinai bear witness to the fact that the region was a centre of the cult of the moon-god Sin, who was zealously worshipped in Syria (Harran), Babylonia, and southern Arabia; in later times Greek and Latin writers as well as Nabatæan inscriptions attest the worship of the moon by the population of Arabia Petræa; the appearance of the new moon is still greeted by the Bedouins, as it was by Canaanites and Israelites in Old Testament times. The religious observance of the new moon with festal rejoicings and sacrifices belongs originally to a lunar cult; but, as in many other cases, this festival and its rites were taken up into the religion of Yahwè—the national religion absorbing the nature religion. Whether the Canaanite Astarte-worship was associated with the planet Venus we do not certainly know; the worship of the Queen of Heaven in the seventh century was evidently regarded as a new and foreign cult.

"The opinion, formerly widely entertained and not yet everywhere abandoned, that the Canaanite worship of Baal and Astarte was primitive sun- and moon-worship, is without foundation; the identification—so far as it took place in the sphere of religion at all—is late and influenced by foreign philosophy.

WORSHIP OF THE STARS.

"If the evidence of the worship of the heavenly bodies in Israel in older times is thus scanty and indirect, the case is otherwise in the seventh and sixth centuries. Jeremiah predicts that the bones of all classes in Jerusalem shall be exhumed and spread out before 'the sun and the moon and the whole host of heaven whom they have loved and served and followed and consulted and prostrated themselves to' (Jer. viii. 2). The deuteronomic law pronounces the penalty of death against the man or woman who worships the sun or the moon or the host of heaven (xvii. 3); cp. also Dt. iv. 15, 19. The introduction of this cult in Jerusalem is ascribed to Manasseh, who built altars for all the host of heaven in the two courts of the temple (2 K. xxi. 3, 5); the apparatus of this worship, with other heathenish paraphernalia, was destroyed by Josiah in his reformation (621 B. C.) and the priests put out of the way (2 K. xxiii. 4 f.). The altars of the astral cults were under the open sky, frequently upon the flat roofs of houses (Jer. xix. 13, Zeph. i. 5); probably the altars on the roof—the 'upper story' of Ahaz—(2 K. xxiii. 12), apparently an addition to the temple, were of this sort. Sacrifices were burnt upon them (2 K. xxiii. 5). The heavenly bodies needed no idol, they were visible gods; and

although various symbols of the sun are found in Assyria as well as Egypt, it is not certain that there were such in Jerusalem. Horses dedicated to the sun were stabled at one of the entrances to the temple, apparently in an annex on the western side (2 K. xxiii. 11), and with them chariots of the sun. The horses, animals sacred to the sun (Bochart, i. 141 ff., ed. Rosenm.), were not kept for sacrifice but, harnessed to the chariots, were driven in procession; according to the Jewish commentators, driven out (toward the East) to meet the sun at his rising. These horses were probably, as elsewhere, white. The rite, one of those imitative acts of cultus which have their ultimate origin in mimetic magic, probably came to the Jews from Assyria, though the special sacredness of the horse to the sun seems rather to be of Iranian origin. Another rite is described by Ezekiel (viii. 16): in the inner court of the temple, at the very door of the *naḥ*, between the prostyle and the great altar, men were standing with their backs to the sanctuary of Yahwē and their faces to the East, prostrating themselves eastward to the sun. The words in the next verse, translated in the Revised Version 'they put the branch to their nose,' have been thought to refer to another feature of the ritual, similar to the use of the bunch of twigs called *baresma*, held by the Persians before the mouth when at prayer; not only this interpretation, however, but the connection of the words with the sun-worship of v. 16, is uncertain. The throwing of kisses to the sun and moon is alluded to in Job (xxi. 26-28) as a superstitious custom; it corresponds to the actual kissing of an idol (1 K. xix. 18, Hos. xiii. 2).

THE HOST OF HEAVEN AND THE TWELVE SIGNS.

"In the references to this worship, beside sun and moon, two other names appear which require a word of comment. One of these *seba hās-samāim* (סְבָא הַשָּׁמַיִם), 'the host of heaven' (Θ in Dt. ὁ κόσμος τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, elsewhere *δύναμις, στρατιά*; Vg. *militia*), is a collective term, sometimes apparently including the sun and moon, sometimes designating the other heavenly bodies; see Dt. iv. 19, 'the sun and moon and stars—all the host of heaven.' The word 'host' (*saba*) is the common Hebrew word for army; the stars, conceived as living beings, not only by their number (Jer. xxxiii. 22), but also by their orderly movement as though under command, resembled an army in the field. In at least one old passage, the phrase 'the host of heaven' designates the beings (cp. 'a certain spirit,' v. 21) who form Yahwē's court and execute his will (1 K. xxii. 19 ff., Micaiah's vision; cp. also Josh. v. 13 f.). It is unnecessary to suppose that the author's conception here is essentially different from that implied in the more common use of the phrase, as though in the latter the stars were meant as merely astronomical bodies and in the former 'angels'; unnecessary, therefore, to seek a remote connection between senses which only our modern ideas have separated. The 'host of heaven' are the ministers of Yahwē.

'The other word, *mazzaloth*, occurs only in 2 K. xxiii. 5 (מַזְלֹת, Θ *μαζουροθ*, Vg. *duodecim signa*, Pesh. *mauzlatha*, Tg. מַזְלָתָא), and—if the words are rightly identified—in Job xxxviii. 32 (מַזְלֹת), and is variously understood of the signs of the zodiac (so Jerome above), or the planets. It appears to be a loan-word from Assyr. *manzallu*, 'station, abode,' and points to the origin of the religion.

HISTORY.

"The worship of the 'sun and moon and the whole host of heaven' came in under Assyrian influence in the seventh century; it flourished under Manasseh; was temporarily suppressed, with other foreign religions, by Josiah in 621; but

sprang up again after his death, and continued in full vigor down to the fall of the kingdom of Judah in 586; nor did that catastrophe extinguish it. We cannot doubt that astrological divination, if not the worship of the heavenly bodies, was one of the strongest temptations of heathenism to the Jews in Babylonia (see Is. xlvii. 13, cp. Dan. ii. 2, etc.).

"The development of theological monotheism involved the assertion of Yahwè's supremacy over the heavenly bodies: he created them, he leads out their host in its full number, calls them all by name, so great is his power not one of them dares be missing (Is. xl. 26, cp. xlv. 12, Gen. i. 14 ff., Neh. ix. 6). They are not mere luminaries set in the sky, but superhuman beings; it is by Yahwè's ordinance that the nations worship them (Dt. iv. 19 f., cp. xxxii. 8 & Jubilees, xv. 31 f.); the final judgment falls no less upon the high host on high, who guide and govern the nations in history, than on the kings of the earth on earth; they shall together be shut up in prison (Is. xxiv. 21-23; Enoch xviii. 13-16, xxi. 1-6; Rev. ix. 1 f., 11; cp. Dan. viii. 10 f.).

"Philo is therefore in accord not only with Greek thinkers but with the Old Testament in representing the stars as intelligent living beings; they are of a 'divine and happy and blessed nature,' nay, 'manifest and perceptible gods'—expressions which, as he means them, are not incompatible with his monotheism. The Essenes are said to have observed certain religious customs which imply peculiar veneration for the sun; but whatever may have been the origin of the practices, it may be assumed that they had found in them some symbolical meaning in harmony with the fundamental dogma of their Judaism." μ.

SECRECY IN RELIGION.

To the Editor of The Open Court:

The interesting contribution of the Countess E. Martinengo-Cesaresco in the September *Open Court* refers to a condition of Oriental reticence in the presence of aliens of other cults, of which there is a parallel in the existence of a like secrecy in the Far East. Even in the company of compatriots the initiates do not utter the sacred Mantra, or make Mudra manipulations openly. Especially is this so in the esoteric sects, such as the Shin-gon, and the Tendai,—especially in the higher classes of the Order of Yama-bushi, of which there are two branches. The chief monastery of the Shingon branch is at the former imperial retreat of Daigo, "Sam-bo In" (Three Treasures, Tri-ratna), near the Yamashina railway station beyond Kioto. That of the Tendai—now connected with Mii-dera at Otsu—is at the north-east suburb of Kioto, named "Sho-go In," formerly the residence of an imperial prince. The rites are esoteric and do not materially diverge. The writer has been initiated.

In the Tendai and Shingon ritual, on special occasions, the Gayatri—in an esoteric form—occupies a prominent place; the A-a-a-a, U-m-m-m-m, being joined in by the assembled Bonzes, and heard by the votaries who are railed off at a distance from the high altar. The chief abbot performs the secret manipulations facing the altar, with his hands concealed from the gaze of the laity, and reciting (or reading) the litanies meanwhile in a subdued voice, or silently moving the lips.

Circumambulation, the clanging of cymbals, and in special ceremonies the blowing of a conch, form a feature.

At the temples in the mountains, the rendezvous of periodical pilgrimage and assemblies of the Order, there are secret ceremonies for adepts and initiates, the

commonality of lay pilgrims seeing but little of what takes place, the celebrants of the rites being screened off.

The incantations, exorcisms, and ancient rites are imitated by charlatans who impose upon the credulous for sordid motives, but the Order does not sanction such practices.

C. PFOUNDERS.

FILIAL PIETY IN CHINA.

While sauntering through the Pan-American Exposition, my eye caught a little Chinese store in which among other Chinese curios were displayed wall pendants, ornamental mottoes designed to be hung up as decorations in the sitting-rooms of the Celestials. Being interested in the subject, I secured copies of them, and since they are characteristic of the spirit of Chinese moralism, I take pleasure in reproducing them here for the benefit of our readers.

The paper and art work are crude enough to allow the assumption that the prints must be very cheap in China, and are designed not for the rich but for the common people. They may cost in Peking or Hong Kong not more than one or two cents apiece. Evidently they serve two purposes: first of ornament and secondly of instruction.

The Chinese are a moralising people, even more so than we; while we dislike abstract moralising, they delight in it, and do not tire of impressing upon their children the praiseworthiness of filial devotion.

Filial devotion is in Chinese *hsiao*; the character consists of two symbols showing a child supporting an old man, and filial piety is supposed to be the basis of all virtue. The moral relations are regarded as mere varieties of *hsiao*; and the original significance of the word, which means chiefly the devotional attitude of a child toward his parents, includes such relations as the obedience of the subject to his ruler, of the wife to her husband, of the younger brother to his elder brother, and of any one's relations to his superiors, including especially man's relation to heaven or the Lord on high, to God.

The Chinese ornament their rooms, not as we do with pictures of beauty, but with moral sayings; and the two here reproduced are typical of the national character of the Chinese. The former of the two pendants, literally translated, reads:

父子協力山成玉

"When father | and son | combine | their efforts | mountains | are changed | into gems."

The saying, however, is not an admonition to parents to keep in harmony with their sons but to sons to be obedient to their parents.

The second pendant means:

兄弟同心土變金

"When elder brother | and younger brother (or briefly, when brothers) | are harmonious | in their hearts | the earth | will be changed | into an Eldorado."¹

It will be noticed that the letters are pictures containing figures and Chinese characters; and we have here the Chinese peculiarity of utilising their script for illustrations which represent scenes from well-known Chinese stories of filial devotion; all of them being taken from a famous book called *Twenty-four Stories of Filial Devotion*. These stories are known to every Chinaman, for they form the most important text-book of their moral education.

¹ Literally, gold.



fu
[When] father



tze
[and] sons



hsieh
combine



li
[their] efforts



shan
mountains



ch'êng
are fashioned



yu
into gems.



hsiung
[When] elder
brothers



ti
[and] younger
brothers



t'ung
[are] harmoni-
ous



hsin
[in their] hearts



t'u
the earth



p'ien
is changed



chin
into an Eldorado
(gold).

CHINESE WALL PENDANTS

The first character (*fu*, meaning father) represents Wang Ngai, who lived during the Wei dynasty (220-364 A.D.). His mother while living was much afraid of thunderstorms. The picture shows him bringing offerings to her grave and protecting it against the fury of the thundergod, who is seen hovering above him in the air. (No. 805a, p. 242.¹)

The inscription of the second character (*ze*, meaning "son") reads in one place "Tai Son's aged mother" and in another "Tan Hsiang's daughter weeping over a sweet melon."

The third character (*sieh*=combine) pictures a child standing before an old gentleman. The inscription reads: "Keeping in his bag a crab apple he showed his devotion to his parent." It refers to the story of Luh Sū. When a boy of six years he visited Yen Yü who gave him crab apples to eat but noticed that the child kept one in his bag for his mother.²

The fourth character (*li*, meaning "strength") illustrates the story of Hwang Hiang who, as a boy of seven, after his mother's death devoted himself unweariedly to his father's comfort. In summer he fanned his pillow, in winter he kept it warm. (No. 217, pp. 69-70.)

The fifth character (*shan*, meaning "mountain") represents Kiang Keh, a Chinese Anchises, about 490 A. D. Once he rescued his mother during a disturbance of the peace by carrying her many miles on his shoulders. Behind the fugitives in the center of the character rages the spirit of rebellion and on the right-hand corner is seen a deserted house. (No. 255, p. 80.)

The sixth character (*ch'eng*, meaning "fashioning, shaping, transforming into") illustrates the story of Wu Meng who exposes himself to the bites of mosquitoes lest his mother be stung by them. The picture of the hero of the story lying naked on a couch is quite indistinct in the reproduction, but the comfort of his mother, reclining in an easy chair finds an artful expression. (No. 808, p. 260.)

The last character (*yu*) of the first series is remarkable in so far as it represents the only instance of a woman's being praised for filial devotion. It represents Ts'ui She who nursed at her own breast her toothless old mother-in-law who was incapable of taking other nourishment. (No. 791a, p. 238.)

The first character of the second pendant (*hsiung*, meaning "elder brother") relates to Wang Siang, whose stepmother felt an appetite for fresh fish in winter. He went out on the river, lay down on the ice, warming it with his own body, and caught a couple of carp, which he presented to her. (No. 816, p. 241.)

The next character (*ti*, younger brother) shows the famous Emperor Yao in the center and before him his successor Shun, the pattern of filial as well as royal virtues. The elephant, one of the animals that helped him plow the fields, is visible above Shun on the right-hand side. William Frederick Mayers in his *Chinese Reader's Manual* (No. 617, p. 189) says about him:

"Tradition is extremely discordant with reference to his origin and descent. According to the Main Records of the five Emperors, his personal name was Ch'ung Hwa, and he was the son of Ku Sow, a reputed descendant of the emperor Chwan Hü. (He had also the designation Yü, which is by some referred to a region in modern Ho-nan, but by others to the territory of Yü Yao, in modern Chekiang, with one or the other of which it is sought to connect him.) His father, Ku Sow (lit. the 'blind old man') on the death of Shun's mother, took a second wife, by whom he had a son named Siang; and preferring the offspring of his second union

¹ The numbers and pages in parentheses refer to Mayers's *Chinese Reader's Manual*.

² Luh Sūh is mentioned by Meyer *Ck. R. M.*, No. 443.

to his eldest son, he repeatedly sought to put the latter to death. Shun, however, while escaping this fate, in no wise lessened his dutiful conduct toward his father and stepmother, or his fraternal regard for Siang. He occupied himself in ploughing at Li Shan, where his filial piety was rewarded by beasts and birds who spontaneously came to drag his plough and to weed his fields. He fished in the Lui Lake and made pottery on the banks of the Yellow River. Still his parents and his brother sought to compass his death; but although they endeavoured to make him perish by setting fire to his house and by causing him to descend a deep well, he was always miraculously preserved. In his 20th year, he attracted by his filial piety the notice of the wise and virtuous Yao, who bestowed upon him his two daughters in marriage, and disinherited his son Chu of Tan, in order to make Shun his successor upon the throne. In the 71st year of his reign (B. C. 2287, cf. T. K.), Yao associated his protégé with him in the government of the empire, to which the latter succeeded on the death of Yao in B. C. 2258."

The character *t'ung* which means "agree" refers to Meng Tsung of the third century A. D. whose mother loved to eat bamboo shoots. While he was sorrowing because they do not sprout in winter, the miracle happened that in spite of the frost the bamboos began to put forth their sprouts, and so he was enabled to fulfil his mother's desire. (No. 499, p. 155.) The picture shows a table on which the dish of bamboo sprouts is served, the face of his mother hovering above it. On the right hand Meng Tsung sits sorrowing; the left-hand stroke is a sprouting bamboo stick.

Yen-Tze, the hero of the next story, depicted in the character "heart," is said to have ministered to his mother's preference for the milk of the doe by disguising himself in a deer skin and mingling with a herd of deer in the forest, where he succeeded in milking a doe and in spite of robbers, represented as attacking him on either side, he carried his mother's favorite food safely home in a pail. (No. 916, p. 276.)

The character *t'u*, "earth," depicts the touching story of the sacrifice of Yang Hiang, who saw a tiger approaching his father and threw himself between him and the beast. (No. 882, p. 266.) In the reproduction it is difficult to recognise the crouching tiger, which forms the stroke through the character.

The last but one character (*p'ien*, meaning "changes") refers to Min Sun, a disciple of Confucius. Mayers says: "His stepmother, it is recorded, having two children of her own, used him ill and clothed him only in the leaves of plants. When this was discovered by his father, the latter became wroth, and would have put away the harsh stepmother, but Min Sun entreated him saying: 'It is better that one son should suffer from cold than three children be motherless!' His magnanimous conduct so impressed the mind of his stepmother that she became filled with affection toward him." (No. 503, p. 156.)

The last character (*chin*, meaning "gold") bears the inscription "With mulberries he shows his filial devotion to his mother." It illustrates the story of Ts'ai Shun who during the famine caused by the rebellion of Wang Meng (25 A. D.) picked wild mulberries in the woods and brought the black ones to his mother while he was satisfied with the unripe yellow ones. The picture shows a robber watching the boy. In China even criminals have a respect for the devotion of children to their parents. So in recognition of his filial piety the robber made him a present with rice and meat.

Hokusai, the painter of the poor, one of the most remarkable artists of Japan,

illustrated the twenty-four filial stories in pictures which in crude woodcut reproductions are well known all over the country of the rising sun.



They represent (beginning always with the picture in the right-hand corner and proceeding downward):

1. Shun, the person mentioned above destined to become the son-in-law of and successor to Emperor Yao, assisted in plowing by an elephant.

2. Tseng Shen, Confucius' disciple. The picture illustrates a miraculous event. When gathering fuel in the woods his mother, anxious to see him, bit her finger and such was the sympathy between the two that he was aware of his mother's desire and at once appeared in her presence. (No. 739, p. 223.)
3. Wen Ti, natural son of Kao Tsu, founder of the Han dynasty, succeeded to the throne after the usurpation by the Empress Dowager in 179 B. C. When his mother fell sick he never left her apartment for three years and did not even take the time to change his apparel. He is also famous as a most humane monarch.
4. Min Sun, maltreated by his stepmother, has been mentioned above. (No. 503, p. 156.)
5. Chung Yeo, another disciple of Confucius, famous for his martial accomplishments, who died a hero's death in the suppression of a rebellion. He used to say: "In the days when I was poor I carried rice upon my back for the support of those who gave me birth; and now, for all that I would gladly do so again, I cannot recall them to life!" (No. 91, p. 29—30.)



CHIH NÜ AND KENG NIU.

A Chinese fairy tale of the Star Vega. A native illustration from Williams's *Middle Kingdom*.

6. Tung Yung was too poor to give his father a decent burial. So he bonded himself for 10,000 pieces of cash to perform the funeral rites with all propriety. "When returning to his home, he met a woman who offered herself as his wife, and who repaid the loan he had incurred with 300 webs of cloth. The pair lived happily together for a month, when the woman disclosed the fact that she was no other than the star Chih Nü,¹ who had been sent down by the Lord of Heaven her father to recompense an act of filial piety; and saying this she vanished from his sight." (No. 691, p. 210.)

The story of Chih Nü is one of the prettiest fairy-tales of China, which is briefly thus: The sun-god had a daughter Chih Nü (star Vega= α in Lyre) who excelled by her skill in weaving and her industrial habits. To recompense her he had her married to Keng Niu the herdsman (constellation Aquila), who herded his

¹ The Spinning damsel, which is α of Lyre.

cattle in the silver stream of Heaven (the milky way). As soon as married, Chih Nü changed her habits for the worse; she forsook the loom and gave herself up to merry making and idleness. Thereupon her father decided to separate the lovers



by the stream and placed them each one on one side of the milky way, allowing the husband to meet his wife over a bridge of many thousand magpies only once a year, on the seventh day of the seventh month, which is a holy day in China and Japan even now.

Our picture shows Chih Nü vanishing from Tung Yung's sight.

7. The story of Yen-Tze, who while dressed in a deer skin, is here pictured as meeting a robber. (No. 916, p. 276.)
8. Kiang Keh asking the robber chief's permission to allow him to carry away his mother. (No. 255, p. 80.)
9. Luh Sü (who lived in the first century of the Christian era), was liberated by his jailer, when imprisoned for complicity in a conspiracy, on account of the devotion he showed toward his mother. (No. 443, p. 140.)
10. The story of Ts'ui She, nursing her husband's mother.
11. Wu Meng (No. 868, p. 260), exposing himself to mosquitoes.
12. Wang Siang, thawing the ice to catch carp.
13. The story of Kwoh K'ü, who "is said to have lived in the second century A. D., and to have had an aged mother to support, beside his own wife and children. Finding that he had not food sufficient for all, he proposed to his wife that they should bury their infant child in order to have the more for their mother's wants; and this devotedness was rewarded by his discovering, while engaged in digging a pit for this purpose, a bar of solid gold which placed him above the reach of poverty, and upon which were inscribed the words: 'A gift from Heaven to Kwoh K'ü; let none deprive him of it!'" (No. 303, p. 95.)
14. Yang Hiang offering himself to the tiger. (No. 882, p. 266.)
15. Cho Show-ch'ang searched fifty years for his mother who had been divorced from his father. Having succeeded in his purpose he served her the rest of her life. (No. 81, p. 26—27.)
16. Yü K'ien-low, ministering unto his sick father. (No. 950, p. 286.)
17. Lao Lai-Tze plays like a child with his parents who suffer from senile childishness.
18. The same story is told of Ts'ai Shun as of Tsêng Shên viz., that he was recalled from a distance by a sensation of pain which visited him when his mother bit her own finger. During the troubles ensuing upon Wang Mang's usurpation, A. D. 25, when a state of famine prevailed, he nourished his mother with wild berries, retaining only the unripe ones for his own sustenance. On her death, while mourning beside her coffin, he was called away by attendants who exclaimed that the house was on fire; but he refused to leave the spot, and his dwelling remained unharmed. As his mother had been greatly alarmed, in her lifetime, whenever thunder was heard, he made it his duty, after death, to repair to her grave during thunderstorms, and to cry out: "Be not afraid, mother, I am here!" (No. 752, p. 226.)

Our illustration depicts him meeting a hunter in the woods who gives him a piece of venison.

19. Huang Hiang, fanning his father's bed.
20. Kiang She in conjunction with his wife devoted himself to waiting upon his aged mother, in order to gratify whose fancy he went daily a long distance to draw drinking water from a river and to obtain fish for her table. This devotedness was rewarded by a miracle. A spring burst forth close by his dwelling, and a pair of carp were daily produced from it to supply his mother's wants. (No. 256, p. 81.)
21. Wang Ngai comforting the spirit of his mother in a thunderstorm.
22. Ting Lan. "Flourished under the Han dynasty. After his mother's

death he preserved a wooden effigy representing her figure, to which he offered the same forms of respect and duty as he had observed toward his parent during life. One day, while he was absent from home, his neigh-



bour Chang Shuh, came to borrow some household article, whereupon his wife inquired by the divining-slips whether the effigy would lend it, and received a negative reply. Hereupon the neighbour angrily struck the

wooden figure. When Ting Lan returned to his home he saw an expression of displeasure on the features of his mother's effigy, and on learning from his wife what had passed, he took a stick and beat the aggressor severely.



When he was apprehended for this deed the figure was seen to shed tears, and the facts thus becoming known he received high honours from the State." (No. 670, p. 204.)

A little more than half a century ago it was generally believed in Europe and America that the black man was incapable of social improvement and that nature or God had produced him merely to serve the white man as a slave. Calhoun is said to have exclaimed: "Show me a Negro who can conjugate a Greek verb, and I will concede to him the right of human brotherhood!" And thus the divine right of the white man to the labor and liberty of the Negro seemed as divinely ordained and as securely established as the ancient and sacred right of man to rule over woman.

But the passion for absolute supremacy among individuals and groups of individuals, after causing countless millions to mourn from time immemorial, is slowly though surely being transmuted from a gross, brutal, and sanguinary impulse to a bridled and humane rivalry for intellectual, moral, and spiritual excellence.

It is a fact that—

"Dogma and Descent, potential twin,
Which erst could rein submissive millions in,
Are now spent forces on the eddying surge
Of thought enfranchised. Agencies emerge
Unhampered by the incubus of dread
Which cramped men's hearts and clogged their onward tread.
Dynasty, Prescription! spectral in these days
When Science points to Thought its surest ways,
And men who scorn obedience when not free
Demand the logic of Authority!
The day of manhood to the world is here,
And ancient homage waxes faint and drear.

"Vision of rapture! See Salvation's plan
'Tis serving God through ceaseless toil for man!"

And while it is true that here and there and now and then among civilised men the claim of "divine rights" is still set up by the arrogant and belated, nevertheless the sweep of social evolution has acquired such tremendous momentum consequent upon the development of a higher social consciousness nowadays, that no careful student of the times need be hoodwinked by such paltry eddies in the mighty and irresistible current of human progress. There never was so much tolerance and sympathy at any one time among mankind. Never in the history of the world, so far as we know, have there existed so many contemporaneous civilised nations of any magnitude and fighting power as to-day. In fact, international law as a result of international tolerance and sympathy seems not very far from evolving an international tribunal and the very much longed-for *international arbitration*. The Christian sects, though legion in number, do not persecute each other, and Mussulman missionary effort among Christians in England does not excite a Chinese-like Boxer rising in that country. Monarchy and Democracy and the myriad political creeds exist side by side. Science and Religion, like the rest, and with no less degree of aggressive ardor, are compelled to respect the rights of each other. And in the industrial world, feudalism and Negro slavery have passed away. That the institution of feudalism and Negro slavery had respectively outlived their social and economic utility does not detract from the validity of the fact that the human mind had become so possessed of the incubus of sympathy and liberty that the black man's freedom came to him not only as an economic necessity in the British dominions and as a military expedient in the United States, but as a moral necessity of Christendom all the world over.

No phenomenon is isolated. Every fact in the universe is in some way related

to every other fact. Surely, the spirit of the Reformation was incarnate in the American revolution, and also in the anti-slavery agitation of Great Britain and the United States. Is there naught in common between Martin Luther, Oliver Cromwell, and John Brown? And so we find that sympathy and tolerance for those who differed from us in opinion or belief, was extended to sympathy and tolerance for those who differed from us in race, color, or sex.

It is true that in Europe the Jew has few rights which the Christian thinks himself bound to respect, and that the Negro in the Southern States of America has few, if any, rights which the white man feels himself bound to respect; yet men have ceased to cry out very vehemently against the competition of women in the industrial and intellectual walks of life, and are rather seeking to coöperate with them; the American laborer is forced to say *comrade* to his competitor of foreign birth and alien tongue if the dignity of labor is to be upheld; the rich and cultured are waking up to their duty to the mass of ignorant and poor people; the virtuous are lifting the fallen; and the best and fullest education is no longer the monopoly of the rich or privileged classes.

When we consider that even in war the sick and helpless are cared for by the strong and healthy; that the foreign missionary enterprise of Christendom constitutes a firm and enormous ladder reaching from the depths of barbarism to the heights of civilisation; that our systems of railroads and steamboats, of telegraph and newspapers, of free libraries and free education, are the heralds of the ultimate comparative annihilation of distance and ignorance;—when we consider these facts it is easy to see that the present status of humanity is the most tolerant, the most integrated, and the most sympathetic known to history. With the growth of social self-consciousness has come the revelation of man's relations to man in spite of differences in the abstract or the concrete, in the subjective or the objective. In fact, the transcendental cosmic consciousness of Krishna, the Buddha, the Christ, Spinoza, and Walt Whitman, is to-day the gospel of science or Monism, and is consequently permeating the masses and destined to imbue them with the sweet spirit of the Masters, leading on to universal harmony and universal good.

In this whirligig of things social, man is learning that his neighbor is part of himself, that the black man and the white man are neighbors and consequently parts of each other; that man is part of the universe and the universe is part of man; and that in virtue of such facts it is to man's highest interest that he be in harmony with all his relations and thus avoid hurting himself. The relation of the slum to the mansion is the relation of barbarism to civilisation. Neither wealth nor civilisation is safe while the majority of men are poverty-stricken and barbarous.

There is a spirit abroad that looks grudgingly upon the higher education of the poor, and of the Negro especially. It was claimed that the poor child ought to be taught to work; but the wave of industrial education or the gospel of labor has engulfed the children of the rich also. Men are learning the dignity and pedagogic value of manual work. But some say that because it took the Anglo-Saxon a thousand years to acquire culture and refinement, the Negro ought to be made to travel at the same slow pace, or his progress will not be real. Such people do not ask themselves *why* the Anglo-Saxon was forced to move so slowly, and whether the *conditions* for human development have changed any since the granting of Magna Charta or not. While the Negro was toiling for the material advancement of the white man, the white man was toiling for the intellectual advancement of the Negro. How compensatory it all is!

But there are still others who contend that the race problem should not be interfered with; that things will come right of themselves without our trying to force matters; that the force of social evolution will eventually right the wrongs; that the *vis medicatrix naturæ* will cure the lesion. Yet the science of surgery and therapeutics disproves such a contention. A man may die for lack of proper aid, and a man may recover from a malady rapidly if his treatment is scientifically correct, or slowly or not at all if the treatment is antagonistic to the operation of the *vis medicatrix naturæ*. We may coöperate with the trend of the evolutionary forces, or we may oppose them. It should not be forgotten that evolution may proceed in spite of us and in virtue of us. In the main, humanity has bleedingly struggled up to its present status through the conflict of its passions, and appetites, and desires. Humanity as an evolving unit may truly sing:

"By the light of burning martyr fires
Christ's bleeding feet I track,
Toiling up new Calvaries ever
With the cross that turns not 'back.'"

It is for us of the present age of knowledge wittingly to harmonise our lives and the lives of our children with the mighty forces which are compelling us onward. The white man and the black man must learn respectively that one cannot hurt or neglect the other with impunity. This higher consciousness brings a knowledge of more relations and consequently of more responsibilities. We cannot escape if we neglect to ennoble ourselves by ennobling our neighbors. In the light of our higher consciousness and wider vision may the guilt of strangling a soul because of difference in color, birth, or sex, be the least of our sins!

JOSEPH JEFFREY, M. D.

BOOK REVIEWS.

An instructive work on the industrial and commercial changes which have distinguished the last ten years of the world's progress is Brooks Adams's book *The New Empire*. Mr. Adams's point of view is economic. His subject is "markets"; the territory tributary to a market, when considerable, being called a State, and when vast, an Empire. The market is an outgrowth of trade and spreads along the lines of converging trade routes. He has presented us, therefore, with a history of the changing fortunes of the trade routes of the world, from the earliest times to the fall of Peking. The goal of history, in Mr. Adams's view, is the economic supremacy of the United States. The book is pleasantly and vigorously written, and contains several maps illustrating commercial development, which will be welcome to the student. (New York: The Macmillan Company. London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd. 1902. Pages, xxxvii, 243. Price, \$1.50 net.)

The most important phases of the social workings of our large cities has been treated in Charles Zueblin's book *American Municipal Progress*. The sub-title describes the work as "Chapters in Municipal Sociology," which is defined as the investigation of "the means of satisfying communal wants through public activities." Purely administrative progress has been excluded, viz., the police and judicial departments, as well also as charities, churches, and institutions of vice. The subjects considered are: Transportation; Public Works; Sanitation; Public Schools; Public Libraries; Public Buildings; Parks and Boulevards; Public

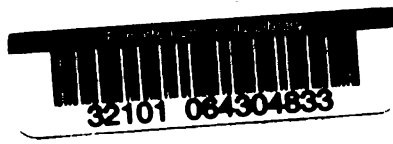
Recreation ; and Public Control, Ownership, and Operation. (New York : The Macmillan Company. London : Macmillan & Co., Ltd. 1902. Pages, v, 380. Price, \$1.25 net.)

The Fall of Nineveh has found its historical novelist in Josiah M. Ward. *Come with Me to Babylon* is the entreating title of the work, the illustrations of which aim boldly at Ninevitical grandeur but fall sadly short of it. The text is exuberant, almost tropical in character, and on the score of richness of portrayal the reader will have no cause to complain. (New York : Frederick A. Stokes & Co.)

"Historical materialism" and "the materialistic interpretation of history" are terms which have often, but wrongly, been applied to the doctrine that the existence of man depends upon his ability to sustain himself, that consequently the economic life is the fundamental condition of all life, and that therefore to economic causes "must be traced in last instance those transformations in the structure of society which themselves condition the relations of social classes and the various manifestations of social life." In a new book entitled *The Economic Interpretation of History*, Dr. Edwin R. A. Seligman, Professor in Columbia University, New York, has attempted to explain the genesis and development of this doctrine, to study some of the applications of it made by recent thinkers, to examine the objections advanced against it, and to estimate its true import and value for modern science. The essay is brief and gives a clear survey of the development of economic studies and their bearing on political history, its appreciation of Karl Marx's work being especially prominent. (New York : The Columbia University Press. The Macmillan Company, Agents. 1902. Pages, ix, 166. Price, \$1.50.)

The Rev. Joseph H. Crooker of Ann Arbor is now publishing in the *Springfield Republican* a series of essays on the place of Jesus in history. He is stirred by the following considerations : "It is clear enough, as all freely admit, that the name, 'Jesus,' has played a mighty part in the world's history for nearly two thousand years, but many fear that, in spite of all this, the discoveries of recent years have cast so many doubts upon the accuracy of the Gospels that we cannot longer be sure that any such person ever lived. Or if he lived, his career is too shadowy to be helpful, and his teaching too uncertain to be authoritative. There is a terrible dread gripping at the hearts of Christians. It is the fear that we may soon have to give up our loved Master, and put him among the fair but unsubstantial creations of human fancy. At least, it is feared that the character of the man who lived under that name is so far removed into the realm of poetry and so completely surrounded with uncertainty, that he can no longer be to us a real historical person to love as a friend and revere as a teacher."

We can anticipate the answer to this state of uncertainty by the following sentences which conclude the first installment : "The Gospels, when allowed to shine in their own light, which is the light of love, lend themselves to a new and higher ministry. We ought to handle them rationally, but reverently, for increase of inner life. These pages fire our hearts with ennobling motives, the less we go to them for dogma and the more we use them for communion with one who went about doing good, and who, in so doing, showed us the true way of life."



~~ANNEXA~~